Receptions of Hellenism in Early Modern Europe

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Brill's Studies in Intellectual History

General Editor

Han van Ruler (*Erasmus University Rotterdam*)

Founded by

Arjo Vanderjagt

Editorial Board

C.S. Celenza (*Georgetown University, Washington DC*)
M. Colish (*Yale University, New Haven*)
J.I. Israel (*Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton*)
A. Koba (*University of Tokyo*)
M. Mugnai (*Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa*)
W. Otten (*University of Chicago*)

VOLUME 303

The titles published in this series are listed at *brill.com/bsih*

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Receptions of Hellenism in Early Modern Europe

15th–17th Centuries

Edited by

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers

BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Cover illustration: Effigy of Adolphus Occo II (1494–1572), physician and humanist. Medal model in boxwood. Augsburg, ca. 1540. Berlin, Bode Museum, Skulpturensammlung, Inv. 5389. Photo in the public domain, courtesy of Andreas Praefcke.

The Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available online at http://catalog.loc.gov
LC record available at http://lccn.loc.gov/2019946206

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 0920-8607
ISBN 978-90-04-34385-6 (hardback)
ISBN 978-90-04-40246-1 (e-book)

Copyright 2020 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Hes & De Graaf, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Rodopi, Brill Sense, Hotei Publishing, mentis Verlag, Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh and Wilhelm Fink Verlag.
All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.
Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA. Fees are subject to change.

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Contents

Preface ix
List of Figures and Tables xii
Abbreviations xvii
Contributors xix

Introduction: Receptions of Hellenism in Early Modern Europe 1
Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers

PART 1
Access and Dissemination

Learning, Teaching, and Printing Greek

1 Aldus Manutius and the Learning of Greek: the Aldine *Appendix* 31
Paola Tomè (†)

2 From a Thirsty Desert to the Rise of the Collège de France: Greek Studies in Paris, *c.*1490–1540 53
Luigi-Alberto Sanchi

3 Teaching Greek with Aristophanes in the French Renaissance, 1528–1549 72
Malika Bastin-Hammou

4 A Professor at Work: Hadrianus Amerotius (*c.*1495–1560) and the Study of Greek in Sixteenth-Century Louvain 94
Raf Van Rooy

5 Greek History in the Early-Modern Classroom: Lectures on Herodotus by Johannes Rosa and School Notes by Jacques Bongars (Jena, 1568) 113
Anthony Ellis

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

PART 2
Migration, Exchange, and Identity

Cultural Encounters and Exchanges between "Greek East" and "Latin West"

6 From "Bounteous Flux of Matter" to Hellenic City: Late Byzantine Representations of Constantinople and the Western Audience 145
Aslıhan Akışık-Karakullukçu

7 Icons of Narratives: Greek-Venetian Artistic Interchange, Thirteenth–Fifteenth Centuries 173
Michele Bacci

8 Barbaric and Assimilated Hellenes: Textual and Visual Images of Greek Scholars between Lapo da Castiglionchio (*c.*1405–1438) and Paolo Giovio (1483–1552) 189
Peter Bell

9 Maximos Margounios (*c.*1549–1602), his Anacreontic Hymns, and the Byzantine Revival in Early Modern Germany 215
Federica Ciccolella

Perspectives on Greek Migrants in the West

10 Love and Exile in Michael Marullus Tarchaniota: Geographical Exile, Spiritual Homelessness 233
Niketas Siniossoglou

11 The Longs and Shorts of an Emergent Nation: Nikolaos Loukanes's 1526 *Iliad* and the Unprosodic New Trojans 260
Calliope Dourou

12 From Courts to Cities: Greek Migration, Community Formation, and Networks of Mutual Assistance in Sixteenth-Century Italy 279
Niccolò Fattori

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

PART 3
Appropriations and Use: Cultural & Religious

History, Archaeology, and Antiquarianism

13 The Greekness of Greek Inscriptions: Ancient Inscriptions in Early Modern Scholarship 307
William Stenhouse

14 Pirro Ligorio (*c.*1513–1583) and Greek Antiquity 325
Michail Chatzidakis

15 Ancient Coins and the Use of Greek History in *Sicilia et Magna Graecia* by Hubertus Goltzius (1526–1583) 347
Maria Luisa Napolitano

Humanist Greek and the Reformation

16 *Graecia transvolavit Alpes*: Humanist Greek Writing in Germany (15th–17th Centuries) Through the Eyes of Georg Lizel (1694–1761) 379
Stefan Weise

17 Hyperborean Flowers: Humanist Greek Around the Baltic Sea (16th–17th Centuries) 410
Janika Päll

General Bibliography 439
Index 544

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Preface

The wooden portrait medal on the cover of this book shows a bearded man, in profile and wearing a wide-brimmed hat, staring into the distance. The book he holds is, we can read in Greek, "the divine Homer". A second Greek inscription, running around the portrait, however, is a quotation from the Psalms rather than the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*: "[cast] thy care upon the Lord, and he shall sustain thee". This is the motto of the man depicted—but who is he? He addresses the beholder, slightly enigmatically, in the Latin inscription on the medal's outer border: "that I remain silent has to do with my profession—do not blame it on the sculptor! Study Pythagoras' ways, which I also study for myself". The subject is, in fact, Adolph Occo II (1494–1572), who served as a doctor in the German town of Augsburg, and the somewhat mysterious line alludes to the oath of Hippocrates, as well as to Pythagoras.[1] With all these references, the portrait clearly signifies Occo's admiration for the Hellenic tradition, which was also reflected in his personal library that included a manuscript of Hippocrates.[2]

This well-crafted object captures various aspects of this book's subject: the receptions of Hellenism in early modern Europe. The Greek and Latin inscriptions, for instance, epitomise the practical and ethical applications of Greek learning; they indicate the literary and scholarly interest in Greek; and finally, they point to its spiritual significance as one of the sacred languages and the religious implications this status had in the sixteenth century. Its Augsburg origin also evokes the transmission of Greek language and literature from the Italian peninsula to lands north of the Alps, as well as their dissemination throughout Europe, which continued well into the seventeenth century. With its references to the literary, medical or practical, and Christian "layers" of Hellenism—Homer, Pythagoras and Hippocrates, and the Psalms—it raises the question of what constituted Greek learning for men such as Occo and invites us to look beyond the Classicist canon that still informs modern perceptions of Greek culture. The fact that this doctor from Augsburg chose to depict

1 Specifically, the command not to gossip. Cf. *Hippocratic Ode* 30–32: "And whatsoever I shall see or hear in the course of my profession, as well as outside my profession in my intercourse with men1 if it be what should not be published abroad, I will never divulge, holding such things to be holy secrets" (transl. by W. H. S. Jones).

2 The Latin inscription is as follows (no punctuation): "Artis quod taceo est sculptoris culpa facessat quos ego Pythagorae tu quoque disce modos". Greek inscription: ἐπὶ κύριον τὴν σου μέριμναν (cf. Ps. 54 (55), 23). On the book, we read: Ὅμηρος ὁ θεῖος. On the object and Adolph Occo II, see Wischermann (1975).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

himself holding a book of "divine Homer", and so self-consciously sought to associate his image with ancient Hellas, demonstrates how Greek learning had become something that mattered to individuals living far from the heartland of Greek civilisation. Hellenism was something people identified with, and as such, it became implicated in heated debates over personal and communal identity that, particularly during this period, could dramatically change due to political, cultural, and confessional shifts—among them such major developments as the emergence of vernacular culture, the creation of new imagined communities, the religious reform movements and the counter-responses they provoked.

This volume sheds light on the reception of Hellenism as a multifaceted phenomenon, not confined to the transmission of classical texts; it examines the various ways in which Greek culture—as well as those individuals and groups who cherished and carried it—was received and perceived, adopted and adapted. The peculiar wooden artefact on the book's cover thus exemplifies, as in one breath, some of the "modes of reception" of Hellenism that are central to the chapters of this book, to which we will come back in the Introduction.

The present book, consisting of seventeen chapters by authors from different national and scholarly backgrounds, and in different stages of their academic careers, resulted mainly from formal meetings and personal conversations about the contours and limits of early modern Hellenism. We are grateful to the many people who contributed to this volume in ways other than writing the chapters that follow. Hélène Cazes, Sophie Annette Kranen, Eirini Papadaki, Luigi Silvano, and Antonis Tsakmakis, for example, participated in conferences we organised on this subject—one in Berlin, one in Nicosia—and we are very grateful for their contributions on these occasions.[3] The Department of History and Archaeology and the Department of Classics and Philosophy of the University of Cyprus generously sponsored one of these meetings. We would also like to thank Anthony Kaldellis, Asaph Ben-Tov, Paul Botley, and again Hélène for commenting on earlier versions of the Introduction in particular. Thanks also goes to Ivo Romein and Arjan van Dijk for their enthusiasm about this volume and their assistance in the development process, as well as Peter Buschman for his readiness to help and his patience. We are also grateful to

3 "Visions of the Greek World in Renaissance Art, Literature, and Scholarship I–III", panels organised by Han Lamers at the Annual Meeting of the Renaissance Society of America (Berlin, 27 March 2015) and "Greece, Greeks, and Greek in the Renaissance", a workshop organised by Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers at the University of Cyprus (Nicosia, 13 December 2015).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Steven Bockhardt, Victoria Mostue, and Lara Welch, who kindly assisted us at various stages of this book's materialisation. We, the editors, would also like to acknowledge the continuous support of our respective partners.

One of the contributors, Paola Tomè, did not live to see the outcome of our joint endeavours. She passed away on 24 December 2017. We, editors and authors, colleagues and friends—deeply saddened at her passing but intensely grateful for what she gave us—dedicate this book to her memory.

Editors' note: In the spelling of names, we have generally adopted what seemed to us the most common form, while also respecting the choices of the individual authors. For the Greek personal names we normally opted for the original spelling (e.g., "Argyropoulos", "Gemistos Plethon" instead of "Argyropulus", "Gemistus Pletho"). In some cases, however, we have adopted the conventions of modern scholarship (e.g., "Marcus Musurus" instead of "Markos Mousouros"). Since the contributors to this volume work in different disciplines and academic traditions, as editors we respected many of the scholarly conventions our contributors felt most comfortable with. We therefore hope that the reader will not mind encountering some slight disparity in translating and citing practices between the chapters.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers
Nicosia and Oslo, 12 December 2018

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Figures and Tables

Figures

3.1 Titlepage of *Ἀριστοφάνους ἐυτραπελώτατου κωμῳδίαι ἕνδεκα. Aristophanis facetissimi comoediae novem* (Paris: Gilles de Gourmont, 1528). in 4°. Bibliothèque nationale de France 75

3.2 Titlepage of Néobar's *Ἀριστοφάνους Πλοῦτος. Plutus. Νεφέλαι. Nebulae. Βάτραχοι. Ranae* (Paris: per Conradum Neobarium [Conrad Néobar], 1540). in-4°. Bibliothèque nationale de France, RES P-Z-2569 (2) 81

3.3 First page of *Ἀριστοφάνους Πλοῦτος. Plutus. Νεφέλαι. Nebulae. Βάτραχοι. Ranae* (Paris: per Conradum Neobarium [Conrad Néobar], 1540). Bibliothèque nationale de France, RES P-Z-2569 (2) 82

3.4 First page of Aristophanes's *Plutus* in Nicolaus Clenardus's *Institutiones ac meditationes in Graecam linguam* [...] *cum scholiis et praxi P. Antesignani Rapistagnensis* ([Geneva]: Excudebat Ieremias Des Planches [Jérémie des Planches], 1580). in-4°. Bibliothèque de Genève, Hb 86 85

3.5 First page of Aristophanes's *Plutus* in [Charles Girard,] *Aristophanis Poetae Comici Plutus, iam nunc per Carolum Girardum Biturricum et Latinus factus, et Commentariis insuper sane quam utiliss. recens illustratus. Editio Prima* (Paris: Apud Mathurinum Dupuys, 1549) 89

5.1 Jacques Bongars's notes from Johannes Rosa's lectures on Herodotus, 1568. Burgerbibliothek Bern, MS 663.2, fol. 1^{r} 115

5.2 Jacques Bongars's notes from Johannes Rosa's lectures on Herodotus, 1568. Burgerbibliothek Bern, MS 663.2, fol. 2^{v} 120

5.3 Jacques Bongars's notes from Johannes Rosa's lectures on Herodotus, 1568. Burgerbibliothek Bern, MS 663.2, fol. 8^{v} 121

5.4 Jacques Bongars's notes from Johannes Rosa's lectures on Herodotus, 1568. Burgerbibliothek Bern, MS 663.2, fol. 9^{v} 122

6.1 Mosaic portrait of Theodore Metochites, founder of the Chora Monastery, presenting a model of the church to Jesus Christ: (datable before Easter 1321). Church of the Chora (Kariye Müzesi), Istanbul, inner narthex. Photo: Courtesy of Elena Gittleman 148

6.2 Maritime gate built with spolia. The reused materials include sixth-century marble slabs with foliation and a frieze with Justinian I's monogram. Marmara Sea Walls near the Boukoleon palace, Istanbul. Photo: Courtesy of Nicholas V. Artamonoff. From the the Nicholas V. Artamonoff Collection (PH.BZ.010) at the Image and Fieldwork Archives (ICFA) of Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Trustees for Harvard University, Washington, D.C. 161

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

6.3. Marble pedestal of the Obelisk of Theodosius I (r. 379–395), Istanbul. The fourth-century bas-reliefs depict Theodosius I, courtiers, senators, musicians, dancers, and spectators attending the chariot races in the hippodrome of Constantinople. Photo: courtesy of Nicholas V. Artamonoff. From the Nicholas V. Artamonoff Collection (PH.BZ.010) at the Image and Fieldwork Archives (ICFA) of Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Trustees for Harvard University, Washington, D.C. 163

6.4 Aqueduct of Valens (*c.*373), Istanbul. Photo: Courtesy of Nicholas V. Artamonoff. From the Nicholas V. Artamonoff Collection (PH.BZ.010) at the Image and Fieldwork Archives (ICFA) of Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Trustees for Harvard University, Washington, D.C. 165

7.1 Anonymous Byzantine artist, six Gospel scenes (Last Supper, Washing of the Feet, Sermon in the Garden, Capture of Christ, Flagellation, and Way of the Cross), icon, *c.*1320. Thessalonike, Vlatadon Monastery. Photo after Panagiotis Vokotopoulos, *Βυζαντινές εικόνες* (Athens: Εκδοτική Αθηνών, 1995) 178

7.2 Anonymous Venetian artist, diptych of Andrew III of Hungary, *c.*1290, from the Benedictine monastery of Königsfelden. Historisches Museum, Bern. Photo: Courtesy of Historisches Museum, Bern 179

7.3 Venetian artist, Crucifixion and other Gospel and hagiographical scenes, early fourteenth century. Whereabouts unknown. Photo: Petra Meschede, *Bilderzählungen in der kölnischen Malerei des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts. Eine Untersuchung zum Bildtypus und zur Funktion* (Paderborn: Bonifatius, 1994) 182

7.4 Venetian artist, Crucifixion, Virgin Mary, and sixteen Gospel scenes, early fourteenth century. Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für byzantinische Kunst. Photo: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz 183

7.5 Venetian artist, diptych with Gospel scenes, early fourteenth century. Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, Va. Photo: Courtesy of the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, Adolph D. and Wilkins C. Williams Fund/Travis Fullerton 184

7.6 Cypriot artist, Diptych with Gospel scenes, late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. Byzantine Museum, Nicosia. Photo: Courtesy of the Byzantine Museum-Archbishop Makarios III Foundation, Nicosia 186

8.1 Pisanello, medal of John VIII Palaeologus, *c.*1438–1443. Obverse. Cast bronze. Diameter: 10.27 cm. National Gallery, Washington, D.C. Inv. A.169-1910 194

8.2 Anonymous, carnival choir with Lorenzo de' Medici. From *Canzone per andare in maschera per carnesciale facte da piu persone* ([Florence]: [Johann Petri], [*c.*1490–1497]) 195

8.3 Antonio Averlino (Filarete), the embarking of Emperor John VIII Palaeologus, scenes of the Council of Ferrara-Florence under Eugene IV, detail of the bronze door of St. Peter, 1445, Vatican 198

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

8.4 Tobias Stimmer, portraits of nine Greek émigrés. From Paolo Giovio, *Elogia virorum literis illustrium* (Basel: Petri Pernae Typographi, 1577) 203
8.5 Portrait of Manuel Chrysoloras, attributed to the Florentine artist Paolo Uccello (1397–1475). The drawing accompanies the Latin translation of Ptolemy's *Geography*. Musée du Louvre (Paris), INV9849-Bis-recto. Photo: RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre) / Thierry Le Mage 204
8.6 Tobias Stimmer, portrait of Manuel Chrysoloras. From Paolo Giovio, *Elogia virorum literis illustrium* (Basel: Petri Pernae Typographi, 1577) 205
8.7 Sandro Botticelli (1445–1510), portrait of Michael Tarchaniota Marullus, *c.*1497. Tempera on wood (transferred to canvas). 48.9 × 35 cm. Colección Guardans Cambó/The Guardans Cambó Family, Barcelona 207
8.8 Tobias Stimmer, portrait of Michael Tarchaniota Marullus. From Paolo Giovio, *Elogia virorum literis illustrium* (Basel: Petri Pernae Typographi, 1577) 208
8.9 Different portraits (mostly of Manuel Chrysoloras), ranked by similarity from left to right. Web interface by Masato Takami, Peter Bell, and Björn Ommer 209
14.1 Cyriac of Ancona (*c.*1391–*c.*1452), relief of the Eumenides from Argolis, Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Codex Trotti 373, fol. 114^{r} Photo: Michail Chatzidakis, *Ciriaco d'Ancona und die Wiederentdeckung Griechenlands im 15. Jh.* (Petersberg: M. Imhof, 2017), p. 335 332
14.2 Pirro Ligorio's map of Greece (1561). From Cornelis de Jode, *Speculum orbis terrarium* (Antwerp: Arnold Coninx, 1593) 333
14.3 Ancient athletes bouncing weights (*halteristarii*) in Mercuriale's *De arte gymnastica libri sex* (Venice: Giunta, 1573), p. 120 340
14.4 Pirro Ligorio (1513–1583), drawing of the *halteristarii*. Archivio di Stato di Torino, MS a. II. J. 17 (Vol. 30), fol. 18^{r}. From: Caterina Volpi, *Il libro dei disegni di Pirro Ligorio: all'Archivio di Stato di Torino* (Turin: Edizioni dell'Elefante, 1994), pp. 108–09, no. 30 341
14.5 Sebastiano Filippi (Bastianino) (1532–1606), fresco depicting *halteristarii, c.*1570–1575. Salone dei Giochi, Castello Estense, Ferrara. From Jadranca Bentini, Luig Spezzaferro, and Adriano Prosperi (eds.), *L'impresa di Alfonso II. Saggi e documenti sulla produzione artistica a Ferrara nel secondo Cinquecento* (Bologna: Nuova Alfa, 1987), p. 100 341
14.6 Attic red-figure column crater, attributed to the painter Myson, *c.*480 BC. Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum. Source: Photographic collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, Calif. 342
14.7 Mosaic of the "bikini girls", fourth century. Villa Romana del Casale, Piazza Armerina (Sicily). Photo: Yann Forget. From *Le Musée absolu* (Paris: Phaidon, 2012) 343

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

14.8 Pirro Ligorio (1513–1583), drawing of the *askoliazontes* (ἀσκωλιάζοντες). Archivio di Stato di Torino, MS a. II. J. 17 (Vol. 30), fol. 51r. From: Caterina Volpi, *Il libro dei disegni di Pirro Ligorio: all'Archivio di Stato di Torino* (Turin: Edizioni dell'Elefante, 1994), pp. 172–73, no. 75 344

14.9 Ancient gem with the *askoliazontes* in Ignazio Maria Raponi's (1748–1796) *Recueil des pierres antiques gravées* (Rome: Bouchard & Gravier, 1786), Pl. XI, Fig. 14 345

15.1 Hubertus Goltzius, "Magna Graecia et Italiae pars" (map). Engraving, folio (32.5 × 23 cm). From *Sicilia et Magna Graecia* [...] (Bruges: Hubertus Goltzius, 1576) 360

15.2 Hubertus Goltzius, "Auctor lectori". Engraving, folio (32.5 × 23 cm). Detail. From *Sicilia et Magna Graecia* [...] (Bruges: Hubertus Goltzius, 1576), p. C4 365

15.3 Hubertus Goltzius, "Tabula XXIII: VIII, TEPINAIΩN". Engraving, folio (32.5 × 23 cm). Detail. From *Sicilia et Magna Graecia* [...] (Bruges: Hubertus Goltzius, 1576), p. XXV, D 366

15.4 Goltzius, "Tabula XXXI: IIII, METAΠONTIΩN". Engraving, folio (32.5 × 23 cm). Detail. From *Sicilia et Magna Graecia* [...] (Bruges: Hubertus Goltzius, 1576), p. XXXIII, E 366

15.5a Goltzius, "Tabulae XXVIII–XXIX : VII,VIII, I, X, II, III, KPOTΩNIATAN". Engraving, folio (32.5 × 23 cm). Detail. From *Sicilia et Magna Graecia* [...] (Bruges: Hubertus Goltzius, 1576), pp. XXX–XXXI 367

15.5b LRTB: ***1.*** Stater (430–370 BC). Obv.: Hera frontal. Rev: Hercules, seated on rock covered with lion-skin; holding cup and club; below, bow. Material: AR. Weight: 8. Axis: 6. Width: 21. III Lockett Collection, ID: SNGuk_0300_0630. ***2.*** Stater (430–370 BC). Obv.: Hera frontal. Rev: Hercules, seated on rock covered with lion-skin; holding cup; tripod, bow and club. Material: AR. Weight: 8. Axis: 7. Width: 20. ID: SNGuk_0300_0629. ***3.*** Stater (400–375 BC). Obv.: Apollo. Rev: Tripod, filleted branch. Material: AR. Weight: 7. Axis: 7. Width: 20. III Lockett Collection, ID: SNGuk_0300_0633. ***4.*** Stater (430–300 BC). Obv.: Hera wearing polos decorated with forepart of griffin and palmettes. Rev: Herakles seated on rock covered with lion's skin; holds cap in extended r. hand and club in l.; below, bow. Material: AR. Weight: 8. Axis: 12. Width: 25. VII Manchester University Museum, ID: SNGuk_0700_0319. ***5.*** Stater (530–430 BC). Obv: Tripod. Rev: Tripod incuse. Material: AR. Weight: 8. Axis: 12. Width: 28. I Spencer-Churchill Collection, ID: SNGuk_0101a0019. ***6.*** Stater (400–375 BC). Obv: Apollo r. Rev: Hercules, on cushions, strangling snakes. Material: AR. Weight: 7. Axis: 1. Width: 21. III Lockett Collection, ID: SNGuk_0300_0631. All available online via *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* (<sylloge-nummorum-graecorum.org>) 368

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

15.6a Hubertus Goltzius, "Tabulae XXVIII: I–II, ΚΑΥΛΩΝΙΑΤΑΝ". Engraving, folio (32.5 × 23 cm). Detail. From *Sicilia et Magna Graecia* [...] (Bruges: Hubertus Goltzius, 1576), p. XXX 369

15.6b Stater from Caulonia (530–470 BC). Obv: Apollo Catharsius, holding lustral branch in right hand and running figure on outstreached left; to the right, stag on a base. Rev: Stag, ranch. Material: AR. Weight: 8. Axis: 9. Width: 20. III Lockett Collection, ID: SNGuk_0300_0586 369

15.7 Hubertus Goltzius, "Ti. Claudius Caesar Augustus". Engraving, folio (32.5 × 23 cm). From *Vivae omnium fere imperatorum imagines* [...] (Antwerp: Gillis Coppens van Diest, 1557), p. V 370

15.8 Goltzius's inscription in the *Album amicorum* of Janus Dousa (1545–1604) (Bruges, 1576), fol. 94r. Leiden University Library, Special Collections, BPL 1406 375

Tables

2.1 Greek studies and humanism in Paris (1490–1540) 66

5.1 Spelling mistakes in Jacques Bongars's notes on Herodotus 122

16.1 Centres of Greek writing in Germany, according to Georg Lizel 401

17.1 The subjects of printed Greek disputations in Germany and Sweden 426

17.2 The subjects of printed Greek orations from the Swedish kingdom 429

17.3 Metres in printed occasional texts and paratexts (1632–1734) 436

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Abbreviations

ACAn	Archivio comunale di Ancona
ADAn	Archivio diocesano di Ancona
ADB	*Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* edited by Historische Commission bei der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Vols. 1–56. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1875–1912 (repr. 1967–1971).
ADF	Archivio diocesano di Fano
ANAn	Archivio notarile di Ancona
ANR	Archivio notarile di Recanati
APCG	Archivio del Pontificio Collegio Greco di S. Anastasio
ASAn	Archivio di Stato di Ancona
ASCPs	Archivio Storico del Comune di Pesaro
ASF	Archivio di Stato di Fano
ASMc	Archivio di Stato di Macerata
AST	Archivio di Stato di Torino
BAV	Biblioteca apostolica vaticana
BH XV–XVI	*Bibliographie hellénique des XV^e^ et XVI^e^ siècles ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés en grec par des Grecs aux XV^e^ et XVI^e^ siècles, accompagnée de notices biographiques, tables chronologiques, notes, documents et index*, edited by Émile Legrand. 4 vols. Paris: Leroux (vols I–II), Maisonneuve (vol. III), Guilmoto (vol. IV), 1885–1906. The final volume was edited by Hubert Pernot.
BH XVII	*Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés en grec par des Grecs au XVII^e^ siècle* edited by Émile Legrand. 5 vols. Paris: Picard (vols I–IV), Maisonneuve & Guilmoto (vol. V), 1894–1903.
BL	British Library, London
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
BNN	Biblioteca nazionale di Napoli
BNVEN	Biblioteca nazionale Vittorio Emanuele, Naples
BOPs	Biblioteca Oliveriana Pesaro
BPR	Biblioteca del Palacio Real, Madrid
BSB	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich
CENSUS	*Census of Antique Works of Art and Architecture Known to the Renaissance*, edited by Arnold Nesselrath et al. Online: <census.de>.
CGL	*Corpus glossariorum latinorum*, edited by Georgius Goetz et al. 7 vols. Leipzig: Teubner, 1888–1923 (repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1965).
CIG	*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, edited by August Böckh et al. 5 vols. Berlin: Ex officina academica, 1828–1877.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, edited by Theodor Mommsen et al. 17 vols. Berlin: De Gruyter (before 1925 Reimer), 1862–1955.
DBI	*Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*. Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960–. Online: <treccani.it/biografie>.
EH	*L'Europe des Humanistes* (*XIV^e–XVII^e siècles*), edited by Jean-François Maillard et al. Paris: CNRS Editions / Turnhout: Brepols, 1995.
FH	*La France des Humanistes: Hellénistes*, edited by Jean-François Maillard et al. 2 vols. Turnhout: Brepols, 1999–2010.
GL	*Grammatici Latini*, edited by Heinrich Keil. 8 vols. Leipzig: Teubner, 1855–1880 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 2007).
HAAB	Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, Weimar.
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*, edited by Adolf Kirchhoff et al. 49 vols. Berlin: Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1873–.
IGF	*Inscriptions grecques de la France*, edited by Jean-Claude Decourt. Lyon: Jean Pouilloux, 2004.
IGUR	*Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae*, edited by Luigi Moretti. 4 vols. Rome: Istituto italiano per la storia antica, 1968–1960.
NBF	*National Biography of Finland*. Online: <kansallisbiografia.fi>.
NDB	*Neue Deutsche Biographie*. Online: <deutsche-biographie.de>
PG	*Patrologiae cursus completus* [...] *series Graeca*, edited by Jacques-Paul Migne. 161 vols. Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1844–1903.
RA	Riksarkivet (= Sweden State Archives)
SBL	*Svenskt biografiskt lexicon*. Online: <sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl>.
TLA	Tallinna Linnaarhiiv (= Tallinn City Archives)
UUL	Uppsala University Library
VD16 / VD17	Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts. Online: <vd16.de>.
VD18	Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 18. Jahrhunderts. Online: <vd18.de>.
VL16	*Frühe Neuzeit in Deutschland 1520–1620. Literaturwissenschaftliches Verfasserlexikon*, edited by Wilhelm Kühlmann et al. Berlin/Boston, Mass.: De Gruyter, 2011–.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Contributors

The Editors

Natasha Constantinidou
(Ph.D. University of Edinburgh, 2006) is Assistant Professor in European History at the University of Cyprus. She was previously Research and Teaching Fellow at the University of St Andrews. She is interested in early modern intellectual history and history of the book. Her recent publications include *Responses to Religious Division, c. 1580–1620. Public and Private, Divine and Temporal* (2017) and a number of papers on sixteenth-century Greek printing.

Han Lamers
(Ph.D. Leiden University, 2013) is Associate Professor at the Department of Philosophy, Classics, and the History of Art and Ideas of the University of Oslo (Norway). His publications include *Greece Reinvented: Transformations of Byzantine Hellenism in Renaissance Italy* (2015). He recently also edited a collection of essays on the history of Greek learning in early modern Europe for the *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* (Volume 25, Issue 3).

The Authors

Aslıhan Akışık-Karakullukçu
(Ph.D. Harvard University, 2013) is Adjunct Lecturer at Bahçeşehir University, Istanbul, Turkey. She studied History (Brown University) and History and Middle Eastern Studies (Harvard). Recent publications include "A Question of Audience: Laonikos Chalkokondyles' Hellenism" in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (2019).

Michele Bacci
(Ph.D. Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, 1999) is Full Professor of Medieval Art at Fribourg University (Switzerland). He was previously Associate Professor at Siena University (Italy). His recent publications include *The Many Faces of Christ* (2014) and *The Mystic Cave: A History of the Nativity Church in Bethlehem* (2017).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Malika Bastin-Hammou
(Ph.D. Université de Toulouse, 2002) is Professor of Greek Literature at Grenoble-Alpes University (France). She studied Classics at the École Normale Supérieure (Paris). Her recent publications include *Traductions latines du théâtre grec* (2015).

Peter Bell
(Ph.D. Marburg University, 2011) is Assistant Professor of Digital Humanities with a focus on Art History at the Friedrich-Alexander-University Erlangen-Nuremberg (Germany). He was Postdoctoral Fellow and research group leader at the Heidelberg Academy of Science and Humanities. Recent publications include *Getrennte Brüder und antike Ahnen. Repräsentation der Griechen in der italienischen Kunst zur Zeit der Kirchenunion, 1438–1472* (2015).

Michail Chatzidakis
(Ph.D. Humboldt University of Berlin, 2012) is Postdoctoral Fellow at the Institute of Art and Visual Studies at the Humboldt University of Berlin (Germany) and Research Assistant in the project "Bildkritik und pragmatische Bildkultur im europäischen Mittelalter. Die *Libri Carolini* und die europäische Bildkunst". He studied Classics, History, Archaeology, and Art History in Crete (Rethymnon University) and Berlin (Humboldt University). Recent publications include *Ciriaco d'Ancona und die Wiederentdeckung Griechenlands im 15. Jahrhundert* (2017).

Federica Ciccolella
(Dottorato di Ricerca, Università di Torino, 1991; Ph.D. Columbia University, 2004) is Professor of Classics at Texas A&M University (U.S.A.). She has published on Byzantine poetry and metrics, late antique epistolography, and the revival of Greek studies in the West (*Donati Graeci*, 2008; *Teachers, Students, and Schools of Greek in the Renaissance*, co-edited with Luigi Silvano, 2017).

Calliope Dourou
(Ph.D. Harvard University, 2019) is Preceptor in Modern Greek at the Department of Classics of Harvard University (U.S.A.). She studied Classics (Aristotle University of Thessalonike, Tufts University) and Modern Greek Literature (Harvard University). Recent publications include "Evangelising Zeus: The *Iliad* According to Loukanes" (2019).

Anthony Ellis
(Ph.D. University of Edinburgh, 2013), is an SNF Postdoctoral Scholar at the University of Bern (Switzerland), where he works on the reception of Josephus

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

in medieval Latin Europe. He studied Classics at the Universities of Edinburgh and Oxford. Recent publications include "Herodotus Magister Vitae: or Herodotus and God in the Protestant Reformation" in *God in History: Reading and Rewriting Herodotean Theology from Plutarch to the Renaissance*, which he also edited (2015).

Niccolò Fattori

(Ph.D. Royal Holloway, University of London, 2017) studied Political Science and International Relations (Bologna) and Middle Eastern Studies (Ankara). He is the author of a monograph entitled *Migration and Communityin the Early Modern Mediterranean: The Greeks of Ancona* (2019).

Maria Luisa Napolitano

(Ph.D. University of Naples, Federico II, 2001 and 2011) is Doctor of Philosophy in Ancient History and in the History of European Society. She is currently Honorary Fellow of the Department of Humanistic Studies at the Federico II University. Previously, she was Adjunct Professor of Greek History there (2011–2015). Her research interests include Greek history and the antiquarian historiography of Renaissance Europe. Among her recent publications are *Hubertus Goltzius and Magna Graecia* (2012) and "Hubertus Goltzius, *totius antiquitatis restaurator*: Numismatics and Ancient History" (2017).

Janika Päll

(PhD Tartu University, 2007) is Professor at the Department of Classical Philology in the College of Foreign Languages and Cultures of Tartu University and Senior Research Fellow at the Research Center of Tartu University Library (Estonia). She studied Classics (Tartu, Lausanne) and Music (Tallinn). Recent publications include "Humanist Greek in Early Modern Estonia and Livonia: The Contexts and Principal Genres" in *Hellenostephanos. Humanist Greek in Early Modern Europe* (2018), which she co-edited with Ivo Volt.

Luigi-Alberto Sanchi

(Ph.D. Scuola Superiore di Studi Storici, San Marino, 2004) is Senior Researcher at the Institut d'histoire du droit, CNRS, Paris (France). He studied Classics at the University of Bologna. Recently, he published a critical edition with a French translation of Guillaume Budé's *De Asse et partibus eius*, books I–III (2018).

Niketas Siniossoglou

(Ph.D. Cambridge University, 2005) is Research Associate at the National Hellenic Research Foundation (Athens). He studied Philosophy in Athens,

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Munich, and Cambridge. Recent publications include *The Cambridge Intellectual History of Byzantium* (2018), co-edited with Anthony Kaldellis.

William Stenhouse

(Ph.D. University College, London, 2002) teaches History at Yeshiva University, New York (U.S.A.). He works on the reception of antiquities in the late Renaissance and has published essays on the study of Greek material in *Ancient Models in the Early Modern Republican Imagination* (2017) and *Et Amicorum: Essays on Renaissance Humanism and Philosophy in Honour of Jill Kraye* (2018).

Paola Tomè

(Ph.D. Ca' Foscari University of Venice, 2012) was a Marie Curie Fellow in the Faculty of Medieval and Modern Languages at the University of Oxford (2015–2017). She studied Classics at the University of Padua (1989). Her research concentrated on Giovanni Tortelli (1400–1466) and his Latin lexicon on how to write Greek words in Latin script, *De Orthographia* (*c.*1452). She also worked on translations from Greek into Latin printed in the Veneto region in the fifteenth century, as well as on the whole grammatical tradition from Antiquity to the Renaissance. She was the author of a monograph on Tortelli (2012), co-editor of a volume on the life and work of Remigio Sabbadini (2016), and she published a number of papers in major international journals, including *Revue d'Histoire des Textes, Lexis, Miscellanea Apostolica Vaticana*, and *Studi sul Boccaccio*. Paola Tomè died on 24 December 2017.

Raf Van Rooy

(Ph.D. KU Leuven, 2017) is Postdoctoral Fellow of the Research Foundation—Flanders (FWO) at KU Leuven (Flanders, Belgium). He has degrees in Classics, General Linguistics, and History from KU Leuven, UCLouvain, and Ghent University, and specialises in the premodern history of linguistics and Greek studies. He recently co-authored the essay "Studying Ancient Greek at the Old University of Leuven", available in Dutch, English, and French.

Stefan Weise

(Dr. phil. Halle-Wittenberg University, 2013) is *Juniorprofessor* at the School of Humanities of the University of Wuppertal. He studied Greek and Latin Philology. His recent publications include the edited volume *HELLENISTI! Altgriechisch als Literatursprache im neuzeitlichen Europa* (2017).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

INTRODUCTION

Receptions of Hellenism in Early Modern Europe

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers

The revival of the interest in Greek culture in early modern Europe is commonly regarded as a watershed moment in Europe's cultural history. Greek texts were read, copied, and translated again; forgotten or lost texts were rediscovered and, eventually, put to the printing presses; their contents were eagerly scrutinised and commented upon; Greek examples and models were self-consciously emulated in new works of art, literature, and thought. After centuries of disregard, summed up in the medieval proverb *Graeca sunt, non leguntur*, knowledge of Greek literature "returned" to the Latin West, or so the usual narrative goes, with the arrival of Manuel Chrysoloras (*c*.1350–1415) in Florence in 1397. However, this "return" was not so much a discrete moment as it was a gradual process of cultural adoption and adaptation, first in Italy and then north of the Alps, with French scholars taking the lead. This revival was not an uncontested triumph of Hellenism but an ongoing negotiation between different concerns and priorities. It was, in other words, not a mechanical one-way process of transmission from "Greek East" to "Latin West" but one that relied on individuals and groups with various, and sometimes conflicting, interests. The study of Greek was not equally welcomed by all. While many regarded it as a "new subject", opening exciting avenues of thought and expression, it also irritated some others who rather preferred to look to Rome or elsewhere for cultural, intellectual, or spiritual nourishment.[1]

The chapters collected in this book all deal, from various perspectives, with early modern receptions of Hellenism, with examples drawn from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries. Research on this subject has thus far been largely fragmented and scattered over various disciplines and fields of research, including (post-)Byzantine and Hellenic studies, the history of the classical tradition, Neo-Latin literature, national or vernacular literatures (particularly Italian and English studies), classical studies and philology, visual culture, cultural history, intellectual history, the history of political thought, and bibliography and book history. The book's title evokes "reception" and "Hellenism". The former, as we understand it here, refers, in the plural, to the different modes both of receiving Hellenism and of responding to it. Responses

1 For Greek as a "new subject", see Jardine and Grafton (1986).

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2020 | DOI:10.1163/9789004402461_002
Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

to Hellenism were notoriously varied; they could be passionate and welcoming or anxious and hostile. Modes of reception could be just as varied, including transmission and dissemination, interpretation and translation, use and appropriation, as well as selection, censorship, and even rejection. The term Hellenism is used in a similarly broad sense encompassing—*in nuce*—Greeks, Greece, and Greek: the classical as well as the Byzantine, and even the post-Byzantine, traditions; the material culture associated with them, including books, artistic objects, and artefacts of diverse kinds; the Greek language (ancient and vernacular, as well as what some authors have called "humanist Greek"), as well as people claiming, or being assigned, Greek identities.[2] This understanding of Hellenism is deliberately inclusive. The purpose of this book is not so much to strictly define early modern Hellenism or restrict its possible receptions, but rather to catalyse a more concerted debate about the scope and limits of what we understand as our field of study, which has usually been defined, or rather confined, by disciplinary boundaries and personal interests rather than an over-arching understanding of Hellenism as a multifaceted phenomenon.[3]

This volume is, therefore, above all a "statement of diversity", which offers a kaleidoscopic overview of some current areas of research.[4] Although most contributors share a background in classical scholarship, they come from a range of departments within the humanities.[5] They raise diverse questions related to their areas of expertise (including social history, art and literary history, classical philology, and intellectual history) and bring their specific approaches and methodologies to their topics. Geographically, the contributors' combined expertise covers both better-known centres of early modern Hellenism together with areas less usually studied in histories of the topic: Italy, France, the Low Countries, the Baltic region, the German-speaking areas, and the Greek diaspora, as well as the Greek-speaking world, the latter of which is, perhaps surprisingly, rarely included in discussions of the reception of early modern Hellenism. The chapters of this book address some lacunae in the scholarship while reflecting a number of others, but they do not purport to offer a complete overview of the status of the field. We have conceived this volume

2 For a first very brief overview of how the term has been used in early modern studies, see Lamers (2018a).

3 We should also note, at this point, that in the volume we use the terms Greek and Hellenic interchangeably, unless an early modern author has a specific ideological preference for one of the two terms.

4 We owe this formulation to Hélène Cazes, who participated in the workshop "Greece, Greek, and Greeks in the Renaissance, ca. 1400–1700: Definitions and approaches", organised by the editors (13 December 2015, Nicosia, Cyprus).

5 See the Contributors, pp. xix–xxii.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

as a varied source of inspiration rather than a companion or a handbook, as an invitation to approach the early modern receptions of Hellenism in a more inclusive and more diversified manner which will eventually lead to a deeper evaluation of the impact of this reception in many areas of early modern culture.

In the following section we will offer a brief overview of the scholarship on the early modern receptions of Hellenism before introducing the chapters of this book individually and explaining some of the threads uniting them. We will move from the difficult process of learning the Greek language and the precarious transmission and dissemination of the Greek heritage to the many ways in which Hellenism mattered to at least some people of this period, and how Hellenism was shaped both by different cultural, ideological, and confessional interests and by various kinds of encounters between "Greek East" and "Latin West".

1 Mapping the Scholarship

The early modern period is singularly important for the history of Hellenism, mainly because it saw the conditions of the reception and perception of Greek culture transformed by shifts in relations between the "Latin West" and "Greek East".[6] From a political point of view, diplomatic contacts intensified mainly in response to the Ottoman advance into Byzantine territories, which climaxed with the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the annexation of the Despotate of the Morea in the early 1460s, followed, in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, by the fall of the last Greek islands. Even if diplomatic rapprochements were often half-hearted, changing cultural contacts between the "Greek East" and "Latin West" had more lasting effects, especially on the Latin side. As Kenneth Setton observed: "Greek was not only becoming necessary in the affairs of church and state, it was also becoming fashionable".[7] The intensified influx of Greek manuscripts and scholars in the fifteenth century

6 This is not tantamount to saying that Greek learning, or contacts between the Greek East and Latin West, were entirely absent during the Middle Ages, even if perceptions have been otherwise. See already Setton (1956), emphasising continuity rather than rupture between the Middle Ages and early Renaissance in this regard. On the subject of medieval Hellenism in the Latin West, Berschin's work is still essential (Berschin 1980 in German; Berschin 1988 in English; Berschin 1989 in Italian). On the subject, also see the papers collected in Herren (1988) and Kaczynski (1988) on the Carolingian age in particular. Ziolkowski (2014) specifically deals with Dante and Greek culture. More recent contributions include, importantly, Boulhol (2014: 13–148), with a very rich bibliography.

7 Setton (1956: 69).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

and the reintroduction of Greek to the Western curriculum, which had been more or less completed by the end of the century, deeply changed Western perceptions of the Greek world and of its history and, to a certain degree, also of its own culture and history. During the same period, the printing press was accelerating the dissemination not only of Greek works, both pagan and Christian, but also of their translations into Latin and into different European vernacular languages, making them available to an ever broadening readership.

Language, books, and transmission. "It was to Italy that Greek returned first", Gilbert Highet wrote in *The Classical Tradition* (1949), "and it was in Italy that the first of the discoveries were made, the first and most stimulating of all".[8] Indeed, the "return of Greek culture" has for a long time been understood mainly in connection with the cultural programme of the Italian Renaissance. Emphasis has consequently been on the ways in which, in the long fifteenth century, interest in Greek learning was revived as part of a general "revival" of classical culture in Italian humanism, from Petrarch (1304–1374) and Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375), via Coluccio Salutati (1331–1407), Guarino of Verona (1374–1460), and Angelo Poliziano (1454–1494) to Pietro Bembo (1470–1547) and his generation, often in close collaboration with Greek-speaking scholars (see below). For the situation north of the Alps, on the other hand, our knowledge about the history of Greek learning is overall more fragmented, and general surveys are almost entirely absent. We have a better understanding of the more centralised—and thus easier to approach—French context than the politically and culturally fragmented German areas. Studies of the Netherlandish, English, and Scandinavian milieus are quite uneven, though growing.[9] Even in

8 Highet (2015: 81).

9 Concise recent discussions of the return of Greek learning to the Latin West in English are Benzoni (2002); Celenza (2009); Hankins (2003–2004); Kraye (2016); Pontani (2014); Sandy (2014) (but see also n. 6 above on the understudied medieval context). An essential overview in Italian is Cortesi (1995). Saladin (2000) offers a Europe-wide overview (to be consulted with Anna Pontani's review in *Aevum*, 76, no. 3, 2002, 852–67, also relevant to the revised 2004 edition). The most recent investigation of the ways in which Greek knowledge transformed early modern European culture is Abbamonte & Harrison (2019). More in particular for the French context, see among others Boulhol (2014); Delaruelle (1922); Irigoin (1998); Reverdin (1984); Sandy (2002c); Sandy (2018); Silver (1961–1987), as well as Malika Bastin-Hammou's and Luigi-Alberto Sanchi's contributions to this volume (with the extensive references there). For the German situation, see among others Ben-Tov (2009); Flood (2003); Harlfinger (1989); Holzberg (1981); Johnson (2006); Kipf (1999); Ludwig (1998); Rhein (1996); Rhein (1997); Rhein (2017); Sicherl (1987); Springer (2011), as well as the contributions by Anthony Ellis, Stefan Weise, and Federica Ciccolella in this volume, with their references. For the Low Countries, see Gerretzen (1940); Van Rooy & Van Hal (2018), as well as the vast literature on Erasmus. See also Van Rooy's chapter in this volume, with his references. Work on the English context has mainly focused on the reception of Greek learning in English

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

the relatively well-studied Italian context there remains much to learn, as the recent volume edited by Federica Ciccolella and Luigi Silvano demonstrates—among other things, the role of the Italian connection with "Venetian Greece" and the situation before and after the Quattrocento remain underexplored.[10] Focal areas of this branch of scholarship have been the transmission of Greek texts to the Latin West, the history of learning and teaching Greek as well as Greek scholarship, and the theory and practice of translation from Greek both into Latin and into the vernaculars.[11]

Recent years have seen a rapidly growing interest in the history of teaching and learning Greek in particular. Studies in this area have shown that the revival of Greek studies cannot be reduced to "Italian humanism"; rather, they suggest that it "started independently and differently from Florence in areas of the Mediterranean where the interchanges between Greek and Western cultures were intense".[12] In conjunction with this idea of a decentralised

literature. See, among others, Considine (2002); Demetriou & Pollard (2017); Joby (2018); Lazarus (2015a); Lazarus (2015b); Milne (2007); Quantin (2008); Raisch (2016); Rhodes (2013); Rhodes (2015); Stump (1983). For the Iberian Peninsula see also Bataillon (1966) and O'Connel (2006). For some aspects of Greek in the Scandinavian (Swedish) and Baltic (Estonian and Livonian) areas, see, e.g., Korhonen (2010) and Päll (2010) as well as Janika Päll's chapter in this volume. For the Eastern European context, see mainly the relevant chapters in Martirosova Torlone, La Course & Dutsch (2017), with the references there.

10 Ciccolella & Silvano (2017: ix–xii).

11 The standard reference points for Greek scholarship in the early modern period, with an emphasis on the Italian context, are Geanakoplos (1962); Monfasani (1976); Monfasani (1995); Monfasani (2004); Reynolds & Wilson (2013); Wilson (2000); Wilson (2017); and the standard histories of classical philology: Sandys (1908) and Pfeiffer (1976). On scribes involved in the reproduction of Greek manuscripts, see esp. Vogel & Gardthausen (1909), with several later supplements, and especially Gamillscheg *et al.* (1981–1997). For scholarship on the Byzantine Greek scholars involved, esp. in the Italian Quattrocento, see also n. 68, below. Significant studies regarding the teaching of Greek have steadily been appearing: recently, Ciccolella (2008); Botley (2010); Ciccolella & Silvano (2017); but see also the earlier pioneering article by Pertusi (1962). For some more recent work on the practice of Latin translation see Deligiannis (2017) with specific chapters on the use of translation as a learning method (e.g., Bastin-Hammou and Sidwell) and lexicography (Furno). The best survey of translations and commentaries of Greek authors (up to 600) is to be found in the volumes of *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum: Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries. Annotated Lists and Guides*, covering the period from antiquity itself to 1600. Surveys for specific regions and authors are also available in the recently completed online projects "Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: Online Catalogue of Translations in Britain, 1473–1640" and "Vernacular Aristotelianism in Renaissance Italy, *c.*1400–1650". On this subject, see also Demetriou & Tomlinson (2015); Merisalo (2015); Constantinidou (forthcoming c).

12 Ciccolella & Silvano (2017: x). See the extensive bibliography there, mainly for the Italian context.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

process, scholars have demonstrated that there was no single authoritative teaching method that was universally applied during this period; instead, individual teachers often produced their own tools and developed their own specific pedagogical methodologies, building on the traditions from which they came and adapting them to the specific needs of their audience. Our understanding of the range of teaching methods and learning tools will only expand now that scholars are increasingly turning their attention to hubs of Greek learning outside the Italian peninsula.[13]

A specific issue relating to the access to and dissemination of Greek learning which has also attracted more scholarly interest in recent decades is that of Greek printing, obviously pivotal to the dissemination of Greek literature.[14] Scholarship has paid attention to specific printers as well as specific editions, primarily in the Italian and French contexts, with Aldus Manutius (1449–1515) faring better than most of his colleagues.[15] While a great deal of attention has been given to the development of Greek fonts, researchers are also reconsidering the position of scholarly printers and editors as members of the humanist intellectual circles and their role in the dissemination of Greek knowledge.[16] Research in this area provides interesting insights regarding the diffusion of Greek learning, the extent to which it was integrated into the various levels of education and culture, and the audiences Greek editions were aimed at beyond the strictly humanist ones that are more familiar to scholars. The

13 Cf. Federica Ciccolella and Luigi Silvano's forthcoming volume on the history of Greek studies north of the Alps (working title: *Graecia transvolavit Alpes: The Study of Greek in Early Modern Europe*).

14 For Greek printing in general, see Proctor (1900) (still fundamental, even if it is now obviously out-dated in many respects) and, more recently, Koumarianou, Droulia & Layton (1986); Layton (1994); Staïkos (1998), to be consulted with M. Davies' review in *The Library*, 7th series, no. 1, 2008, pp. 454–55; and Jones (2004: 130–94). For the incunabular editions of individual Greek authors, see esp. Mazal (2003: 1, 85–334). On the Roman context of early Greek printing, see most recently Bianca, Delle Donne, Ferreri & Gaspari (2017). For Greek printing at Basel, see Hieronymus (1992). Apart from general studies, there are also detailed case studies of individual early printed editions, e.g., recently, Fogelmark's monumental study of Kallierges's 1515 edition of Pindar (Fogelmark 2015).

15 On Aldus, see primarily Barker (1975); Barker (1985); Barker (1992); Davies (1975); Davies (1995); Davies (1999); Hexter (1998); Lowry (1979); Wilson (2016). On his Greek collaborators, see in particular Staïkos & Kaklamanis (2016) as well as Geanakoplos (1962). A number of conferences and exhibitions were organised on the fifth centenary of his death in 2015, accompanied by a number of (projected) publications; for an overview see <cerl.org/collaboration/manutius_network_2015/main> (accessed 6/3/2018). See also Paola Tomè's chapter in this book, with her references.

16 On Greek fonts see, e.g., Tinto (1970); Barker (1992); Layton (1994); Vervliet (2008) as well as Raisch (2017). On the role of individual printers, see Armstrong (1954); Boers (1984); Constantinidou (2018); Constantinidou (forthcoming b); Hilgert (1971); Manutius (1975); Wilson (2016); and the *France des Humanistes* series.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

full range and size of the production of early modern Greek publications has not yet been fully charted in any of the relevant geographical contexts, which makes a comprehensive understanding of the impact of Greek printing impossible at this stage.[17]

Texts, canons, and interpretations. Scholars have also examined what was transmitted and why, and how scholars studied and interpreted the works in which they were interested. This line of study, embedded in the history of scholarship, helps us understand which texts were read and studied most intensely during the period, and how scholarly emphases and literary tastes changed over time and from place to place. Traditionally, much work has been done on the reception of ancient Greek philosophy, especially Plato and Aristotle, chiefly in the context of Italian humanism, where the interpretation of the two philosophers became central to the intellectual antagonism between proponents of the one and the other.[18] More recently, there has been heightened interest in the role of learned commentaries in the diffusion of Greek literature in various domains of early modern culture such as philosophy, medicine, history, and law.[19]

Meanwhile, however, research is moving beyond the authors perceived as most prominent and is producing new insights about the early modern preoccupation with Greek literature. For instance, Plutarch has been shown to have been an eminently popular author during the Renaissance—a popularity that stands in contrast to that of Greek historians such as Herodotus or Thucydides, or indeed Greek dramatists such as Aeschylus or Euripides.[20] Similarly, new research has been pointing to the perhaps less widely expected use and popularity of Aristophanes and Lucian,[21] while the commonly acknowledged popularity and reception of Homer is also undergoing a scholarly "revival" in recent years.[22] Additionally, scholars have been exploring the reception history

17 Since no serious bibliographical study on this topic has been produced, scholars still rely on the—by now—outdated *BH* by Émile Legrand, in conjunction with national or specialised bibliographies. A more inclusive catalogue (albeit still partly incomplete with regards to the Greek editions) is the Universal Short Title Catalogue Project, based in St Andrews (<ustc.ac.uk>). See also Constantinidou (2015).

18 On this controversy, see mainly Hankins (1990) and Monfasani (2004).

19 Especially the commentary tradition of Aristotle has been discussed intensively, for which see esp. Bakker & Thijssen (2007); Di Liscia, Kessler & Methuen (1997); Lines (1999); Lowr (2000).

20 On the reception of Plutarch in the Italian Renaissance, see chiefly Pade (2007); for Plutarch as a historian (and other historians), see Cox Jensen (2018); for Thucydides see Harloe & Morley (2012).

21 Constantinidou (forthcoming c); for Lucian see, e.g., Robinson (1979), Lauvergnat-Gagniere (1988), Marsh (1998), and Raisch (2016); for Anacreon, O'Brien (1995).

22 See, e.g., Ford (2006); Pontani (2007); Wolfe (2015); Demetriou & Pollard (2017).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

of texts not normally considered "high" Greek literature, for example the epigrams of the Greek Anthology and the erotic romances of Hellenistic authors such as Chariton, Achilles Tatius, and Heliodorus,[23] as well as late antique literature such as Nonnus (and ps.-Nonnus).[24] In this way, we are gradually acquiring a better and ever more nuanced understanding of the scholarly priorities and tastes of early modern Hellenists and how these evolved over time, even though an over-arching assessment at this point would still be premature.

While modern readers of the Greek "classics" usually study pre-Christian, if not exclusively classical Greek literature, early modern readers did not think of the extant body of Greek writing in those terms. For them, ancient Greek literature from Christian contexts was also part of the "Greek archive" they were rediscovering and exploring so eagerly. As a matter of fact, interest in Greek learning was often closely tied up with theological concerns, especially beyond Italy. In the first half of the sixteenth century, a growing interest in the Greek New Testament and the Septuagint created the impetus for the establishment of trilingual colleges throughout Europe, intended to teach the three sacred languages (Hebrew, Greek, Latin) together.[25] Pagan texts were sometimes read alongside the Greek Church Fathers, as in Rutgerus Rescius's classes (*c.*1495–1545) in the Collegium Trilingue in Louvain;[26] this approach bore the mark of Erasmus's synthesis of classical and biblical humanism—the scholar himself was equally at home translating and interpreting both Lucian and Chrysostom.[27] But while pagan texts were often taught and read alongside texts by early Greek Church Fathers, in other cases study of patristic and

23 On the Greek anthology see, classically, Hutton (1935) and Hutton (1946). More recent work includes Temple (2018). On the Greek romance, see also Skretkowicz (2010).

24 On Nonnus's reception see, for example, Tissoni (2016), covering late antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance, together with Hernández de la Fuente (2016), discussing the author's reception in Baroque and modern literature. On the reception of his Paraphrase of the Gospel of John in the early modern period (1450–1770) in particular, see also Sieber (2015: 130–222).

25 For the Collegium Trilingue, see De Vocht (1951–1955) and Papy (2018); for the Collège royal, see Lefranc (1932); Fumaroli (1998), and Tuillier (2006). See also the forthcoming Brepols Lectio volume which will include papers from the 2017 conference on '*The Impact of Learning Greek, Hebrew and 'Oriental' Languages on Scholarship, Science, and Society in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance'.* Importantly, at a previous stage, but with smaller impact, Roman humanists during the Papacy of Nicholas V (1447–1455) had also made a concerted effort to increase the availability of patristic texts. See, inter alia, D'Amico (1983); Stinger (1976); Stinger (1985).

26 See Constantinidou (forthcoming a). For Rescius and his work, see now esp. Constantinidou (2015) and Van Rooy & Van Hal (2018).

27 See Rummel (1985); Rummel (2012); Den Boeft (1997).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Scriptural texts were indeed prioritised over the secular authors.[28] In the modern scholarship, however, the transmission, dissemination, and study of Christian and non-Christian texts is often treated separately. The question of how early modern audiences conceptualised connections between the ancient non-Christian and Christian Greek literatures has therefore not yet found proper consideration and synthesis, even if it is a crucial subject for our understanding of early modern receptions of Hellenism.[29]

We should, moreover, add secular Byzantine texts to this picture, especially historiography, from Procopius (*c*.500–*c*.554) to Laonikos Chalkokondyles (fl. 1450s/60s) which were transmitted, edited, translated, and studied in the early modern period in addition to "classical", patristic, and Scriptural texts.[30] Such literature was mainly explored as a source for what we would now call "Byzantine" history and Church history, while later Byzantine texts were mined as sources for the Latin presence in Byzantium as well as information regarding the Ottomans.[31] Again, how early modern scholars perceived of the interconnections between these different bodies of Greek literature and history, if they even perceived them as different, has generally not yet been systematically treated. There are examples that confirm some sense of distinction (such as in the case of Hieronymus Wolf, 1516–1580),[32] while other evidence (for instance,

28 The impact of the humanists' return to Greek on biblical scholarship is also concisely discussed in Hamilton (1996: 100–17). For general overviews of the role of Greek in biblical scholarship, see the relevant chapters in Hauser & Watson and Rummel (2008), and Cameron (2016). For the reception of the Church Fathers see, most comprehensively, Backus (1997). On the Church Fathers in Italian humanism, see also Stinger (1976). From the more detailed studies, we cite Backus (1990); Constantinidou (forthcoming a); Dill (2008); Kennerley (2017); Quantin (2008); Schucan (1973). The incunabular editions and translations of Greek patristics are recorded in Mazal (2003: IV, 900–25).

29 For an earlier formulation, see esp. Rice (1962).

30 On the reception of the Byzantine historians see, fundamentally, Pertusi (1967) and more recently Della Rocca de Candal (2015). For various aspects of this question, concentrating on the German context, see also Beck (1958); Reinsch (1994); Reinsch (2010); Reinsch (2017); Van Miert (2010). More generally, on different aspects of Byzantium's reception in European culture, not restricted to the early modern period, see Auzépy (2003); Kolovou (2012); Marciniak & Smythe (2016); Nilsson & Stephenson (2014).

31 The reception of Laonikos Chalkokondyles's *Histories* aptly illustrates this. A selective Tuscan translation pertaining to the Acciaiuoli family was produced during the sixteenth century (unpublished: Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, MS. 2247), while the first full translations stress the text's interest for Ottoman history: Conrad Clauser's *De origine et rebus gestis Turcorum libri decem* (1556) and Blaise de Vigenère's *Histoire de la décadence de l'empire grec et establissement de celuy des Turcs, comprise en dix livres* (1577). Cf. Kaldellis (2014: 238–40).

32 Cf. Hieronymus Wolf's comments and complaints at having to translate texts by "semi-barbarous" Byzantine authors such as Zonaras, Choniates, and Gregoras, as discussed in Reinsch (2017).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

from the work of Martin Crusius, 1526–1607) suggests that a clear dividing line between ancient Hellas and medieval (Byzantine) history did yet not exist.[33]

Art and the material traces of antiquity. Our discussion of the scholarship reflects a long-standing emphasis on the study of *textual* traditions. Students of historiography and antiquarianism have, on other hand, also begun exploring the ways in which, during the early modern period, material traces of antiquity (such as coins, gems, sculptures, inscriptions, and other artefacts) contributed to and co-shaped understandings of Hellas and its history.[34] Whereas in the fifteenth century focus on material traces is rather exceptional, from the sixteenth century onwards interest in them—and in particular, in coins and inscriptions—becomes increasingly more systematic and "philological". A particularly interesting aspect of this growing antiquarian awareness is its fascination with material traces of Greek culture outside Hellas, for instance in southern Italy and France, where they were more easily accessible to Western scholars. In some cases, Greek inscriptions and other relics were made to substantiate regionalist beliefs about the ancient Greek origins of these areas, a point to which we will come back in the discussion of the chapters below. The study of Greek history writing and antiquarianism is of course also closely linked with the looting of, and "commerce" in, antiquities between Italy and the Eastern Mediterranean[35] and with travelling and travel literature—even though travelling to the East for purely antiquarian purposes remained rare.[36] It also relates to the cartography of the Greek lands, a topic which has recently been the subject of some pioneering studies.[37] As in the case of Byzantine literature, the ways in which Byzantine artefacts were appreciated, and the

33 See Ben-Tov (2013); Moennig & Edeneier (2000); Moennig & Holton et al. (2005).

34 Fundamentally: Weiss (1969). More recent contributions to this heterogeneous field are, e.g., Ben-Tov (2009); Chatzidakis (2017); Kagan (2013); Liddel (2014); Napolitano (2012); Stenhouse (2005); Stenhouse (2017b). See also the chapters of Chatzidakis, Napolitano, and Stenhouse in this volume with the references there. For interest in ancient sculpture, see Koch (2004). A systematic overview of ancient works of art known in the Renaissance is *The CENSUS of Antique Works of Art Known to Renaissance Artists*, supervised by Arnold Nesselrath (online: <census.bbaw.de>).

35 Damen (2012).

36 For antiquarian travels to Greece, see for instance: Augustinos (1994); Augustinos (2002); Belon (2012); Borromeo (2007); Gregori (2003); Koster (1995); Mitsi (2017); Paton (1951); Pollard (2015); Yiakovaki (2006). Travel was mostly undertaken in the context of diplomatic missions or pilgrimage (see also Deisser 1978).

37 Zacharakis (1982) and Zacharakis (2009) and esp. Tolias (2001); Tolias (2005); Tolias (2006); Tolias (2007); Tolias (2012). On the important Greek map of Wolfgang Lazius, not discussed by Tolias, see Svatek (2013) and Lamers (forthcoming). See also Michail Chatzidakis in this volume on Pirro Ligorio's map of Greece, wth the references there.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

extent to which they were regarded as "ancient" and "Greek", is still a debated issue.[38]

Creative responses, influence, and "reception". All modes of reception mentioned so far revolve around ancient texts and artefacts and how they were gathered, preserved, transmitted, translated, commented upon, and studied. Greek knowledge was, however, also actively *employed* in early modern art, literature, and thought. The study of such "adaptive reuse" of Greek learning is currently most visibly organised in Classics departments in what is called "classical reception studies", and yet the topic traditionally involves scholars from very different backgrounds, for instance philosophy, cultural history and art history, the history of science and ideas, or literary studies.

Especially from the fifteenth century onwards, Greek artistic and literary forms and precepts were used creatively in literature as well as the visual arts. The connection with Greek scholarship is often strong. Literary historians, for example, have shown how the rediscovery of Greek literature led to a flourishing of new forms of literary expression. The comic works of Lucian steered humanist Latin literature in new directions, including new forms of satire as instruments of cultural criticism,[39] while the first printed edition of poems then attributed to Anacreon (1554) inspired poets such as Pierre de Ronsard (1542–1585) towards new forms of French lyricism, and Jacques Amyot's translation of Heliodorus fuelled the French (and thus European) novella.[40] Some learned writers even tried their hand at writing their own prose and poetry in antiquated Greek, an area of research that has recently attracted renewed attention.[41] Studies in this area can, of course, take a range of different forms and perspectives, and we obviously cannot summarise them all here. Most work done in this area has been in the form of specific case studies, largely structured according to the boundaries of national cultures, while remarkably little exists in terms of comparative or transnational history.[42]

38 Still fundamental to the circulation and reception of Byzantine artefacts from 1200 to 1750, focusing on the Italian peninsula, is Cutler (1995).

39 Marsh (1998).

40 Sandy (2008), with the references there. On Anacreon, see esp. also Rosenmayer (2002). Ronsard's response to Greek literature has been studied, classically, in Silver (1961–1987).

41 See the chapters of Janika Päll and Stefan Weise in this volume, with the references there. See also Lundhall (2017) on Greek in Renaissance painting, making interesting connections between humanism and art.

42 The scholarly literature in this domain is extensive. Studies sometimes focus on the ways in which specific ancient works or genres were employed as models and examples for new literary or artistic creations, or alternatively on the ways in which figures or narrative motifs from Greek myth and literature were reinterpreted in later art and literature.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Additionally, Greek ideas, concepts, and terms were also adopted, and adapted, in various domains of human endeavour beyond art and literature, such as philosophy of various kinds, the study of history and language, and anatomy and medicine.[43] In the latter area, for example, a return to the original Greek sources—most prominently Galen and Hippocrates—stimulated the critical reappraisal of received medical and anatomical knowledge; Greek sources helped some writers to sharpen their anatomical terminology and to define physical defects and diseases in new, and sometimes more accurate, ways.[44] At the same time, however, also the perceived *limits* of Greek knowledge were particularly clear in this and other domains where a gusto for personal observation intensified from the sixteenth century onwards. Even Melanchthon—who felt that "medicine is entirely Greek, and it cannot be perfectly understood without Greek"—had to accept that Arabic sources remained central to the curriculum until the end of his century and was willing to accept Vesalius's empirical emendations to bookish authority. His "criterion was truth, not Hellenism", as Vivian Nutton put it.[45] Especially in natural philosophy and what we would now call "the sciences", the tensions between a "sanctified" Greek tradition and the power of personal observation have been discussed intensely, and it is here that the role of Greek learning is perhaps most controversial.

Ideology, dissent, and confession. The ways in which Greek knowledge was employed also helps us understand why Hellenism mattered and why it became "fashionable", to resume Setton's word cited earlier. To be sure, it mattered differently for different people. Some held it dear because Greek literature offered them new forms of artistic expression. For others, it shed new light on subjects as different as Roman history and human anatomy. For others again, Greek was important in order to perfect Latin, or to recover the meaning of difficult passages in Latin authors. For still others, knowing Greek held the promise of a better grasp of God's Word or the early history of the Church and Christian doctrine. Greek learning even became a thorny issue

---

There are, however, some ambitious survey works in this area, including Davidson Reid & Rohmann (2011). See also the references in the preceding notes.

43 The scholarship is too vast to be summarised here. On Greek philosophy and philology, see the work of James Hankins (e.g., Hankins 1990 and Hankins 2002–2004), Jill Kraye (e.g, Kraye 2002), and John Monfasani (e.g, Monfasani 2004).

44 For medicine, see, in order of publication, Lonie (1985); Nutton (1989); Nutton (1993); Siraisi (2003); Boudon-Millot & Cobolet (2004); Roselli (2005); Boudon-Millot, Jouanna, Garzya & Roselli (2006); Fortuna (2007); Fortuna (2008); Petit (2011). On the issue of terminology, see, e.g., Vorobyev (forthcoming); for differences between Greek and Arabic medicine, see Pormann (2004).

45 Nutton (1993: 16–17). On the perceived tension between tradition and personal observation, see also Helm (2001).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

when it was drawn into political and religious debates. In the religious reform movements, for example, Greek learning was sometimes crucial to arguments about a unified pre- or early Christian past, implying that the reformers were not breaking from, but rather returning to a tradition.

Just as James Hankins found it difficult to explain the revival of Plato in general terms, it is difficult to generalise about *why* Greek learning could be of such importance to the early modern intelligentsia.[46] From the (Classicist) assumption that Greek civilisation, and especially its ancient art and literature, has a self-evident and "universal" value, this significance has sometimes been taken for granted, but early modern people had their own concerns and interests in the ways they dealt with Hellenism. Receptions of Hellenism were informed by their passions, beliefs, and faiths, and were bound up with their views of the world they lived in. The only way to understand this is to listen to what they themselves had to say about their relationship with Greek culture, and some scholars have indeed been drawn to the cultural and ideological contexts in which Greek learning was given meaning and significance.[47]

From the very start, Greek learning was a hotly debated, even contested issue. Debates were not only about the "usefulness" of Greek learning in the humanist curriculum or with regard to understanding the natural world, such as in medicine.[48] Some early humanists also opposed Greek studies because they regarded it as something "alien" to Latinity and, therefore, potentially dangerous. Even self-proclaimed enthusiasts of Greek, such as Francesco Filelfo (1398–1481), could express unease with the place of Greek in Latin culture.[49] Most importantly perhaps, Greek studies were affected by religious change, and Greek came under fire particularly in the suspicious climate of the Reformation years and the ensuing struggle for political and social control.

To generalise about the role of Greek learning in "the Reformation" and the relationship between the two is difficult, though it is commonly acknowledged that the reform movements relied on "humanist tools, skills, and perspectives"—including, prominently, knowledge of Greek.[50] The reformers generally embraced Greek studies: indeed, for many of them the study of Greek either preceded and often catalysed their calls for renewal or was an

46 Hankins (1990: 17).

47 Although no systematic treatment exists, attempts to see the history of early modern Hellenism from the point of view of cultural history are, mainly, Saladin (2000) and Goldhill (2001).

48 For early quarrels about Greek studies, see Ferri (1920) and Saladin (2000: 177–202, 257–300). For the domain of medicine, see above n. 44.

49 On this aspect of Filelfo's Hellenism and its context, see Lamers (2018b).

50 Cf. Matheson (1990).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

integral part of their reform programmes. Reformers on all sides emphasised Greek as a means of accessing Scripture more directly and used Greek patristic texts as sources for preaching, while they were also interested in using the Greek moralists in their teaching.[51] Beyond any attempts to generalise, however, we should be particularly sensitive to the specific contexts, personalities, and circumstances involved: different periods during the Reformation (e.g. early to late), as well as different geographical and confessional contexts, saw different approaches to Greek and varying perceptions of its students. One of the most pertinent examples of these shifts and changes is the fact that eminent figures such as Melanchthon—who was initially known as a humanist—was eventually more readily remembered as a theologian, whereas his Dutch counterpart, Erasmus, was initially recognised as a theologian and later as a humanist.[52]

In any case, in the rapidly changing climate of the Reformation years, the interest which the reformers took in Greek studies provoked responses from the official Catholic side as well, and in the Catholic world it was sometimes seen (in some cases correctly) as an indication of religious dissent and "heresy".[53] The suspicion surrounding Greek in some Catholic circles is epitomised in the often-cited phrase *qui graecizabant lutheranizabant*, although some Counter-Reformers were equally convinced that the Protestants should be defeated with their own arms.[54] During this period of religious reform, Greek learning was "confessionalised" not only in the sense that Greek was evaluated in accordance with religious principles, but also in the sense that Greek studies were actively *adapted* to religious requirements, or even suppressed if the need was felt. The Jesuit teaching manual, *Ratio studiorum*, aptly exemplifies how Hellenism was "domesticated" by prescribing which authors should be read in class "provided they be expurgated", and how they should be interpreted.[55] As Greek learning was thus co-shaped by different cultural preferences and

51 The topic is normally grouped under the subject of Christian Humanism. For a recent treatment see Zimmerman (2016), esp. chs. 2–6. Some exceptions where the topic is addressed more directly include Ben-Tov (2009); Rhein (1997); Rummel (2000); Rummel (2008); Saladin (2000); Springer (2011), and of course the vast literature on Erasmus. For specific Reformers' interest in Greek learning, see indicatively Backus (2004); Dufour (2000); Gasti & Gougoulis (2017); Kuropka (2012); Kusukawa (1999); Springer (2011); Wengert et al. (1997).

52 Rummel (2000: 4).

53 This aspect has found a first encompassing treatment in Saladin (2000). See also Goldhill (2001: 14–59) on the role of Erasmus in this context.

54 Cf. Garstein (1992: 179–80).

55 *Ratio Studiorum* (1970: 77), translation by Alan P. Farrell.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

ideological pressures, it had different "flavours" in different places at different times, even if it is still difficult to appreciate these varieties fully.

Encounters, exchanges, places. The various receptions of Hellenism discussed above often relied on direct encounters between Latins and Greeks, Europeans and Byzantines. These contacts between the "Greek East" and "Latin West" have been studied from various perspectives, ranging from political to cultural history.[56] Contacts were often strained, given the contested views of the Christian Roman Empire as well as the huge rift gradually brought about by the religious Schism of 1054. The best-known encounter—one intensively discussed in the scholarship—is the Council of Ferrara-Florence,[57] an occasion that brought together and highlighted all the constituent parts of Hellenism: pagan and Christian, classical and Byzantine, Orthodox and "exotic". As is well known, the Council—even if unsuccessful from a political point of view—"occasioned an intensification in the dialogue, especially in terms of the exchange of ideas, manuscripts and the arts".[58] Some of the members of the delegation are even said to have catalysed the reception of specific traditions: the presence of the philosopher Plethon (Georgius Gemistus, 1355–1452) at the council has been regarded as a decisive impulse for the study of Plato, for example.[59] Others, perhaps most notably Basilios Bessarion (*c.*1403–1472), who would later become a cardinal, eventually returned to Italy and permanently settled there. His presence in Rome was not only important in terms of the transmission and preservation of Greek manuscripts, which he zealously collected and which still form the basis of the Greek collection of the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice, but also symbolically highly significant: as a high-ranking Greek convert to Roman Catholicism, he remained both an example and a counter-example for "Greeks" of many generations to come.[60]

Encounters and exchanges between Greeks and Latins did not, of course, originate in the Council of Ferrara-Florence or even with the arrival of Manuel Chrysoloras in Florence (though the latter moment does represent a milestone in the history of Greek studies in the Latin West). They did not begin nor end on either side of 1204 or 1453. Mutual interest and various forms of interaction (such as in trade and diplomacy) had never stopped and had intensified in

56 On this topic see, among others, the pioneering study by Geanakoplos (1966a) as well as more recently, in chronological order, Laiou (1992); Necipoğlu (2009); Laiou (2012); Hinterberger & Schabel (2011); Harris, Holmes & Russell (2012); and Brownlee & Gondicas (2013).

57 On the Council, see classically Gill (1959) and Gill (1964). See more recently also Herrin & MacManus (2013) and McManus (2008).

58 Herrin & McManus (2013: 36).

59 Hankins (1990: 197–209).

60 For some recent work on Bessarion, see n. 68 below.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

the Palaeologan period (1261–1453), which even led at least some Byzantine intellectuals to study Latin culture and literature.[61] With the tension between Rome and the Patriarchate continuing despite the efforts at Ferrara-Florence, and with the religious reform movements emerging in northern Europe, new contacts and alliances were established. For example, there were exchanges between the Greek Orthodox clergy and German Lutherans,[62] as well as between the Greek Patriarchate and the Church of England, encouraged, among his other conciliatory initiatives, by the most irenic king of the time, James I (1566–1625).[63] Despite the many contacts that both enterprises incited, they were ultimately unsuccessful in reuniting or even reconciling the churches. They do, however, highlight the relative significance that some Western Europeans ascribed to the early Church and its traditions, and the people who some, in certain respects, saw as its custodians: the Greeks.

Cultural encounters and exchanges were, moreover, not confined to the primary scholarly or political centres. Apart from Florence, for instance, Venice was a significantly more important, and more durable, point of contact between the Greek East and Latin West, and so were the Greek-speaking areas under Latin jurisdiction, especially during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Some of them even remained under the dominions of the Knights of Saint John and Venice until well into the sixteenth (Rhodes and Cyprus) and seventeenth (Crete) centuries.[64] Although it is commonly acknowledged that Venetian Crete was a centre of Greek culture, inextricably intertwined with the Latin West via trade, migration, and cultural exchange, many aspects of its role in the reception of Hellenism in Europe remain underexplored, especially in the Anglophone scholarship. This concerns intellectual culture and scholarship, for example, its role in the history of Greek education,[65] also in addition to the island's part in the visual arts, religious painting in particular.

61 For the Palaeologan period, see especially Fryde (2000) and Ryder (2010), with their bibliographies, in this regard.

62 The relations between Greek and German humanists was first studied in Geanakoplos (1994). On the exchange between the Reformation and the Greek Orthodox Church, see e.g. Benz (1971) and Wendebourg (1986). See also, more recently, Flogaus (2015a), Flogaus (2015b), and Ciccolella's chapter in this volume.

63 Runciman (1968); Patterson (2000), esp. ch. 6. On the relations between the Iberian peninsula and the Greek world during the early modern period, see also Hassiotis (2000) and Hassiotis (2011).

64 On Cyprus, see Arbel, Chayes & Hendrix (2012). For Crete, see Holton (2009). For the Gattilusio lordships including Lesbos, see Wright (2014). On the Venetian-ruled Greek world more generally, see esp. Maltezou (2010); useful chapters on the military orders and Rhodes are included in Buttigieg & Phillips (2013).

65 See Speranzi (2017) and Ciccolella (2017), with references there.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Historians of art are increasingly coming to terms with the "hybrid" forms of artistic expression that emerged from the interactions between Cretan and Venetian artists. The ways in which these "mixed" artistic forms were perceived by contemporaries (as Greek, archaic, or as decadent and exotic) is a fascinating subject of inquiry in its own right and invites comparisons with European responses to Greek culture in other cultural spheres.[66]

Greeks: Individuals and communities. There has traditionally been considerable interest in the fate, role, and identity of the individual scholars who initially brought knowledge of the Greek language to the Latin West, beginning with the arrival in Florence of Manuel Chrysoloras (or, according to others, Barlaam of Calabria, *c.*1290–1348, and Leonzio Pilato, *c.*1310–1365) and continuing with the generations of scholars who settled in Italy during the course of the fifteenth century.[67] Some highly influential individuals of the Quattrocento, including Manuel Chrysoloras, Basilios Bessarion, George of Trebizond (1395–1484), and Marcus Musurus (1470–1517) have found specialised treatments of their own. These studies often also discuss aspects of their life beyond (albeit often connected to) their scholarly work, such as their diplomatic and rhetorical attempts to organise a crusade against the Ottomans, their relationships with the Greeks in the East, religious views and loyalties, contacts with patrons and Italian humanists, literary output in prose and poetry, and more recently, how they were received in their Italian host societies and how they constructed Hellenic identities for themselves in response.[68]

Apart from the Greek scholars of the Italian Quattrocento, other learned communities of Greeks in the West have remained understudied. Some exceptions include studies on a number of Greek scribes dispersed

66 See on these issues, among others, Ainsworth (2004); Bacci (2013); Bacci (2014); Bickendorf (2002); Newal (2013). See also the collection of essays in Lymberopoulou & Duits (2013), with the bibliography there, as well as Michele Bacci's essay in this volume.

67 Early interest in the Byzantine scholars is reflected not only in Paolo Giovio's biographies of famous men (see Peter Bell's chapter in this in volume) but also in, e.g., Hody (1742) and Börner (1750). These accounts are generally biased against the Middle Ages (cf. Setton 1956: 24).

68 Seminal works on the scholarly contributions of the Byzantine Greeks are Cammelli (1941–1954); Geanakoplos (1962); Monfasani (1995); Monfasani (2004); Wilson (2000); Wilson (2017). See also the contributions gathered in Konstantinou (2006). For Chrysoloras, see most extensively Thorn-Wickert (2006). For Cardinal Bessarion, see most recently Märtel, Kaiser & Ricklin (2013) as well as Monfasani (2011). For George of Trebizond, see the seminal studies by John Monfasani, in particular Monfasani (1976) and Monfasani (1984). For Musurus, see now mainly Speranzi (2013) and Ferreri (2014). On the identity of the Greeks in the West see also nn. 77–79, below.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

throughout Western Europe—some more famous than others—such as Georgius Hermonymus of Sparta (fl. 1475–1508), who taught Greek in Paris;[69] Angelo Vergecio (Βεργέκιος, Vergèce, 1505–1569), whose handwriting has been preserved in the *Grecs du roi*, cut by Claude Garamond (d. 1561);[70] the reforming scholar Frankiskos Portos (1511–1581), who ended up in Geneva;[71] or others who found their way to England.[72] In the traditionally most thoroughly explored Italian context, there is still much work to be done concerning the Greek students and scholars associated with the Athanasius College (est. in 1577) and the Catholic Reformation, among others, who have mostly been studied for their contributions to the effort to reconcile the Greek and Roman churches.[73]

The high-ranking intellectuals, diplomats, and clergy were only the tip of the iceberg, as the learned Byzantines who stayed in Italy after the Council or moved there later were not the only Greeks living in the West.[74] A growing body of scholarship on the wider Greek diaspora in early modern Europe reveals how Greek communities in cities such as Venice, Naples, and Ancona were structured, how their religious lives were organised, how they kept ties with the Greek world, and who their main protagonists were (surely not only the learned Greeks among them!).[75] Drawing on extensive archival research of registers, and often adopting a prosopographical approach, these studies analyse the process through which immigrants eventually became residents in their host communities and how they were integrated into a "new, wider, and more diverse society".[76]

Greek identity and Greekness. Who were these people? How did they view their own past? And how were they viewed by others? The Eastern Roman

69 Kalatzi (2009). On Greek scribes more generally see above, n. 11.

70 *BH*: I, 125–36; Omont (1916); Peers (2004); Gamillscheg et al. (1981).

71 Manoussacas & Panagiotakis (1981); Kaklamanis (1985); Geanakoplos (1966a: 158–60); and Karamanolis (2003: 27–30).

72 Harris (2000).

73 This lacuna was also indicated by Glaser (2006) and Karamanolis (2003). A notable exception is Leone Allacci (*c.*1586–1669) whose work has been studied quite extensively (see, e.g., Jacono 1962; Rotolo 1966; more recently, Hartnup 2004). The Athanasius College has mainly been studied by Peri (1970), Tsirpanlis (1980), and Tsirpanlis (1983). For an overview of the students (1576–1640), see Fyrigos (1980).

74 This point has been made explicitly by Harris (1995). Before Jonathan Harris, main contributions to the field of the fate of the less fortunate Greeks who did not dwell in courts were, e.g., Fedalto (1967b); Peri (1967); Peri (1975); Peri (1982); Thiriet (1977).

75 Recent contributions to this field are: Burke (2016); Fattori (2016); Fattori (2017); Grenet (2007); Grenet (2012); Grenet (2013). See also Fattori's contribution in this volume with the references there.

76 Burke (2016). Recent contributions also include Zečevic (2000) and Zečevic (2013).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Empire was a political entity to which both the Greeks themselves as well as Westerners in general responded with ambiguity. In the West, Byzantium, or Constantinople, had been seen as an ideological challenge at least from the time when Charlemagne 'received' the *imperium Romanum*. This was reflected in the term *imperium Graecum*, or *imperium Graecorum*, common in Renaissance sources, but less so after the middle of the sixteenth century, when the term "Byzantium" emerged in its current sense. Meanwhile, by the time Constantinople fell to the Ottomans in 1453, some Byzantines had come to doubt their "Roman" heritage and identity and reviewed their past to embrace the Hellenes rather the Romans as their predecessors and forebears (a process that had, according to some scholars, already started after the Latin sack of Constantinople in 1204).[77]

The wider but related question of "Greek identity" is an intricate problem not only because it is ideologically charged but also because it operated, as expected, in connection with other identities: personal, social, cultural, linguistic, and religious. Moreover, "being Greek" was not only a matter of styling oneself a Greek but also of being called, and being perceived as, a Greek: it was, in other words, both a self-chosen and an assigned identity, and as such could have very different associations, both positive and negative.[78] Increasing work is being devoted to different aspects of early modern Greek identity, or rather identities.[79] It seems that "being Greek" entailed different "ingredients" in different contexts (language, a common past, a shared lineage, adherence to the Greek rite, and a sense of "Greek character" were all, to some degree and in different constellations, regarded as defining features of Greekness). A sense of belonging to an ancient Hellenic tradition, going back to ancient Hellas (however this imaginary country was envisioned), appears to have been central to many self-declared Greeks' self-conceptions, especially when they lived in the West. Whereas the Greekness of the (post-)Byzantine intelligentsia of the early diaspora has recently been explored in some detail, it remains to be seen how other groups responded to the challenge of defining themselves anew.

Importantly, during the early modern period, the Byzantine Greeks of the diaspora were not the only ones who claimed their share of the Greek

77 On the beginning of this development, see esp. Kaldellis (2007), Kaldellis (2014), and Lamers (2015), with the references there.

78 On the ways in which adopted and assigned forms of Greekness were negotiated in the Italian context, see Lamers (2015: 63–91).

79 See on this, with an emphasis on the Italian context, among others, Geanakoplos (1962); Glaser (2006); Harris (2000); Karamanolakis, Katsiardi-Hering, Nikolaou & Papadia-Lala (2018); Karamanolis (2003); Lamers (2015); Monfasani (2004); Siniossoglou (2016); Steiris, Mitralexis & Arabatzis (2016: esp. 173–200).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

heritage. During this entire period, Hellenism was not a fixed idea, and there were no institutions that kept it "in its place"; this means that people from very different backgrounds, from Sicily to Finland, could claim a place in the Hellenic tradition. Although there is no systematic treatment of this subject, case studies from different areas and contexts show how European writers forged connections between themselves and the ancient Greeks. Although this tendency was particularly strong in sixteenth-century France, in other parts of Europe, too, writers stressed the Greekness of their imagined communities or *nationes*, often in response to competing claims of others. For example, Henri II Estienne's famous treatise on the conformity of the French language with Greek was partly written in response to similar "Greek claims" by the Dutch humanist Hadrianus Junius (1511–1575). Estienne's work was, in turn, criticised by, among others, Ascanio Persio (1592), writing in defence of Italian.[80] Greekness, in this European context, involved ideas about the relationship of the vernaculars with ancient Greek but could also rely on the ancient presence and influence of Greeks (for example, the Greek colony of "Massalia" in France) and foundation myths (such as the idea that Hercules and the *Parrhasians* had established Paris).[81] Such attempts at "self-Hellenisation" of some European elites or circles show how, at least for some early modern writers, the recently rediscovered heritage of the ancient Greeks had moved to the heart of their self-perception. At the same time, "Greekness" was never an exclusive identity. The Greek language, for instance, was part of a mosaic of languages, and humanists often not only mastered several learned languages, but also one or more vernacular ones—single individuals were at the same time partaking in many and diverse cultural contexts, accordingly adopting multiple identities.

Following some of the main trends and traditions in the scholarship on the reception of Hellenism in early modern Europe, we have moved from the philological minutiae of textual transmission to the broader questions of self-perception and identity. Our overview of the scholarship has shown some of the difficulties and questions in the field, as well as the range and diversity encompassed by the receptions of Hellenism in this period. Some of them are addressed in the papers in this volume, to which we now turn before we draw out some common themes and topics that we think are particularly important for the future study of the phenomenon.

80 On Estienne and his *Traicté de la conformité du langage françois avec le grec*, first published in 1569, see esp. Demaizière (1991). On Junius, see Van Hal (2011).

81 These ideas are found combined in Joachim Périon's *Dialogorum de linguae Gallicae origine eiusque cum Graeca cognatione libri IV* (1555), for which see Périon (2003). There is a scattered literature on this subject. See, among others, Dini (2004); Eros (1976); Korhonen (2004); Lamers (2017); Tavoni (1986); Trapp (1990); Van Hal (2011); Van Hal (2016).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

2 Content, Structure, and Argument of the Book

The articles in this volume discuss receptions of Hellenism in early modern Europe using examples from around the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries. They have been grouped under three sections: "Access and Dissemination", "Migration, Exchange, and Identity", and "Study, Appropriation, and Use". Although these subject areas in some cases naturally overlap and cannot be separated rigidly, they reflect three focal areas of research that have traditionally been, or have recently become, particularly important in the study of the subject.

The *first part*, "Access and Dissemination", gathers papers discussing the important topic of the study of Greek, with particular attention given to teaching and learning methods used in different historical and geographical contexts, beyond the much-studied context of Italian humanism. The chapters show how teachers, printers, and editors responded to, and anticipated, the needs and concerns of students of Greek. Paola Tomè demonstrates the effect of printing on Greek teaching. By focusing on Aldus Manutius's *Appendix* and some of his editions of grammar works, she shows how the printer created a niche market by producing printed learning tools. Shifting attention north of the Alps to France, Luigi-Alberto Sanchi shows how Greek learning developed in Paris and how it was given specific cultural significance between the last decade of the fifteenth century and *c.*1540, offering a much-needed overview of scholarship on the French receptions of Hellenism in English. Malika Bastin-Hammou then reveals how Aristophanes was used (and then forgotten) as companion for learning Greek in France in the formative years between 1528 and 1549, while Raf Van Rooy sheds light on the underexplored Netherlandish reception of Hellenism by concentrating on the work of the Louvain professor Hadrianus Amerotius (1490s–1560). Anthony Ellis, in the final chapter in this part, shows how Herodotus was read in the early modern classroom by exploring the university notes of Jacques Bongars (Jena, 1568).

The *second part*, "Migration, Exchange, and Identity", focuses on migrations of people, knowledge, and ideas through cultural exchange between the "Greek East" and "Latin West". The first part concentrates on cultural exchange and encounters as reflected in, and stimulated through, both the visual arts and literature. Aslıhan Akışık-Karakullukçu shows how the most famous protagonist of the Renaissance reception of Hellenism, Manuel Chrysoloras, accommodated his representation of his native city of Constantinople to a mixed Greek and Latin audience, taking Byzantine encomiastic traditions into new directions. Concentrating on artistic exchanges in icon painting between "Latins" (Venice) and "Greeks" (Crete), Michele Bacci further challenges the notion of

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

rigid borders between the homogenising categories of "Greek East" and "Latin West", pointing, instead, to more fluid notions of influence and appropriation. Using innovative digital approaches to interpret portraits of Greek scholars of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century, Peter Bell shows how the encounter between Greeks and Latins was codified in visual language and how this "iconography of the learned Greek" changed over time, suggesting some striking discrepancies between textual and visual receptions of Greeks and indicating the survival of stereotypes. Returning to Greek literature, Federica Ciccolella explores how Maximos Margounios (1549–1602) in his Greek hymns, inspired by Anacreon and poets of late antiquity, responded to the concerns and "Byzantine" interests of his German audience, both Catholic and Protestant. The final three chapters of this part of the book revisit the Greeks who settled in the West—just like Margounios—with special emphasis on the ways in which they construed their "Greekness". These chapters break away from the traditional image of the Byzantine Greeks as "venerable scholars fleeing with the classics under their arms" and put forward an image of these migrants as proactive agents in their own "reception", both as individuals and as a group. Niketas Siniossoglou first explores the Greekness of the poet Michael Marullus Tarchaniota (*c.*1452–1500) as a philosophically sensitive response to the culturally precarious situation of the expatriate. Calliope Dourou discusses the vernacular Greek rendering of Homer's *Iliad* (1526) and shows how the "translator", Nikolaos Loukanes, manipulated the original text in order to create a politically relevant point of reference for his imagined nation of Hellenes and convince others of their cause in the process. In the final chapter, we move from artistic and literary representation to the ways in which Greek settlers in Italy built close-knit and self-supportive communities, with Niccolò Fattori discussing the case of the Greek community in Ancona.

The *final part*, "Study, Use, and Appropriation", explores how knowledge about the Greek past was studied, used, and even "appropriated" in different cultural contexts. Studying Greek was not a "neutral" business but was embedded in cultural, religious, and political concerns of the day and employed for specific purposes beyond the strictly "scholarly". The first three papers deal with central issues in the study of ancient material culture, in particular epigraphy, topography, archaeology, as well as numismatics. William Stenhouse discusses the emergence of interest in Greek inscriptions among early modern scholars and shows how these scholars used them to substantiate political or cultural, rather than scholarly, claims. Michail Chatzidakis opens a new chapter on the antiquarianism of Pirro Ligorio (*c.*1513–1583) and his underrated interest in Greek antiquities; he demonstrates that Ligorio's usage of ancient artefacts as sources did not imply the interpretative methods currently associated with

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

the disciplines of archaeology and art history. Maria Luisa Napolitano then discusses Hubertus Goltzius's (1526–1583) use of numismatic evidence in his *Sicilia et Magna Graecia*, suggesting that his reconstruction of the wider Greek world of antiquity was a model for promoting religious reconciliation in his own time. With the final two chapters of the book, we return to Greek literature and to a very specific form of what today would be called "cultural appropriation"—that is, the use of ancient Greek as a literary language outside the Greek heartland. Stefan Weise takes the contemporary assessment of German Greek literature by Georg Lizel (1694–1761) as a starting point to explore the tradition of "*neualtgriechische Literatur*" then thriving in the region, while Janika Päll discusses the use of ancient Greek as a literary language in Estonia and Livonia. Both chapters show that, once again, the appropriation of Greek culture cannot be understood without taking into account the religious situations in which it was received. By thus presenting a relatively new field of study, these final chapters of the book invite more explorations into *terra incognita*.

The individual chapters open, or re-open, neglected areas of research, highlighting lacunae deserving further exploration. Many papers expand the chronological and geographical limits that come with an emphasis on the Italian Quattrocento and focus on other areas in Europe (Sanchi and Bastin-Hammou on France; Ellis on Germany; Van Rooy and Napolitano on the Low Countries; Bacci and Akışık-Karakullukçu on the Greek world) and in periods just preceding and following the fifteenth century (in the chapters of Akışık-Karakullukçu and Bacci, on the one hand, and in those of Ciccolella, Chatzidakis, and Stenhouse, on the other). They also use previously unknown or less favoured sources (such as lecture notes, archival documents and notarial acts, unknown letters, or unread poems), examine the reception of underexplored authors (for example, Aristophanes in France and Anacreon in Germany), and adopt innovative methods (for example, visual analysis based on algorithms).

Although the chapters often differ greatly in their subject matter and approach, certain concerns connect them. Beyond their individual merits and the specific questions they address, they also prompt questions and highlight issues relevant to this field of study in general. These include recognising the "embedded" nature of Hellenism; the need to explore and establish connections between aspects of Hellenism (people, media, areas) that are very often considered separately and in isolation; appreciating the contingent and ever-changing understandings of Hellenism in this period; and, concomitantly, the need of different approaches to more fully understand the complex issue of what it meant to "be Greek" in this period.

The scholars who contributed to this volume, all in their own ways, explore the ways in which knowledge about the Greek world was firmly

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

attached to the surrounding cultures in which it was gathered: they discuss the reception of Hellenism not just as a technical, philological matter but also as a culturally contingent phenomenon. They are not merely interested in how Greek learning was produced, digested, and disseminated, but also in how it was given meaning in different contexts, both in terms of personal tastes and interests and in terms of emphases that were informed socially, politically, or culturally. For example, the influence of the Reformation on individual scholars' attraction to Hellenism is in some cases confirmed (as in Päll's and Weise's pieces about humanist Greek), while there is also strong evidence that points to the irenic or conciliatory uses of Greek (as Ciccolella's and Napolitano's contributions to this volume indicate). An important insight in this respect—one that runs through all the parts of the book—is the understanding that receptions of Hellenism are more often than not shaped through encounters between different groups of people or individuals. These encounters, and sometimes exchanges, often imply connections between areas that have not always been studied together in the context of Hellenism: consider, for example, the significance of the Italian connection for French Hellenism (Sanchi), the connection between Italy and Crete (Bacci), between French Hellenism and the Low Countries (Van Rooy), between French Huguenots and German Protestants (Ellis), between Northern European humanism and Italian Hellenism (Napolitano), between Byzantine Greek literary culture and German humanism (Ciccolella), and between German and Central European Hellenism and Hellenists from the Baltic region (Päll). By highlighting these encounters and connections, the chapters in this book demonstrate that the reception of Hellenism was a Europe-wide phenomenon—not restricted to Italian Quattrocento humanism—while it was at the same time firmly rooted in specific different "national" and regional contexts.

The fact that different aspects of Greek culture were "received" in so many different contexts also means that different understandings of Hellenism circulated in different places at different times but also simultaneously and in the same place. That is why we have used the plural "receptions" in the title of this book. As William Stenhouse suggests in his chapter, it might even be appropriate to speak of different "Hellenisms". As some of the chapters demonstrate, emphasis could, for example, lie either on the Byzantine and early Christian past (as in Ciccolella's chapter) or on Hellenistic cosmopolitanism (in Napolitano's). In view of this diversity of visions, the chapters invite us to explore connections and to make comparisons between different receptions: not only transregionally and through time, but also across media (image and text with their different "genres") and between contemporaneous communities (the different engagements of Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, and other

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

reformers with Greek learning, for instance, prompt comparative approaches which have as yet not been attempted in an exhaustive fashion).

The question of what purpose Hellenism served for different people in different places relates, of course, to the question of what it meant to "be Greek". Some of the chapters address the problem of "Greekness" in fresh ways; they show some of the different kinds of identity early modern Greekness could involve. Peter Bell, for instance, explores Greekness as an assigned identity in both words and images. Calliope Dourou and Niketas Siniossoglou, on the other hand, explore it as a self-adopted (though sometimes sponsored) identity; the former sees it mainly as a political and rhetorical instrument, the latter as a poetic and philosophical response to a sense of loss. As we point out above, importantly, Greekness was not confined to individuals who used Greek as their native language or came from the Greek world *sensu stricto*. Stenhouse's article, for instance, shows how French and some Italian scholars used epigraphic evidence to evoke an "ennobling" Greek past for their regions. These approaches regard the ways in which images of the Greeks were selected and constructed, either to identify with or to assign to others. An alternative approach to Greekness is exemplified by Niccolò Fattori's chapter, which addresses it from a historical and sociological point of view: not in terms of self-representation, that is, but in terms of group formation, forging real and historic connections in support of the community. Taken together, these chapters point the way towards a wider understanding of Greekness and represent some approaches one could take to understand it, from close literary analysis of literary strategies (e.g., Dourou) to close historical scrutiny of registers, lists, and other archival documents (e.g., Fattori).

If we look at the collection as a whole, it seems fair to conclude that it is difficult—if not impossible—to understand the reception of Hellenism from just one perspective. It can be explored from the point of view of its agents (and their motivations), or its institutions, its materials (be they texts, images, or artefacts), but approaches will always vary according to the specific questions asked. To understand the phenomenon from a Europe-wide perspective, we would probably need different approaches coinciding with each other to elucidate the various aspects of what was a complex cultural phenomenon.

How, finally, is this book to be *used*? The answer is that there is not one way to use it. As noted above, this is not the kind of book that gives definitive answers to a set of specific questions but one that invites readers to compare questions and perspectives from different fields and areas of specialisation and see how they relate to their own practices as well as the questions they pose. Some readers, therefore, will want to read it cover to cover, while others may prefer to browse its contents and look for what is of special interest to them.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

PART 1

Access and Dissemination

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Learning, Teaching, and Printing Greek

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

CHAPTER 1

Aldus Manutius and the Learning of Greek: the Aldine *Appendix*

Paola Tomè (†)

When Manutius (Aldo Manuzio, 1449–1515) came to Venice at the tail end of the fifteenth century and opened the printing shop which would be so successful, Greek studies had already taken hold at least half a century before. According to Manutius, by that time, the ever-increasing numbers of keen admirers of the Greek language had reached considerable proportions: by then not only youngsters, but also mature men engaged in the most diverse kinds of activity wanted to learn the language in order to gain access to all major disciplines.[1] In order to secure a place in the market, a skilful balance had to be found between tradition and innovation: a balance which, on the one hand, would satisfy the requirements of schools and, on the other, would serve the needs of readers of various degrees of proficiency. On the whole, however, proficiency in Greek was not as high as we might be led to believe when we read the Aldine prefaces: throughout the fifteenth and most of the sixteenth century, the kind of Greek that was best known on the shores of the Mediterranean was the language spoken in ports and taverns, rather than that of Homer and Aristophanes, evidently. Meanwhile, Hellenic studies only slowly moved north of the Alps, where Greek learning was disseminated by scholars trained in Italy, even if was mainly according to methods of the first teachers.[2]

Aldus Manutius took great pains to promote Greek studies, and he did so in four innovative ways: (1) through the selection and assembly of grammatical and lexicographic texts which were new in the study of Greek; (2) through the

1 See the dedicatory letter to Aristotle's *Organon* (1495) in Manutius (2016: 12–13). About Aldus Manutius see generally *DBI*: LXIX, *s.v.* "Manuzio, Aldo, Il Vecchio" and Kallendorf (2011); regarding Greek studies in the West at the time, see at least Geanakoplos (1962) (with a special focus on Venice); Weiss (1969); Weiss (1977); Berschin (1989); Wilson (1996); Wilson (2000); and, more recently, Carpinato & Tribulato (2014). Renouard (1934: 329–32, 332–36, 337–39) published the three catalogues put together by Aldus with the help of the "Neacademia". About the "Neacademia", founded by Manutius at the end of fifteenth century, see Pagliaroli (2009–2010). On Aldus's contribution to the return of Greek studies in Western Europe, see Hexter (1998); Flogaus (2008); Tomè (2015); Pontani (2016); and Tomè (2019).

2 See Ciccolella (2008); Botley (2010); Rollo (2012); Markopoulos (2014: 86–92).

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2020 | DOI:10.1163/9789004402461_003
Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

inclusion of Latin versions of elementary Greek texts at the end of editions and textbooks; (3) through printing Greek authors skilfully, often accompanied by their Latin translations; and (4) through taking great philological care to establish the Greek texts by checking them against the largest number of originals available to him (usually at least three). In this article, I will deal with the first of these four aspects (grammar and lexicography), concentrating on the contents of one of Manutius's grammatical texts, up till now little known to the world of scholars.

1 Innovative Grammatical and Lexicographic Texts for the Study of Greek

From 1494 until 1515 (the year of his death), Aldus Manutius printed at least six Greek grammar works, with and without a Latin translation, and eight Greek lexicons of different types. If we include his last work (a Greek grammar published posthumously by Marcus Musurus),[3] this amounts to fifteen publications, which were essential to learning Greek. Apart from this, we have Aldus's numerous prefaces, grammatical writings, some translations, the attributions of which is not always certain, and his philological work, all of which stand as monuments to his extraordinary gifts as a scholar.[4]

While the first period of Greek studies in Italy was dominated by the *erotemata*—simple manuals in question-and-answer form introduced into the West by Manuel Chrysoloras (*c.*1350–1415) and translated into Latin by Guarino of Verona (1374–1460)—it was Manutius, in fact, who sealed the success of the "new" manuals by Constantine Lascaris (1434–1501) and Theodore Gaza (1398–1475),[5] which also circulated in *maior* and *minor* versions. Replacing the weighty Byzantine miscellanea, they dealt with basic and advanced morphology, syntax, spelling, prosody, and notions of style.[6]

3 About Musurus, see now Speranzi (2013).

4 See Brown (2008); Zorzi (1994); Plebani (1994); Grendler (1989). The Aldine prefaces to Greek Classics have been recently translated and edited in by Nigel Guy Wilson (Musurus 2016).

5 See *DBI*: LII, *s.v.* "Gaza, Teodoro" and *DBI*: LXIII, *s.v.* "Lascaris, Costantino".

6 On the most important Greek grammars, lexica, and miscellaneous treatises about syntax, spelling, prosody, and notions of style see: Pertusi (1962), Plebani (1994: 94–95), Wilson (2000: 179–80), Botley (2010: 1–6, 14–25) on Gaza; Botley (2010: 26–31) on Lascaris; Botley (2010: 33) on Aldus; Botley (2010: 36–40) on Bolzanio; see also Rollo (2012: 35–45) and Nuti (2014: 235–40, 250–66, 269–74). About Urbano Bolzanio, who composed the first Greek grammar in Latin, see also *DBI*: XXXII, *s.v.* "Dalle Fosse (Bolzanio), Urbano" and Scapecchi (2001).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Aldus Manutius published Lascaris's epitome in Greek and Latin in 1494–1495, which was the fourth edition of the work. Lascaris's book, much in demand, was no longer on sale. Moreover, Aldus's friends Pietro Bembo (1470–1547) and Angelo Gabrielli had brought him a manuscript with Lascaris's handwritten revisions at Messina. The proofs of Aldus's edition of the epitome were composed with the 1480 or 1489 editions as their basis; the Latin translation was revised and an appendix of elementary texts was added, the so-called *Appendix Aldina* (to which I will come back later).[7] The *editio princeps* of Lascaris's complete manual was issued by the Aldine press only between 1501 and 1503, accompanied by a Latin translation and the *Appendix Aldina*. For this version of the *Appendix*, the section on abbreviations had slightly been expanded. In order to separate the various quaternions, Aldus used a Latin translation of the *Tabula* of ps.-Cebes of Thebes, together with the Lauds to the Blessed Virgin.[8] This was one of his most felicitous publishing ideas: the complete Lascaris was sought after all around Italy. In Florence, the public had to content itself with the "Chrysoloras *maior*", only accompanied by morphology, spelling, and a small piece on aspiration, while in Milan, Chalcondyles's grammar (Demetrius Chalco[co]ndyles, 1423–1511) was foundering since it included no verbal syntax or spelling notes in the accompanying material. The Aldine publication saw fifteen reprints, enriched by broadsheets and anthological material following the practice Manutius had already started to adopt.[9]

7 On the *Appendix* see Renouard (1934: *passim*); Bateman (1976); Plebani (1994); Venier (2004); Pontani (2014); Tomè (2015); Tomè (2019) (with the bibliography quoted). A description of this text has been given in Plebani (1994: 94 n. 119). The *editio princeps* of Lascaris's grammar (1476) was printed in Greek in Milan, where also a second edition, accompanied by the Latin translation by Giovanni Crastone, was edited in 1480. A further bilingual edition with the same translation by Crastone was printed in Vicenza in 1489. Moreover, it should be clarified here that the *Appendix* is a completely different text from the *Brevissima introductio ad litteras Graecas*, printed by Manutius in 1497 (two years after the first edition of the *Appendix*) as a kind of elementary introduction to a very brief collection of prayers: see Tomè (forthcoming) about this aspect as well as the online edition of the *Brevissima introductio ad litteras Graecas*: <daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0005/bsb00054196/images> (last consultation on 7 December 2018). Renouard (1934: 15–16) offered a description of it on the basis of the information given to him by Morelli. An extensive analysis of the reception of this text in Europe is presented in Flogaus (2008: 215–17, 220–24). See finally also Dondi (2016: 211–13, 417), who considers the *Brevissima introductio ad litteras Graecas* a "grammar" (sic) and attributes to it more or less the same content and functions as the *Appendix*.

8 For ps.-Cebes, see Benedetti (2001). The litanies in honour of the Blessed Virgin are included in fols. 210^{r-v} of the 1512 edition, with the title *Laudatio in Sanctissimam Dei Genetricem*: see Flogaus (2008: 223–24), who identified this text with a hymn composed before 1410 by John Kladas (fl. 1st hf. 15th cent.), *lampadarios* of the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople.

9 About Chalcondyles, see *DBI*: XVI, *s.v.* "Calcondila, Demetrio" and Botley (2010: 34–36). About Chrysoloras, see Botley (2010: 7–12) and, more extensively, Rollo (2012: 35–45).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

In 1512, he launched his second edition of the complete manual, adding some dialectology tracts at the end: *De Graecarum proprietate linguarum ex scriptis de arte Io.* [*Ioannis Philoponi*] *Grammatici*, Plutarch's *De dialectis, quae apud Homerum* (wrongly attributed to Eustathius of Thessalonike), and the *excerptum De Dialectis* taken from Gregory of Corinth, all accompanied by a Latin translation.[10]

2 Elementary Practice Texts at the End of Works of Study or Reading Books

Manutius's name is also linked to a bilingual linguistic appendix, the *Appendix Aldina*, mentioned above, which is found in a high number of editions dating to 1494–1495.[11] It was the most widespread pamphlet of linguistic exercises in circulation in Europe between the fifteenth and sixteenth century for people teaching themselves the basics of the Greek language (Doc. 1 below). The *Appendix* was printed for the first time in the Aldine edition of Lascaris's epitome in 1494–1495 and was reprinted afterwards in both the editions of the complete manual in 1501–1503 and 1512.[12] We also find it in Manutius's Latin grammar, first printed in 1501 and reissued in 1507 with the inclusion of William Lily's booklet *De octo partium orationis constructione* (William Lily, 1468–1522), edited by Erasmus (this addition was omitted in the subsequent editions of 1508, 1514, and 1523). The more than forty editions that came out in Italy and the rest of Europe circulated always without the editor's name, which was not even stated in the Aldine originals.[13]

10 Botley (2010: 33, 130 no. 46) and Nuti (2014: 273–74). It should be mentioned that John the Grammarian, author of the *De Graecarum proprietate linguarum*, most likely is John Philoponus (*c.*490–*c.*570), and not Giovanni Crastone: see Cortesi & Fiaschi (2008: I, 380; II, 1082–83, 1643).

11 See Botley (2010: 71–75).

12 A complete list of the Aldine editions of the *Appendix* is presented below (Doc. 2). The introduction in Hebrew is not included in the 1494–1495 edition, neither in all the printed copies of the 1502–1503 edition. I have not inserted here the *Brevissima introductio ad litteras Graecas* because this is a completely different text.

13 See Botley (2010: 76–79) and Cortesi & Fiaschi (2008: II, 1080–87, 1641–48) for further details about the number of these editions and the attribution to Manutius of the ps.-Pythagoras's and ps.-Phocylides's translations into Latin which were inserted in the *Appendix* and circulated in Europe until 1529.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

The *Appendix* starts with a description of the letters of the alphabet, whose pronunciation is iotacised.[14] The terminology used from this time onwards (both in the Greek text and in the anonymous Latin translation, which was almost certainly made by Aldus and his collaborators) is the one commonly incorporated by the Greek and Latin grammarians, especially Priscian and Dionysius Thrax. It continues with the description of sounds beginning with the vowels and then moves on to discuss the true diphthongs (six in number) and the false ones (six again). Their description follows Moschopoulos's approach rather than Lascaris's. For instance, the long diphthongs ωυ and ηυ, absent from Lascaris's list, are discussed in the *Appendix*. After dividing the sounds into *semivocales* (in turn distinguished between *immutabiles* and *duplices*) and *mutae* (*tenues, mediae, aspiratae*), following the traditional canon going back to Dionysius Thrax (and followed by Priscian, even if with some reservations), the section on consonants (*De consonantibus*) discusses the affinities among the various degrees of the consonants. Examples illustrate the ways in which the mute consonants, in their three divisions, correspond to one another and how they are transformed via assimilation and dissimilation, however without citing the long explanations in similar Byzantine texts, such as the chapter περὶ διαιρέσεως τῶν στοιχείων in Moschopoulos's *Ἐπιτομὴ νέα γραμματικῆς* (published by Titze in 1822). The Aldine *Appendix* gives examples of similar shifts of consonantal sounds also in Greek verb conjugation, using paradigms taken from the verbs λείπω, τύπτω, γράφω, φύω, χαλέπτω, θαυμάζω, and λέγω. The advantage for Latin learners consisted in having, on one single page, all the basic information they needed in order to find their way among some of the main consonant transformations in Greek texts. The following paragraph was devoted to the *potestas* of letters and diphthongs. The pronunciation advised to students of Greek was obviously not the Erasmian post-1528 version, but that of medieval Greek which was until then widespread in Europe.[15]

The following paragraph, entitled *Quaemadmodum litterae ac diphthongi Graecae, Latine transferantur* (*How Greek letters and diphthongs can be transposed into Latin*) is particularly interesting for our analysis: it deals, in Greek alphabetical order, with the manner in which individual Greek letters were transposed into Latin. There is no striking similarity between the way

14 The edition of the text is available in Tomè (2019).

15 In the dialogue *De recta Latini Graecique sermonis pronuntiatione* published in 1528 (Erasmus 1528), Erasmus established the "Erasmian pronunciation" of ancient Greek: see Egger (1869: 451–43), Faulkner (1907: 233–35) and, most recently, Barnard (2017).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

the matter is treated in the *Appendix* and how it is treated in other grammar texts circulating in Italy at that time. The only exception is the section on *De accidentis litterarum* in the introductory chapter of Tortelli's *Orthographia* (Giovanni Tortelli, 1400–1466), which follows exactly the same scheme and often uses the same examples as those used in the *Appendix*, but which is neither a Greek grammar nor a lexicon. The perspective in this work, however, is reversed in the sense that, in Tortelli's *Orthographia*, the alphabetical order and the viewpoint is Latin, while in the *Appendix* the order of the letters and the reader's viewpoint are those of Greek grammar.

3 Correspondences between Aldine *Appendix* and Tortelli's *Orthographia*

Let us now see, then, to what extent the above-mentioned section of the *Appendix* overlaps with the corresponding sections in Tortelli's *Orthographia* and what the common sources could be (see Doc. 3 below). Before doing so, we must clarify a few points: the most uncertain categories in the transposition of Greek words into Latin are aspirated letters, diphthongs, the letter Y (and therefore I), the transposition of the short and long vowels, and some consonant phenomena (such as the *agma*, for example). These issues, however, are not treated in the same way in the two texts. When comparing both works, we should bear in mind their different starting points: the *Appendix* starts from the transposition of Greek into Latin and relies, almost exclusively, on a manual of examples, while Tortelli's dictionary, abounding in technical digressions, relies on Latin grammar and spelling from a historical viewpoint and draws its examples from Latin authors saturated with Graecisms. Out of about 150 examples in this section of the *Appendix*, more than half are identical to the examples Tortelli offers in corresponding sections of his *Orthographia.*

It is true that Aldus Manutius himself was an author of grammatical works in both Greek and in Latin and that knowledge of Priscian was almost taken for granted in his books. But why did he spend so much time and energy choosing the Greek examples used by Priscian in his presentation of the accidence of Latin? And why did he take the trouble of rearranging them in alphabetical order, when the same task had already been done by Tortelli, whose dictionary, straight from the press (1493, see Doc. 4 below), was widely available? Moreover, as I have recently demonstrated, many passages of Tortelli's *Orthographia* can be found inserted in one manuscript related to Aldus himself, where they were copied together with his autograph entitled *De diphtongis Graecis et ut Latinae fiant libellus* (which was, as a matter of fact, a first draft of the *Appendix*

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

itself).[16] Below I will compare some passages of the *Appendix* with the corresponding sections of Tortelli's *Orthographia*, together with their (possible) common sources. The cases considered for comparison are the transposition of Y, Δ, H (η), and of Greek aspirates into Latin.

4 Transposition of Y into Latin

As regards the transposition of Y into Latin, the canon proposed in the *Appendix*, which is broader than in the common source (here, Priscian), completely tallies with Tortelli. In the following passages, I have consistently marked in italics the words common to the *Appendix*, Priscian, and Tortelli, in bold those common only to the *Appendix* and to Tortelli:[17]

> Y plerumque remanet, ut Ἱερώνυμος Hieronymus, συνώνυμον synonymum; transit etiam in u, ut Ῥωμύλος Rhomulus, *μὺς mus*, *σὺς sus*, Θύλη Thule, **Κῦμαι Cumae**, **πύξος buxus**, *πορφύρεος purpureus*, **δύω duo**, *κυβερνήτης gubernator*, *φυγὴ fuga*, **βότρυς botrus**, *γόνυ genu*.

> Y mostly remains, as Ἱερώνυμος Hieronymus, συνώνυμον synonymum. It becomes U, as in Ῥωμύλος *Rhomulus*, *μὺς mus*, *σὺς sus*, Θύλη Thule, **Κῦμαι Cumae**, **πύξος buxus**, *πορφύρεος purpureus*, **δύω duo**, *κυβερνήτης gubernator*, *φυγὴ fuga*, **βότρυς botrus**, *γόνυ genu*.

In the *De Y littera*, in the margin of *GL* II, 27.25–28.4, Tortelli presents a list of Greek words to be written in Latin with Y. I have marked in italics the words common to Tortelli, Priscian and to the *Appendix*, in bold those common only to Tortelli and to the *Appendix*:

> **δύω duo;** *μῦς mus; σῦς sus* et inde diminutivum sucula; *κυβερνήτης gubernator*; κύμινος cuminus vel cuminum; κυπάρισσος cupressus; **Κύμη Cumae** quod urbis est nomen ut in dictionibus videbimus; μύραινα murena quod piscis est nomen; μύλλος mullus nomen est piscis ut Iuvenalis "Mullum sex milibus emit"; θύννος thunnus similiter est piscis; στυππεῖα stupa; *πόρφυρα purpura*; τύμβα tumba; *φυγὴ fuga*; φῦκος phucus; **βότρυς**

16 Venice, Querini Stampalia Library, MS Cl. VII Cod. 2 (=1274): *Alti Manducii* (*sic*) *ad Christophorum Fuliginatem de diphtongis Graecis et ut Latinae fiant libellus*, cc. 31r–34v. An edition of the text is included as Appendix A in Tomè (2019).

17 The passages cited in what follows are cited after Tomè (2019).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

> **botrus**; *γόνυ genu*; σαμβύκα genus est instrumenti musici; ζυγὸς iugum; Σύλλας Sulla.[18]

> **δύω duo;** *μῦς mus; σῦς sus* and from it the diminutive *sucula; κυβερνήτης gubernator*; κύμινος cuminus vel cuminum; κυπάρισσος cupressus; **Κύμη Cumae**, which is the name of a city, as we will see in the dictionary; μύραινα murena, which is the name of a fish; μύλλος mullus is the name of a fish as in Juvenal (4.15) "Mullum sex milibus emit"; θύννος thunnus likewise is a kind of fish; στυππεῖα stupa; *πόρφυρα purpura*; τύμβα tumba; *φυγὴ fuga*; φῦκος phucus; **βότρυς botrus**; *γόνυ genu*; σαμβύκα is a kind of musical instrument; ζυγὸς iugum; Σύλλας Sulla.

This canon, in Tortelli's *Orthographia*, consists of about twenty Greek words, partly employed by Priscian and common in the glossographic tradition.[19] All are followed by their Latin transcriptions and explanations. As pointed out by Biville, *botrus* might be a case of transposition of ο > *U* in the initial syllable, while the Greek etymology of *duo* is testified by Isidore, *Origins* 3.3.1.[20] *Rhomulus* and *buxus* apparently are not included in Tortelli's list in *De Y littera*, but in the alphabetic section of the treatise we find the entry *Buxus*,[21] and,

18 Tortelli, *Orthographia, De Y littera*. About this passage see also Tomè (2012: 329–39) and Tomè (2017: 88–98).

19 See Tomè (2017: 91–92). These words are also included in *CGL* II, 1–212 (*Glossae Latino-Graecae* in BnF, MS Lat. 7651) and *CGL* II, 213–484 (*Glossae Graeco-Latinae* in BL, Harley MS 5792) and *CGL* III, 221–79 (*Hermeneumata Einsidlensia*, in MS 19 of the Stiftsbibliothek Einsiedeln). See also *GL* II, 27.24 ("μῦς mus" and "πόρφυρα purpura"); II, 20.20 ("gubernator κυβερνήτης"); II, 108.1 ("sus [...] facit diminutivum sucula"); II, 224.13 ("muraena"); II, 11.21 ("fuga"); II, 26.18 ("γόνυ genu").

20 See Biville (1990–1995: II, 255–319, 145–46): having excluded the seven Greek lemmas coming from Priscian, Biville classifies seven of the thirteen remaining forms among the late loans transposed into Latin (*cuminum, Cumae, mullus, thunnus, stupa, tumba*, and *sambuca*). While it is not clear whether *cupressus* could be considered as a Greek loan word (Biville 1990–1995: II, 145–46 considers it to be a Mediterranean word), and *fucus* certainly does not come from Greek (Biville 1990–1995: II, 376), *botrus* might be a case of transposition of ο > *U* in the initial syllable. Among the last three words, the Greek etymology of *iugum* is testified by Servius's commentary on Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.411; that of *duo* by Isidore, *Origins* 3.3.1, while the form *Sulla / Sylla* always alternated during the history of the Latin language (see also Maltby 1991, in the corresponding entries).

21 Tortelli, *Orthographia, s.v.* "Buxus": *Buxus cum X consonante apud Graecos scribitur, nostri vero plerumque X in duplicatum S commutare consueverunt ac dicere bussus. Quin et ubi primam Graeci cum P et Y Graeco scribunt, nos commutantes P in B et Y Graecum in U nostrum ac dicimus "bussus"* [...] ("Buxus is written with the consonant X among the Greeks, while the Latins usually turned X into a double S and wrote *bussus*. Moreover, while the

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

even if there is no entry devoted to Romulus himself, in the entry *Rhoma* the unusual spelling of the word is justified with its Greek etymology from ῥώμη.[22] We must stress here that especially the spelling *Rhomulus* is a clear signal of an employment of Tortelli's *Orthographia*, where the unusual spelling *Rhoma* is found in the alphabetic list with the detailed explanation of its possible Greek etymology quoted above.

5 Transposition of Δ into Latin

With regard to the letter delta, there is a gloss from a possible common source other than Priscian and already previously used by Tortelli for the same purpose:[23]

> Δ commutatur in d, ut Διδὼ Dido, δαίμων daemon, interdum in b, ut δὶς bis, et in l, ut Ὀδυσσεὺς Ulysses, sicut apud nos, ut sedes, sella: nam d et l invicem sibi cedunt.
>
> Δ is transposed into D, as in Διδὼ Dido, δαίμων daemon, sometimes into B, as in δὶς bis, and into L as in ‘Οδυσσεὺς Ulysses, similar to what happens in Latin with sedes sella: in fact D and L give way to each other.

In Tortelli's *Orthographia, De D littera*, we read the following:

> Item (AD transit) in L, ut allido, de quibus latius in sequentibus apparebit. Nonnunquam vero et absque compositione praepositionis fuit D mutatam in L: nam a sedeo olim sedda dicebatur quae nunc sella dicitur.

Greeks write the first (syllable) with P and Y, we transpose P into B and Y into our (vowel) U, so we say *bussus*").

22 Tortelli registered *Rhoma* in the alphabetic list because of its Greek etymology supported by Solinus, Isidore of Seville, Macrobius, and Plutarch, but in the long explanation of this term he clarified that the ancient spelling, testified also in many inscriptions, was *Roma*, coming from the name of its founder Romulus. Moreover, he agreed that the name Romulus has a Latin origin (as explained by Plutarch, Varro, Livy, Sallust, Ovid, and Pliny), and that for this reason *Roma* is the correct spelling of this word. The interpretation of the secret name(s) of the city in the Antiquity is still open: see Tommasi (2014).

23 See Tortelli, *De D littera* (*sedda* for *sella*) and Tomè (2012: 300–01). Sources are: Servius's commentary on Virgil, *Eclogues* 1.2; Festus, *De verborum significatu* 340.44 (Lindsay 1913) about *seliquastra*; Marius Victorinus (*GL* VI, 8.15 and VI, 9.17 = Victorinus 1967: 89.26–28); Uguccione da Pisa (2004: S.68.5). Finally see also Maltby (1991: 557).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

> Moreover (AD changes) into L, as in *allido*, as will be discussed later in more detail. Sometimes D was changed into L even without being in a compound word beginning with a preposition: for from the verb *sedeo* derived a noun *sedda* which we now call *sella*.

6 Transposition of H (η) into Latin

Tortelli borrows from Apuleius the Grammarian.[24] The *Appendix*, too, relies on Apuleius for the letter H (*ita*), suggesting the spelling of *caera* and *aethica* with a diphthong, which Tortelli allowed with regard to the letter H (*ita*):

> H est e longum, ut Πηνελόπη Penelope, Πηνελόπης Penelopes, Ἡρακλῆς Hercules; interdum mutatur in a longum, ut μήτηρ mater, Νηὶς Nais, φήμη fama, σίνηπι sinapi, Θρήκη Thrace; item in ae diphthongum, ut <κήρος> caera, σκηνὴ scaena, σκηνοπήγια scaenophegia, ἠθικὴ aethica.

> H is a long *e*, as in Πηνελόπη *Penelope*, Πηνελόπης *Penelopes*, Ἡρακλῆς *Hercules*; sometimes it becomes a long *a*, as in μήτηρ *mater*, Νηὶς *Nais*, φήμη *fama*, σίνηπι *sinapi*, Θρήκη *Thrace*; similarly, it becomes the *ae* diphthong, as in <κήρος> *caera*, σκηνὴ *scaena*, σκηνοπήγια *scaenophegia*, ἠθικὴ *aethica*.

In Tortelli's *Orthographia, De I littera*, we read:

> At vero aliud quod ita vocant et sub aspirationis nostrae forma describunt, raro nam nos sonum eius in nostra scriptura servamus. Sed aliquando quidem in A nostrum convertimus […]. Aliquando vero, immo fere semper, in E productam transferimus […]. Aliquando autem in AE diphthongum transferimus, ut scaena, quae, teste Prisciano libro primo, apud nos cum AE diphthongo scribitur, quod in antiquis marmorum inscriptionibus observatum comperi ut in ea dictione latius videbimus. Similiter aethica, caera et alia nonnulla, teste Apuleio grammatico, cum AE diphthongo scribuntur, quae ab ipso η traducuntur, ut in dictione aethica expressius declarabimus. Sed, ut diximus, nulla a Prisciano notatur nisi tantum scaena.

24 See Donati (2006: 75–76, 290–91); Biondi (2011: 341–69); Tomè (2012: 320–26), with a complete study of Tortelli's quotations from Apuleius the Grammarian.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

> However, in writing we rarely use the other (sound) that is called *ita* and is written in the shape of our aspirate (H), but sometimes we transpose it into our A [...] Sometimes, almost always indeed, we transpose it into a long E [...]. But sometimes we transpose it into the AE diphthong, as in *scaena*, which, according to Priscian in his first book (*GL* II, 38.4), we write with the AE diphthong, which I saw in ancient marble inscriptions, as we shall see more extensively in that entry (*scaena*). Likewise *aethica, caera* and several other words that, according to Apuleius the Grammarian, derive from η, are written with the AE diphthong as we will explain more in depth in the entry *aethica*. However, as I said, none of these words are registered by Priscian, apart from *scaena*.

All these words (*scaena, aethica, caera*) are separately listed and explained by Tortelli in the alphabetic section of his treatise, but only *scaena* is quoted also by Priscian.

7 Transposition of the Greek Aspiration into Latin

But it is above all in the theoretical principles regarding aspiration and its use by the Latins that the manner in which the question is treated in the *Appendix* shows its debt not only to Priscian himself, but to Tortelli's revision of Priscian's work. In the section *De X littera* in the Aldine *Appendix*, we read the following:

> Quoniam autem in sermonem de aspiratione incidimus, illud annotatione dignum existimavimus, acceptam esse aspirationem nostram ἀπὸ τῆς δασείας καὶ ψιλῆς accentibus Graecis. Nam illi dasian sic notant ⊢ et psilen sic ⊣ quos accentus in unum coniungentes Romani fecerunt eam aspirationem, qua nos in grandiusculis utimur literis <H>. Qui tamen accentus nunc fere exoleverunt apud Graecos, quorum loco iuniores hisce utuntur ‘ ’, ut δασεῖα habeat figuram c nostri, sic ‘, ψιλὴ vero c inversi sic ’. Et hinc puto nos accepisse aspirationem, qua cursim scribendo utimur: nam si addideris psilen denso aspirationem facies, sed inflexam, quamquam aetate nostra plures rectam quam flexam scribentes notant. Hanc nos aspirationem modo in s vertimus, ut ἕξ sex, ἑπτὰ septem ἕρπιλλον serpillium, modo in u, ut ἕσπερα vespera, Ἐνετὸς Venetus, sed frequenter in nostram aspirationem, ut ὕμνος hymnus, Ἡσίοδος Hesiodus, Ὅμηρος Homerus.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

> As we have moved onto the subject of aspirates, we considered it worthwhile mentioning that our aspirates derive ἀπὸ τῆς δασείας καὶ ψιλῆς (i.e., from the rough and smooth breathing), Greek diacritical marks. In fact, they indicate the rough breathing as ⊢ and the smooth as ⊣. The Romans, by unifying these marks into one, created that aspirate that we write in capital letters as <H>. These marks nowadays are almost in disuse among Greeks, instead of which modern Greeks use ' ', so that the δασεῖα (rough breathing) has the shape of our *c*, as in ', while the ψιλὴ (smooth breathing) has that of an inverted *c*, as in '. And from this I think we took the aspirate that we currently use in writing: in fact, adding the smooth breathing to the rough, you will have the aspirate, but tilted, although nowadays the majority make it straight. We sometimes transpose the aspirate into *s*, as in ἕξ *sex*, ἑπτὰ s*eptem* (Priscian in *GL* II, 32.20.21), ἕρπιλλον s*erpillium* (Servius, commentary on Virgil, *Eclogues* 2.11.6–10), sometimes into *u*, as in ἕσπερα *vespera* (Papirianus in Tortelli), Ἑνετὸς *Venetus*, but often into our aspirate, as in ὕμνος *hymnus*, Ἡσίοδος *Hesiodus*, Ὅμηρος *Homerus*.

The sources of this passage of the *Appendix* are Priscian (on the transposition of the Greek aspirates into Latin) and Servius (as for the transposition of the aspirates into S). However, as we are about to see, there is also another source for the transposition into V (ἕσπερα *vespera*, Ἑνετὸς *Venetus*), most likely coming from Tortelli's *Orthographia*.[25] In the long historical exposition devoted to *De aspiratione*, Tortelli distances himself, at least partially, from his most obvious source (Priscian in the first book of his *Institutiones*), inserting a long anonymous digression that can be summarised as follows: The Attics, unlike the Aeolians, began to differentiate aspirated and unaspirated marks dividing the graphic sign of the vowel H (*ita*), while the Aeolians of the more recent generations chose to adopt the form of the curved (crescent-shaped) *sigma*, as Censorinus would testify.[26] After explaining that he had seen no evidence in the Greek codices of the spelling of the *nota aspirationis et exilitatis* proposed by the Aeolians, Tortelli concludes by saying that the Latins imported the letter H entirely to denote the *nota aspirationis* from the Attics, since the *nota exilitatis* was not used in their language.[27]

25 The source probably is Papirianus the Grammarian via Tortelli's *Orthographia*: see Tomè (2011: 187–89).

26 For the full Latin text, see Doc. 5 below (the relevant passage has been italicised).

27 See Tomè (2011) for a complete analysis of the sources.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Here, I would like to emphasise that, in the above-mentioned passage, Tortelli annotates Priscian with parallel material of uncertain origin which he himself attributed to the grammarian Papirianus, who was probably also the mediator of the obscure palaeographic *sententiae* of Censorinus, repeated word for word in the *Appendix Aldina* (while however omitting the explanatory word *Aeoles*). The use of the crescent-shaped sigma, introduced by the *iuniores Aeoles* to indicate the aspirated sign,[28] appears to have been confirmed by Censorinus, an author whom, in fact, Priscian names more than once in connection with a book called *De accentibus*.[29] It is plausible that the untraceable passage in Censorinus, from which Tortelli distances himself, basing his conclusions on his own personal observation of ancient Greek codices, came in fact from Papirianus. The coincidence of the examples and the explanation, shortened so much as to be hardly comprehensible, is clear evidence that the *Appendix* relies on Tortelli's dictionary.

One would search in vain for a mention of all these explanations and examples in Aldus Manutius's own grammar, a text composed in Greek as a help in the advanced study of writers in that language without the support of any other material apart from declensions and conjugations, but destined to have practically no diffusion. There are more common features with *De diphthongis Graecis et ut Latine fiant libellus*, a treatise on diphthongs which Manutius sent to Cristoforo di Foligno, now preserved in the Querini Stampalia Foundation,[30] a text to which he would seem to refer at the end of the passage on Greek diphthongs in the *Appendix*, where he alludes to a "fragmentary" text to which he intended to return in the future:

> Sed an diphthongos et ε η ο ω υ vocales ut nunc nos antiqui quoque pronuntiaverint, in fragmentis nostris disputaturi sumus. Nam et Graeci meo iudicio suas diphthongos, et nos nostras, tum quas diximus vocaleis, perperam pronuntiamus. Idem etiam pronuntiandis accentibus non servata syllabarum quantitate fieri iudicamus, ut θρω in ἄνθρωπος corripere, et μο in Σιμόεις producere videamur propter accentum.

28 Some Greek dialects (e.g., Aeolic) did not use the rough breathing and in others it would eventually disappear; Priscian (*GL* II, 32.19–33.3) suggests a correspondence between the rough breathing */h/* and the Latin */s/* (e.g., *herpillum* / *serpillum*). Biville (1990–1995: I, 61) presents similar examples coming from ancient grammarians.

29 Censorinus is quoted by Priscian in *GL* II, 13.8–13, in the *De litteris*, and in *GL* III, 27.23; III, 45.25; III, 46.7; III, 47.3, in the *De praepositione*: see Sallmann's remarks in Censorinus (1983: 71–86) (= *GL* VI, 607–17). It is not clear from which part of Censorinus's work come the information about the curved sigma given by Tortelli.

30 The edition of this text has been included as Appendix A in Tomè (2019).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

> However, in separate sections, we will discuss whether the ancients also pronounced the diphthongs and the vowels ε η ο ω as we do. In my opinion, in fact, both we ourselves and the Greeks pronounce diphthongs and those vowels that I have indicated wrongly. And I believe that, even when we pronounce the accents, we do this without observing the quantities of the syllables, as when we shorten the syllable θρω in ἄνθρωπος and we lengthen the syllable μο in Σιμόεις because of the accent.[31]

One could object that the Aldine entourage could simply have used the same sources as Tortelli in working on the *Appendix*, but here we must take the chronology of events into account (Doc. 4 below): its first edition came out in Venice (1494–1495) and it was so successful as to be reprinted again on several occasions, as we have already seen. These are the years in which the second Venetian series of Tortelli's *Orthographia* came out, with the addition of the summary of its contents proposed by Giorgio Valla (1447–1500) at the end. The function performed by this unknown *Orthographia* of Giorgio Valla was similar to a text such as the *Lima*, namely a presentation of a summarised reassessment of the greater work in relation to which it was published. From 1485 until 1500 (the year of his death), Giorgio Valla was a professor *utriusque linguae* in the city, establishing firm contacts with the world of local printers in accordance with a practice which was common among teachers at that time. His *Orthographia* is a text which is closely connected with Tortelli's *Orthographia*.[32]

8 The Appendix in the Context of the Promotion of Greek Studies by Aldus Manutius

The main selection criterion applied to the Greek authors to be suggested to young people and teachers relates to Christian morality: one of the first school textbooks and anthologies published by Manutius was, in fact, the "ethographies", published in Greek in 1496. This edition, which opens with Theocritus, ended with Hesiod and included several moral writings, among which the

31 See Bateman (1976) and Tomè (forthcoming). The title of the section of the *Appendix* quoted here is *Quonam modo diphthonghi Graecae ad nos veniant, De diphthongis improprie*. This section was included by Aldus only starting from the 1508 edition of the *Appendix* itself.

32 On the structure and the sources of Valla's *Orthographia*, see Tomè (2016).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Disticha Catonis translated into Greek by Planudes, the *sententiae* by Theognis, ps.-Pythagoras's *Aurea Carmina*, *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides*, and the poems of the Erythrean Sybil. Thus, we can immediately note the overlap with the same number of texts in the *Appendix Aldina* and the strongly parenetic tone of its contents (see Doc. 1 below). The contrivance of making the quaternions in the editions for beginners detachable (as was done for the Lascaris of the *Appendix Aldina* or *Aesop*), made it possible to separate the Greek grammar itself (or the author's Greek text) from its Latin translation. Manutius exploited this publishing need: in the Lascaris edition which included the *Appendix*, he used a psychagogic text, the *Tabula* of the ps.-Cebes of Thebes (also in the two versions, both Greek and Latin) so that even these linking pages could be used for the purpose of bilingual study.

From Manutius's point of view, the study of Greek was indissolubly interconnected with the ability to render a Greek text into Latin: he emphasised this himself and also provided, we might say, a key to the interpretation of his work in his prefaces, for example in the dedicatory letter of the 1497 *De animalibus* (see Doc. 6 below). As regards the selection of the contents to be presented in the two languages, Manutius explicitly returns to what he had already said in the preface to his translation of the poems of Gregory of Nazianzus, addressed to "all those who wish to learn holy habits together with Greek letters", namely the same "young scholars" for whom he had put together the translations in the *Appendix Aldina*: those for whom, we presume, the Greek language anthologies we have mentioned were primarily intended.[33]

Manutius expresses himself more or less in the same terms in his preface to Erasmus's versions of Euripides (*Hecuba* and *Iphigenia in Aulis*), published in 1507. There are trenchant criticisms of the rejected translations, which are so unreliable that it had been necessary to translated them again from scratch. In the 1505 *Aesop*, for instance, we read: *nam quae ante tralata habebantur, infida admodum erant, quod facillimum erit conferenti cognoscere* ("the translation which had been done before, which was what we had, was completely unreliable, as we could see at once when comparing the texts").[34] Singular remarkable case is that of Philostratus's *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*

33 See the text here in Doc. 7 below. The edition mentioned is Gregory of Nazianzus (1504) (the preface is also available in Wilson 2016: 159–61). This was the first edition of the poetry of Gregory of Nazianzus with its Latin translation, a book dedicated by Aldus to Princess Isabella d'Este of Mantua. The book is the last of a three-volume edition under the title *Poetae Christiani veteres*, of which two volumes were issued in 1502.

34 Musurus (2016: 195).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

(1501–1502), which we could call an obvious example of Aldine "anti-canon".[35] The publisher's opinion of this text is decidedly unfavourable, to the point that he did not understand at all why Saint Jerome esteemed it so much, and he decided to correct many of Philostratus's statements. Aldus's opinion of Alamanno Rinuccini's translation (Alamanno Rinuccini, 1426–1499) was no less severe, and he provided a long list of corrections to it. His list was, in a way, a lesson in Greek based on the correction of these "mistakes", a reprimand of the content which he considered mendacious, and a not particularly covert attempt to promote his own Greek and bilingual editions, all in one. The texts and translations criticised in this way were accompanied by the edition of Eusebius of Caesarea's pamphlet *Against Hierocles* (a *detractatio* of the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* in Greek with the translation by Zanobi Acciaioli, 1461–1519: the addressee of the dedicatory letter at the beginning of the volume, renowned as a splendid translator). The volume Aldus printed in response presented the criticised text and the translation under review and, at the same time, the text with the censures and the model translation.

9 Conclusions

Aldus Manutius's clever idea, which indirectly also helped the sales of his prestigious Greek editions, was the effective combination of texts in the original language and in Latin translations. By combining Greek texts with Latin translations, he entered a wider market of potential buyers, ranging from beginners and curious readers up to eminent scholars. Apart from such works, he also published basic tools for language acquisition such as elementary and more advanced grammars and dictionaries, providing them with bilingual indices for the Latin classics or the Latin versions of Greek works. Examples of this editorial practice are the index of Statius's works in 1502; the Latin versions of Aristotle and Theophrastus by Aeneas of Gaza in 1503–1504, which may justifiably be considered to be complete Greek-Latin lexicographic indices in their own right; or, again, the efforts made to translate all the Greek passages in Cicero's letters to Atticus, Quintus, and Brutus, published in 1513. But here we should leave the last word to Aldus Manutius, translator of the rare Greek grammatical pamphlets printed in Lascaris's grammar together with our *Appendix*, with all the gratitude which we still owe him six centuries later:

35 Dall'Asta (2007).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

> Traducere autem in Latinum has Graecorum linguarum proprietates fuit certe labor Herculeus atque ita taedii plenum, ut persaepe his traducendis doluerim […] Sed quid facerem? Primum receperam me id in fronte libri facturum, deinde utilissimum fore existimabam Graecarum literarum studiosis, quorum causa nullum unquam quamvis magnum laborem evitaturus sum. Te igitur, carissime lector, hortor ac rogo ut id studiose legas: plurimum, mihi crede, proficies, et debebis laboribus nostris. Vale
>
> To translate these features of Greek dialects into Latin was certainly a Herculean task and so tedious that I very often found these translations painful […] But what was I to do? In the first place, I had made a promise at the beginning of the volume, and then I thought it would be useful for students of Greek literature, on whose behalf I shall never shun any task however great. So, dear reader, I encourage and invite you to read it carefully; believe me you will benefit greatly and owe much to our labour. Farewell.[36]

Documents

Doc. 1: Pinax of the *Appendix* in Lascaris, *Grammar*: 1512

1. De litteris Graecis, ac diphthongis, et quemadmodum ad nos veniant
2. Alphabetum Graecum
3. Quemadmodum litterae ac diphthongi Graecae in Latinum transferantur
4. Abbreviationes perpulchrae scitu, quibus frequentissime Graeci utuntur indifferenter et in principio et in medio et in fine dictionis
5. Oratio dominica (Pater Noster)
6. Duplex Salutatio Angeli ad Beatissimam Virginem (Ave Maria—Salve Regina)
7. Symbolum Apostolorum
8. Evangelium Sancti Ioannis
10. Aurea carmina Pythagorae
11. Phocylidis Poema ad bene beateque vivendum
12. Versus in Phocylidem

36 English translation and Latin text from Manutius (2016: 212–15). This is Aldus's dedication letter of the *De Graecarum proprietate linguarum ex scriptis de arte Ioannis Grammatici* to the young scholars, in Lascaris (1512).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Doc. 2: Chronology of Aldine *Appendix* printings

The first day of the new year *more veneto* was 1 March: so, all the Venetian editions printed between 1 January and 1 March should be postponed to the subsequent year. For this reason, I have indicated the contemporary date between brackets: i.e. 1493(4). Here is the *conspectus siglorum* of the Aldine editions of this text, from Tomè (forthcoming):

A = Lascaris *Erotemata*, 28 February 1494(1495); 8 March 1495.

B = Aldi Manutii Romani *Rudimenta grammatices Latinae linguae*, 8 February 1501(1502).

B_1 = Constantini Lascaris Byzantini *De octo partibus orationis*, sine data (1502–1503?).[37]

C = Aldi Manutii Romani *Institutionum grammaticarum libri quatuor*, April 1508.

D = Constantini Lascaris Byzantini *De octo partibus orationis*, October 1512.

E = Aldi Manutii Romani *Institutionum grammaticarum libri quatuor*, December 1514.

Doc. 3: Correspondences between the *Appendix Aldina* Tortelli's *Orthographia*

Category to transpose	***Appendix Aldina***	**Tortelli, *Orthographia***	**Sources**
ASPIRATION	Precepts at X in the paragraph *De consonatibus*, examples at Θ, X, Φ	*De aspiratione*, De F, De V littera	*GL* II, 17–19, 32–33, 36 + Papirianus (Censorinus)
SOUND A	Letter A	De A littera	*GL* II, 12, 22, 24–25, 36, 38
SOUND E	Letter E and H	De E, De I littera (Ita)	*GL* II, 11, 27, 38, 420; III 471 + Apuleius the Grammarian
SOUND I	Letter I	De I littera (I parvum)	*GL* II, 40
SOUND O	Letter O and Ω	De O, De V littera	*GL* II, 15–16, 25–26, 224–25
SOUND U/Y	Letter Y	De I, De V, De Y littera	*GL* II, 27–28

37 Renouard (1934: 262–63) dates it at 1502–1503.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Doc. 3 (*cont.*)

Category to transpose	***Appendix Aldina***	**Tortelli, *Orthographia***	**Sources**
DIPHTHONGS (true)	Diphthong αι	De αι diphth.	*GL* II, 37–38
	Diphthong αυ	De αυ diphth.	*GL* II, 38–39
	Diphthong ει	De ει diphth., De I littera	*GL* II, 24
	Diphthong ευ	De ευ diphth.	*GL* II, 39
	Diphthong οι	De οι diphth., De I littera	*GL* II, 38–40
	Diphthong ου	De ου diphth., De V littera	*GL* II, 26
	Diphthong υι	De υι diphth.	*GL* II, 37
DIPHTHONGS false	Diphthong ᾳ	—(not mentioned)	
	Diphthong ῳ	De ῳ dipht.	*GL* II, 40
VELARS	Letter Γ, Letter K, Letter X	De C, De G, De X littera	*GL* II, 9, 20, 30, 33, 42, 45
DENTALS	Letter D, Letter T, Letter Z	De D, De T, De Z littera	*GL* II, 20, 36 + Servius (*)
LABIALS	Letter B, Letter P, Letter Ψ	De B, De P, *De antisigma*	*GL* II, 18, 20, 33–35, 43, 461, 507 (Priscian examples)
NASALS	Letter N, Letter M	De N, De M littera	*GL* II, 19
LIQUIDS	Letter L, Letter R	De L, De R littera	
SPIRANTS	Letter S	De S, De V, De F littera, De aspiratione	*GL* II, 24, 32

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Doc. 4: Chronology of Tortelli's *Orthographia* and Aldine *Appendix* editions between 1493 and 1515 (Aldus's death)

Tortelli, *Orthographia*. Add. Georgii Vallae *De orthographia*		***Aldine Appendix***
Venice: F. Pincio	13 April 1493	
Venice: G. Tacuino	19 December 1495	Venice: 1494(1495) (in Lascaris's *Erotemata*)
Venice: B. de Zanis de Portesio	25 August 1501	Venice: between 1501 and 1503 (both in Lascaris's *Erotemata* and in Aldus's Latin grammar)
Venice: B. de Zanis de Portesio	22 May 1504	Venice: 1508 (in Aldus's Latin grammar) Venice: 1512 (in Lascaris's Greek grammar) Venice: 1514 (in Aldus's Latin grammar)

Doc. 5: Tortelli *Orthographia, De Aspiratione*

Summary: this paragraph of Tortelli's *Orthographia* gives much information not mentioned in the ancient and the medieval Greek and Latin grammarians: among them, there is the passage about the curved sigma that Tortelli attributed to Censorinus, but that it is untraceable at present.

[Text edition by Tomè (2011: 167–210), based on the *editio princeps* Venice, Jenson, 1471 (PV) and on MS Vat. Lat. 1478 (A), Tortelli's copy with many notes and revisions by his own hand].

Ut ostendunt grammatici nostri littera non est, sed aspirationis nota, nec aliud litterae nisi figuram [...] detinere potest. [...] At nulla syllaba plus duabus mutis iuxta se positis habere potest, nec plus tribus consonantibus continuari valet, ut latius Priscianus noster hoc ipsum disputavit. Sed ad alia tendentes comperimus, Papyriano auctore libro II de orthographia, Latinos nostros figuram plenam cuiusdam Graecae litterae ad nos pro aspiratione traduxisse quae apud illos vocalis est et sub hac forma H scribitur, atque ita vocatur. Nam, ut supra ostendimus, post quinque alias vocales hae litterae H et Ω mega Graecis compertae fuerunt, ante quas nec aspirationem Graeci nec Latini

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

habebant, ut etiam in quibusdam antiquissimis inscriptionibus tam Graecorum quam Latinorum usque ad haec tempora ego ipse aspexi. Sed cum a diligentissimis grammaticis primum Graecis, deinde Latinis spiritus quandoque diversissimus in litterarum pronuntiatione annotari posse videretur, *visum est Aeolibus primum, effugentibus spiritus asperitatem, ϝ digamma pro aspiratione in quibusdam dictionibus uti. Quos antiqui Romani sequentes, loco aspirationis ipsum quandoque apponebant*. Unde, cum pro illo postea U consonantem surrogarent, etiam nunc ubi illi ϝέσπερα, nos vespera scribimus et proferimus, et primum, teste eodem Papyriano, fespera scribebamus; item illi ϝέστις nos vestis, et primum festis dicebamus. *Verum Attici, comperta vocali H, dividere illam coeperunt et partem quidem unam videlicet <H> pro aspiratione accipere, alteram vero pro nota exilitatis statuere*. Nam omnis dictio apud illos a vocali incipiens vel nota aspirationis vel exilitatis annotatur. *Sed cum* ***iuniores Aeoles, teste Censorino****, facilius semicirculum describerent, vel quia forte propinquior ad formam digammae esse videbatur, coeperunt aspirationem in similitudinem C nostri describere quod pene eandem figuram quam Graecum σ detinet habere videtur, nisi quod non tanta curvitate quanta ipsum C nostrum vel σ Graecum aspiratio ipsa designatur, ut scilicet apertius priorem formam referre videtur.* Sed, ut in antiquis codicibus Graecis quotidie aspicimus, prior forma signata apparet et non novorum Aeolorum forma describitur […]. *At Latini cum aspirationem in scriptura nostra reciperent, totum H pro aspiratione sumpserunt. Nec illud dividere curae fuit, quia exilitatis notam penitus neglexerunt*. Ponimus igitur aspirationis notam ante vocales omnes, sed post consonantes tantummodo quattuor, more antiquorum graecorum, hoc est post C, ut Chremes, post T, ut Thraso, post P, ut Philippus, post R, ut Pyrrhus. Verum cum, Papyriano teste, vetustiores Graecorum notam ipsam aspirationis in versu ut nostri conscriberent, actum olim fuisse perpendimus ut, non excercitis Latinis in scriptura Graeca, confusionem quoque et errorem ipsa aspirationis nota nonnunquam induceret. Nam traducentes nostri ab initio dictiones plurimas Graecas quibus indigere videbamur, contigit ut, decepti figurarum similitudine, id quod aspirationis nota erat pro littera S acciperent et traducerent, et maxime quia ab Aeolibus ut plurimum sumpserint, qui aspirationem in forma C Graeci designabant. Itaque cum scriptum comperirent σερπίλλος (Serv. ad *Ecl.* 2.11.6–10), putantes primam non esse aspirationem sed S litteram quam illi in ea figura describunt, traduxerunt serpillus, non herpillus. Simili modo ἕρπω dixerunt serpo et non herpo, ἕξ traduxerunt sex et non hex, ἑπτά septem, et similia quae plurima comperiuntur (*GL* II, 32.20–21).

Doc. 6: Aldus Manutius's Dedication Letter to Albertus Pius da Carpi, in Aristoteles's *De animalibus* (1497) (transl. by N. G. Wilson in Manutius 2016: 47–49).

"But now, dear Alberto, accept these books by Aristotle, *De Animalibus*. You and anyone else who wishes to achieve distinction in the liberal arts will gain a great deal by reading them, both from the quantity of diverse subject matter and the elegant

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

stylistic felicity of the divine Aristotle. For if you compare this text of *De animalibus* with the one rendered into Latin with remarkable success by Theodore Gaza— although he was Greek, he was easily the best of all the scholars of his time in Latin and Greek— you will have no cause to be dissatisfied with the progress you can soon make. In that work you can appreciate the characteristics of each language, which is absolutely essential for us and for the Greeks. Believe me, there is no Greek text from which Greek can be more easily learned by our fellow countrymen, thanks to Theodore. That is how Ermolao Barbaro, your uncle Pico della Mirandola, Girolamo Donà and Angelo Poliziano, men of great judgment, great ability and all-round erudition learned Greek; so also everyone who is good at Greek today. So I think, dear Alberto, you should do the same, so that, being a person of no small ability, you match those men I have mentioned in eloquence and knowledge".

Doc. 7: Aldus Manutius's Dedication Letter to the Young Scholars, in Gregory of Nazianzus, *Carmina* (1504) (transl. by N. G. Wilson in Manutius 2016: 159–61).

"We have printed the poems of Gregory, bishop of Nazianzus, very conducive to the good and pious life, recently translated from Greek into Latin almost word for word; we reckoned, young students, it would be quite beneficial for you to make careful comparison of this kind of translation with the Greek, because you would learn Greek and at the same time how to live as a Christian. In these poems there is great learning and elegance, and they give the young wonderful instruction in good moral principles. Discover by comparison whether this is so or not. Farewell".

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

CHAPTER 2

From a Thirsty Desert to the Rise of the Collège de France: Greek Studies in Paris, *c.*1490–1540

Luigi-Alberto Sanchi

In the following pages I will give an account of the development of Greek studies within the French capital's humanist *milieu* through four metaphors: first, Paris as a "thirsty desert", where at least some scholars asked for Greek teaching and books; second, Paris as a "cultural crossroads", where post-Byzantine and Italian humanists met French, Flemish, German, English, and other European scholars, humanists, and printers; third, Paris as a "battleground", where Sorbonne theologians fought against humanists who wanted to study Greek, considering them potential or actual heretics; and finally, the establishment of the first king's lecturers as the "starting point" of the brilliant subsequent generations of scholars and printers, including Robert (1503–1559) and Henri II (1528–1598) Estienne, Adrien Turnèbe (1512–1565), Denis Lambin (1520–1572), and Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614). This consideration will be based partly on the existing scholarship, mainly in French, and partly on my studies on Guillaume Budé (1468–1540) and his Parisian intellectual entourage.

The rise of Greek studies in France during the Renaissance has been conceived in different ways, even though it is generally regarded as a significant episode in French national history. Many historians of Renaissance France see humanism, a movement for which the knowledge of Greek became central, as the major factor in the renewal of French culture at the beginning of the sixteenth century, starting about the time of Charles VIII's wars in Italy (1494–1498) and extending through the reign of Francis I (1515–1547) (who is often called the father of arts and letters). In fact, the innovative philological methods of humanism were highly controversial in Paris, which was steeped in the medieval scholastic tradition. The glorious Faculty of Theology, or Sorbonne, dominated the university. The faculty attracted students from all over Europe, and thus became an intellectual melting pot. It also repressed by all means, however, every trend suspected of heresy. In such a context, the quick and vigorous development of Lutheranism among scholars familiar with theology, humanism, and Greek or Hebrew turned into a central issue, because it was considered a threat not only by theology professors, but also by certain

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2020 | DOI:10.1163/9789004402461_004
Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

sectors of the local, ecclesiastic, and national elite.[1] Later, the Wars of Religion (1562–1598) would show how the response to local Reformations could lead to civil strife and mass violence. Some parts of the French elite, by contrast, looked sympathetically at humanism, if not at Lutheranism, and helped the new cultural movement put down deep roots in French culture through a long intellectual struggle, commented upon by François Rabelais's famous novels *Pantagruel* (1532) and *Gargantua* (1534). The first major result of this sympathising with the ambitions of humanism was the establishment, in 1530, of the first two chairs of king's lecturers, the *lecteurs du roi*, for Greek and Hebrew, who under royal patronage were protected from the attacks of the Sorbonne.

The Reformation in France and the foundation of the *lecteurs du roi* (the origins of the present-day Collège de France) are the two central points of focus of historical essays discussing Greek humanism in the kingdom. The former issue is analysed in Pierre Imbart de la Tour's *Les Origines de la Réforme* (specifically volume 2, first published in 1909)[2] and Augustin Renaudet's *Préréforme et humanisme* of 1916, a wide and deep study the author revised in 1953,[3] while Abel Lefranc considers the latter topic in his *Histoire du Collège de France*, published in 1893.[4] Their perspective has been reiterated in more recent studies, such as Marie-Madeleine de La Garanderie's *Christianisme et lettres profanes*,[5] Jean-Christophe Saladin's *La bataille du grec à la Renaissance*,[6] the collective works *Les Origines du Collège de France*[7] and *Histoire du Collège de France*,[8] and, more recently, *Paris, Carrefour culturel autour de 1500*.[9]

Other important contributions, like Gilbert Gadoffre's *La révolution culturelle dans la France des humanistes*[10] and Marc Fumaroli's *L'Âge de l'éloquence*,[11] describe how the French elite progressively dismissed its ancient educational programme, based on military proficiency, to adopt a more modern sort of education, based on the humanities, a process that may appear to be a "cultural revolution", fostered, of course, by the example of the Italian courts

1 The standard study of this dynamics is James K. Farge's *Le Parti conservateur au XVI^e siècle* (Farge 1992; see also Farge 2008).
2 Imbart de la Tour (1946).
3 Renaudet (2011: 117, 132, 156–57, 285, 413–17, 500–14, and *passim*).
4 Lefranc (1970); see also Lefranc (1932).
5 La Garanderie (1995).
6 Saladin (2000).
7 Fumaroli (1994); see also Reverdin (1984).
8 Tuilier (2006).
9 Millet & Sanchi (2016); Brigitte Mondrain's relevant contribution on "La circulation de manuscrits grecs à Paris vers 1500" will be published in another context.
10 Gadoffre (1997).
11 Fumaroli (2002).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

but also by the emulation of other European capitals, such as London under Henry VIII (r. 1509–1547).[12] This tendency is further demonstrated by the existence of the *robins* or *noblesse de robe*—an educated group of high civil servants who would play a major role at the end of the Wars of Religion—as well as by the rich work of the philosopher Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592). This last aspect sheds light on the traditional and secular legal humanism, which is another avenue through which Renaissance scholars accessed and appropriated antiquity. Since the time of Lorenzo Valla (1405/1407–1457), this legal aspect of humanism was emphasised by learned jurists who had a special interest in Justinian's *Codex* and *Digest*, which are also relevant for ancient history, philosophy, and language. A minority at the beginning, French legal humanists created a scholarly movement that became fundamental later in the sixteenth century.[13]

Another French scholarly tradition explores the links between national culture and Greek heritage long before the Renaissance.[14] This tradition is concerned with, among other things, the knowledge of Greek in the French territory during the late Gallo-Roman period (in the works of a poet like Ausonius, for instance) or the presence of Greek liturgy and Greek manuscripts at the royal abbey of St Denis—a saint then identified with St Dionysius the Areopagite, the alleged first bishop of Athens, to whom were also ascribed the seventh-century apocryphal theological writings collectively called the *Corpus Dionysiacum*.[15] Inspired by a strong interest in modern French reception of Greek literature, the studies in this group often take the early Middle Ages as a starting point: from Ernest Renan's 1848 manuscript memoir *Histoire de l'étude de la langue grecque dans l'Occident de l'Europe depuis la fin du V^e^ siècle jusqu'à celle du XIV^e^ siècle*,[16] developed and published by Émile Egger in his *L'Hellénisme en France*,[17] to the recent, thorough study by Pascal Boulhol, *Grec langaige*.[18]

For the decades 1490–1540, the focus of this chapter, as well as the time period with which a comparatively large part of Boulhol's work is concerned,[19] one can refer to Dominique Rebitté's *Guillaume Budé, restaurateur des études*

12 See, for example, Renaudet (2011).
13 See Kelley (1970).
14 For late antiquity and the early medieval centuries, Courcelle (1948) and Riché (1995).
15 On the "myth" of St Dionysius in France through early modern times, see Le Gall (2007).
16 Renan (2009).
17 Egger (1869).
18 Boulhol (2014) must be regarded as the standard work on this subject; for a recent European-scale study in English, including France, see Botley (2002) and Botley (2010).
19 Boulhol (2014: 157–219, esp. 13–236). Much of what follows is also discussed in this work.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

grecques en France, published in 1846: this study draws particular attention to the best French representative of Greek studies, Guillaume Budé, here introduced as their "restorer".[20] The link between Budé, initially a legal scholar, and the development of Greek humanism in France is at the centre of other scholarly contributions as well, such as Louis Delaruelle's seminal *Guillaume Budé*, published in 1907;[21] David O. McNeil's *Guillaume Budé and Humanism in the Reign of Francis I*, dating to 1975;[22] and, more recently, Gerald Sandy's two parallel contributions, "Resources for the Study of Ancient Greek in France" and "Guillaume Budé: Philologist and Polymath" in the volume *The Classical Heritage in France*,[23] not to mention my own study on Budé's *Commentarii linguae Graecae*.[24] In addition to these, Jean-Eudes Girot's *Pindare avant Ronsard* also offers a reconstruction of the rise of Greek studies in France.[25]

Two volumes on the main Parisian humanists of this period, which review their production as "transmitters" of ancient and medieval authors, complete the picture we currently have of French Renaissance Hellenism: *La France des Humanistes: Hellénistes I* and *Hellénistes II* list the editions French scholars of Greek were involved in, offering transcriptions of their dedicatory letters, as well as a substantial historical introduction. This approach to the history of Greek studies is bound to the rich tradition of research on analytic bibliography, since the production and diffusion of books related to the Greek heritage—manuscripts, *editiones principes* or other editions, translations into Latin or vernacular languages, notebooks, and marginal additions—are the documentary heart of every study on this subject. From Émile Legrand's four-volume masterpiece *Bibliographie hellénique* (1885–1906) onwards, much progress has been realised, particularly concerning Greek grammars, lexica, and other study tools.[26]

On these various topics, the vast bibliography gathered in *Grec Langaige* includes the works mentioned above, the old ones as well as the recent ones, and shows that much more literature exists, even on specific matters, such as Greek knowledge in the field of legal humanism.[27]

---

20 Rébitté (1969).

21 Delaruelle (2012: 1–57); see also Delaruelle's "L'étude du grec à Paris de 1514 à 1530" (1922), a subject revisited in Irigoin (1994).

22 McNeil (1975).

23 Sandy (2002a); Sandy (2002b); see also Sandy (2018).

24 Sanchi (2006: 7–20).

25 Girot (2002: 7–40).

26 It would be impossible to summarise here the whole variety of bibliography concerning this field; most of it is mentioned in the recent works quoted above. For Greek printing, see the references in the introduction to this volume, n. 14.

27 Troje (1971); see also Troje (2011). For the bibliography, see Boulhol (2014: 237–94).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

1 A Thirsty Desert

The number of manuscripts written in Greek or transliterated from Greek is a figure that encapsulates perfectly the situation of Greek literacy in the French kingdom (Avignon excepted) before the end of the fifteenth century: there were no more than thirty.[28] The first man who almost single-handedly changed this situation was the Greek teacher and scribe Georgius Hermonymus of Sparta (fl. 1475–1508), born in Mistra. He has been the subject of two wide-ranging enquiries which have enabled us to understand better his manuscript production and have cast full light upon his role in the diffusion of Greek knowledge in France.[29] Hermonymus came to Paris from England in 1475, on the recommendation of Andronikos Kallistos (1400–1486), who had briefly stayed in Paris in 1475. During his unfortunate life in France, Hermonymus copied and sold more than one hundred manuscripts. He addressed his lessons as well as his manuscripts to a scattered and diverse public, in which we can easily find the three main categories of people who shared an enthusiasm for Greek studies: court or church patrons, like the high civil servant David Chambellan in 1478–1479, Bishop of Sens Tristan de Salazar, or Louis de Beaumont, bishop of Paris and counsellor to kings Charles VII and Louis XI; European intellectuals, like Johannes Reuchlin in 1477–1478, Erasmus in 1500, and Beatus Rhenanus in 1503; and French humanists, such as Guillaume Budé in 1494 and Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples in 1491–1492 or 1495.[30] It is uncertain whether Hermonymus was ever appointed a Greek teacher in a university context.[31]

A quick overview of the texts Hermonymus copied will show the main aspects of his contribution to Greek learning, from basic learning (alphabets, grammars, *sententiae* and *proverbia*, prayers, lexica, and short bilingual books) to a variety of classical authors, such as Homer,[32] Pindar, Aeschylus, Thucydides, Plato, Isocrates, Demosthenes, Lucian, Plutarch, Diogenes Laertius, and Quintus Smyrnaeus, apart from the religious core books (Ancient and New Testament, commentaries, theological treatises, and liturgies), some Byzantine literature, and useful rhetorical training basics, such as Procopius

28 Boulhol (2014: 159–60).

29 Kalatzi (2009); *FH*: II, 1–214; see also Andrist (2007) for a detailed description of some manuscripts copied by Hermonymus.

30 About Lefèvre d'Étaples, see Flamand (2016); on Lefèvre's learning of Greek, see Boulhol (2014: 217 n. 209).

31 Kalatzi & Ainsworth (2006: 358–59); Boulhol (2014: 158).

32 On the basis of a copy of the *editio princeps* now in the Princeton University Library, Guillaume and Louis Budé's Homeric readings have been studied from interesting perspectives: see in particular Grafton (1997: 135–86); Pontani (2007); and most recently Morantin (2017).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

and Aeneas of Gaza, ps.-Phalereus, other epistles, Libanius, and ps.-Libanius. Of course, these manuscripts were copied at a slow pace; they range from the period before Hermonymus's arrival in Paris to his probable death in 1511, even though not all can be dated precisely.

Another important factor in broadening the availability of Greek books and their prestige were Charles VIII's 1494–1498 wars on Italy, which led to the arrival in Paris of the grand diplomat and scholar Janus Lascaris (*c.*1445–1535), along with some twenty-five Greek manuscripts.[33] Even though Lascaris's Parisian stays were less frequent than his missions in different Italian towns, his arrival definitely was a ground-breaking event for the development of Greek studies in France. Lascaris in fact provided some high-level lessons to willing students, such as Guillaume Budé and Jacques Lefèvre, and helped other scholars (for instance, Claude de Seyssel) in translating Greek texts from Latin into French. He also made available some additional manuscripts, partly his own, such as the ones he left to Budé from 1503 to 1509,[34] including some he sought elsewhere, in order to enrich the king's library in Blois, an activity that we can only document from 1518.[35] The only other possibility to read Greek at that point was through printed books, which were being produced in Italy increasingly often, especially in the two last decades of the fifteenth century, but these had to be imported at high prices.

The main achievement of this first period is the publication, in 1505, at Josse Bade's (*c.*1461–1535) press, of Guillaume Budé's translations into Latin of a few Greek writings: Budé is the first modern Frenchman who was able to understand the language at this level. At Lascaris's suggestion, he translated ps.-Plutarch's *De placitis philosophorum* in 1502. Furthermore, during a diplomatic trip to Rome in 1505, he offered Pope Julius II (1503–1513) his version of Plutarch's *De tranquillitate animi*, eventually published together with a letter of St Basil (*De Vita per solitudinem transigenda*) and three treatises of Plutarch, *De Alexandri fortuna aut virtute* (*I* and *II*) and *De fortuna Romanorum*.[36] The fact that some portions of these versions are closer to a paraphrase reflects the standard at the time and did not harm Budé's reputation; on the contrary, these publications mark the start of his celebrity.

33 Boulhol (2014: 187).

34 Sanchi (2006: 125).

35 Boulhol (2014: 187–88 n. 35).

36 Budé (1966d: 471–542). Boulhol (2014: 189) discusses the embassy but, surprisingly enough, does not examine the translations.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

2 A Cultural Crossroads

Initially, Parisian humanism was predominantly Latin; Greek knowledge did not become an important issue before 1520. But even before the introduction of Greek studies in Paris, the presence of Italian Neo-Latin poets and historians at the king's court, as well as the visits of famous humanists like Jacopo Sannazaro (1458–1530) and Giovanni Giocondo (*c.*1433–1515) to the city, helped to spread the secular spirit of Italian humanism in France. Beyond the courtly *milieu*, however, the main reason students and teachers came to Paris was to attend the courses at the Faculty of Arts and at the Faculty of Theology: their dialectical methods were commonly known as *modus Parisiensis* and were praised by Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494) after his stay in Paris in 1484. Thus, notwithstanding the secularising influences from Italy, French humanism took the form of a predominantly "Christian humanism", taking special interest in enhancing the study of the Gospels in Greek and of the Old Testament in Hebrew. This also helps to explain why Erasmus chose Paris to publish Lorenzo Valla's *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum*, based on the Greek text: a major manuscript work Erasmus rediscovered in an abbey near Louvain.[37]

Still, there were so few possibilities to learn Greek in Paris that scholars preferred to travel to Italy for that purpose. This is what François Tissard (*c.*1460–after 1509) did between 1502 and 1507, successively staying in Padua, Ferrara, Bologna, and Venice.[38] He came back to Paris, invited by François du Moulins de Rochefort (d. 1526), preceptor of the young Francis I, probably to teach him Greek to fulfil the desire of Francis's mother, Louise, duchess of Savoy—an intention that speaks to the penetration of humanist ideals into the highest levels of French aristocracy.[39] With the Parisian printer Gilles de Gourmont (fl. 1499–1533), Tissard published the *Liber gnomagyricus* in 1507, the first Greek book ever produced in France. It introduced French and Parisian students to the basic rules of Greek writing and pronunciation as well as to some shorter texts. Tissard and Gourmont continued to publish Greek grammars and beginners' literature for the two next years, together with Hebrew alphabets and grammars. These publications evidence the religious interest in Paris for these biblical tongues.[40]

37 Sanchi (2014: 234–35).

38 On his dates, see *FH*: II, 215–74.

39 Girot (2002: 15–17); *FH*: II, 215, 227; Boulhol (2014: 343).

40 For Hebrew studies in France in the sixteenth century, see Kessler-Mesguich (2013).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

The general lack of Greek in Paris vanished with the arrival of the brilliant Italian humanist Girolamo Aleandro (1480–1542) in Paris in 1508. He was learned in both Greek and Hebrew and a member of Aldus Manutius's (1449–1515) prestigious academy in Venice. Recommended by Erasmus, Aleandro was warmly welcomed by Budé and Lefèvre and started to give private lessons to selected students. In 1508, before Aleandro's arrival, French students like Germain de Brie (1490–1538) had still preferred to travel to Italy for Greek learning. As a regular public professor in Paris, from November 1509 until the end of 1513, Aleandro finally offered first-rank teaching at different levels, aided by a flourishing book production, mostly at Gilles de Gourmont's press.[41] In line with the university's international audience, Aleandro's students included both members of the local elite and foreigners: among them were Beatus Rhenanus (1485–1547), Michael Hummelberg (1487–1527), Rutgerus Rescius (*c.*1495–1545), Hadrianus Amerotius (*c.*1495–1560), Wilhelm Kopp (d. 1532), Ottmar Nachtigall (Luscinus, *c.*1478–1537), and Richard Croke (d. 1558). Aleandro's stay included a six-month stop in Orléans in 1510–1511, where he also gave Greek lessons, stimulating interest in Greek literature there as well.[42]

Two major events in Greek studies during this period stand out: the publications of Guillaume Budé's masterpieces *Annotationes in Pandectas* and *De Asse et partibus eius*. Budé published his *Annotationes*, a major contribution to legal humanism, in 1508.[43] In this large work, Budé showed an in-depth knowledge of the principal Greek authors, from Homer to Aristotle and from the Septuagint to Polybius, also including Galen and Lucian. He quotes these authors frequently and very precisely, using their works to improve the text and the interpretation of Justinian's *Digest* and *Codex*. With Budé's *Annotationes*, we have come a long way from the basic grammars and beginner's language tools and readings most other Greek students in France had been using. The *De Asse et partibus eius* followed in 1515; this was an encyclopaedic work concentrating on ancient economic history.[44] Budé elevated the treatment of Greek sources to a remarkably higher level of scholarly sophistication; from 1520 onwards, he also printed proper Greek epistles.[45] Moreover, his links with the king's court and with the educated elite eventually made him François Tissard's successor in advocating and promoting not only humanist studies in France, but also French national pride in intellectual achievement.

41 *FH*: II, 275–367.
42 *FH*: II, 275–76; Boulhol (2014: 191–95).
43 Budé (1966c).
44 Budé (1966b).
45 Budé (1966a).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

After Aleandro left France, the problem of ensuring high-quality teaching in Greek and Hebrew in Paris on the model of other European institutions, such as Louvain and Alcalá, became urgent. Several attempts were made to attract highly qualified Hellenists. Erasmus was invited in 1517, but in vain; Budé, in the meantime, had no time left for proper teaching. Janus Lascaris chose to stay in Italy, where he had created the *Collegium Graecum* in Rome in 1516, together with Marcus Musurus (*c.*1470–1517), and later also tried to open a similar college in Milan, albeit without success. Due to this lack of high-level teaching, some students decided to leave Paris and go to the *Collegium* in Rome, including Lazare de Baïf (1496–1547), Jean de La Forest (d. 1537), and Christophe de Longueil (*c.*1488–1522), whom Budé personally recommended to Lascaris.

3 A Battleground

Greek studies also became implicated in religious battles. As Paris was an international centre of theological studies, Martin Luther's (1483–1546) new theology was, of course, immediately received there, and it soon had a few defenders. If some repressive measures were taken as early as 1519, the Faculty of Theology mainly addressed Lutheranism through a censoring decree: the *Determinatio theologicae Facultatis Parisiensis super doctrina Lutheriana*, published on 24 April 1521, just after Luther appeared at the Diet of Worms and shortly before the Edict of Worms (25 May) was issued, which banned him from the Empire as an outlaw. Before Luther, the conservatives among the theologians had already quarrelled with the humanist avant-garde, especially after Johannes Reuchlin's controversy with Johannes Pfefferkorn (1469–1523), which stimulated the publication of the famous *Epistulae obscurorum virorum* (1515 and 1517), a satire pamphlet mocking theologians. From 1520 to 1533, the dean or *syndic* of the Faculty of Theology was Noël Béda (*c.*1470–1537), a fierce opponent of any theological novelty, who had already contested Erasmus's new Latin translation of the Gospel, based on the Greek text, and Lefèvre's theories on the "three Maries", and who was constantly suspicious of humanist culture and its effort to bring renewal through philology in every scholarly field, including the interpretation of the Holy Writ.[46] As dean of theology Noël Béda had the legal ability to take repressive measures against humanist productions, especially those concerning the Greek language and literature, that he associated with Lutheranism.

46 Sanchi (2014: 236–38).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

On such grounds, in 1521 the Greek books that François Rabelais, still a monk, kept in the Fontenay Convent were confiscated, as we know from a letter he wrote to Guillaume Budé on 4 March.[47] On the Lutheran side, a humanist from Artois, Louis de Berquin (b. *c.*1490), although a nobleman, was condemned in 1523 for his *Apologia adversus calumniatores Lutheri*, a text written in Luther's defence. Due to his faith, Berquin was put in jail and was eventually burned in 1529, in spite of the protection he received from the king's court, where Francis's sister Marguerite (1492–1549), as well as his confessor Guillaume Petit (d. 1536) and other high-rank officials, offered support for both Lutherans and humanists. In 1524, the printer Simon de Colines (d. 1546) ceased all publication of evangelical texts, and the theologian Nicolas Maillard (ca. 1508–1565) was compelled to retract the suggestions he made in a lecture that any theologian should know the "three languages" (Hebrew, Greek, and Latin).[48] After 1505, Valla's *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* were not reprinted in Paris; a new edition was realised in Basel only in 1526. The king's retention in Spain for almost a year after the disaster of the Battle of Pavia (24 February 1525) not only caused sorrow to the whole nation but also worsened the lives of French humanists hit by the Sorbonne's blows, since the lay Parliament of Paris was largely compliant with the reactionary policies of the theologians.

These harsh conditions did not stop the tides in favour of humanism or in favour of Lutheranism, and the demand for Greek lessons and lectures grew even stronger. Meanwhile, new achievements strengthened the Parisian humanist group. Thanks to Jean Grolier (1489/90–1565), a treasurer-general of France and a bibliophile financing the Aldine press,[49] a Venetian edition of Budé's *De Asse et partibus eius* was realised in 1522, whereas his letters, both in Latin and in Greek, were published in Paris in 1520 and in 1522, fostering his celebrity status among European humanists, as well as his career at King Francis I's court.

Moreover, a new generation of Greek-trained French scholars started producing their own editions: in 1521, Jean Chéradame (*c.*1495–*c.*1543), a professor in Paris who has only recently been rediscovered,[50] published a Greek grammatical selection, the *Grammatica isagogica* (printed in Paris by Gilles and Jean de Gourmont).[51] The dedicatory letter in Greek that opened the

47 BnF, *Nouvelles acquisitions françaises* 27237 (the manuscript is available online via either <www.gallica.fr> or <www.bnf.fr>).

48 Sanchi (2014: 239–40).

49 On Grolier, see Hobson (1999).

50 *FH*: II, 571–680.

51 *FH*: II, 575–81.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Grammatica was only the first of a long series of prefaces he produced to introduce his editions of various Greek authors, including Aristophanes, Plato, Isocrates, Lucian, and Musaeus. In these same years, Pierre Danès (1497–1577) and Jacques Toussain (*c.*1490–1547)—two future *lecteurs du roi*—started their teaching careers as private professors in leading Parisian families. Toussain, a close friend of Budé's, had been involved in editorial enterprises ever since 1513, but he kept a low profile, probably to protect himself, so that the scope of his editorial achievements has only been recognised recently.[52] In 1526, back from his Italian stay, Lazare de Baïf started his antiquarian production with a study on Greek and Roman clothing, *De re vestiaria liber*, which he continued, after a productive stay in Venice, with the publication of *De vasculis tractatus*, on Greek and Roman vases (1531), and *De re navali* (1536), on ancient shipbuilding.[53] Inspired by the study of the *Digest*, this kind of practical knowledge of antiquity was highly appreciated at the time, as is shown by the success of Budé's *De Asse*, which saw six new editions by 1541.

4 A Starting Point

The restless decade between 1520 and 1529 ends with a French masterpiece in Greek scholarship, again authored by Budé: his *Commentarii linguae Graecae*. Published in September 1529 and composed in the manner of a dictionary, it offered the reader a few thousand entries, which together read like a substantial dissertation covering many aspects, both grammatical and lexicological, of Greek prose language.[54] Since it was grounded in the careful analysis of a hundred of the most important Greek authors, this original work outshone the previous lexica and dictionaries and placed French scholarship in Greek among the best international standards. In at least three ways this work marked a starting point for later generations of Hellenists. First, thanks to its breadth and quality, it heralds future French philological achievements. Second, because Budé, in a Greek afterword, expressly offered his work to the new generation, saying he knew they would do much better than he could and asking for understanding for his weaknesses. Third, because Budé's foreword, also in

52 *FH*: II, 369–569.
53 Sanchi (2013).
54 Sanchi (2006).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Greek, directly addressed the king in an attempt to persuade him to fulfil his promise to create a royal college for Greek and Hebrew and protect it from the hostility of the Sorbonne.[55]

Budé's preface to his *Commentarii* is considered as the key factor that led the king to finance, a few months later, in January 1530, two long-awaited chairs for Greek and Hebrew: that date is identified as the humble beginnings of the Collège de France. Given the expectations, the first *lecteurs du roi* met immediate success and soon grew to a larger number. I have already mentioned Pierre Danès and Jacques Toussain in Greek; to them we can add François Vatable (*c.*1493–1547) and the Italians Agazio Guidacerio (1477–1542) and Paolo Canossa (Paulus Paradisus, d. 1549) in Hebrew, soon joined in 1531 by Oronce Fine (1494–1555) in mathematics. The opposition was successful in blocking the creation of a chair in Latin eloquence until 1534.[56] Once created, it was offered to Barthélémy Latomus (1485–1566), from Luxembourg. In 1538, Guillaume Postel (1510–1581) was appointed with a new chair dedicated to the "Oriental Tongues" (Arabic and others), which was of great help for the development of studies in mathematics, astronomy, and medicine. In addition to these professors, the king appointed some royal printers (*imprimeurs du roi*): Conrad Néobar (d. 1540), Jacques Toussain's nephew, was named Greek printer in 1539, and Robert Estienne (1503–1559) followed soon after due to Néobar's untimely death (he had been a royal printer for Hebrew and Latin since 1539).

Even so, humanists were still in danger: at the end of 1533, Noël Béda launched a trial against their teaching, which was held in January 1534 and charged Danès, Vatable, Guidacerio, and Canossa with making their students cast doubt on the Vulgate translation of the Bible. A decisive role in this affair was played by the future cardinal Jean Du Bellay (1492–1560), which led Abel Lefranc to consider him a co-founder of the Collège de France in 1535.[57] This affair was soon followed by another: the *Affaire des Placards* (18 October 1534), a religious scandal provoked by an extremist faction of supporters of the Swiss Reformation that had tremendous consequences on the Parisian balance, forcing the king to confine his support to the Catholic faction of the humanist group. Even Guillaume Budé, then 66 years old, felt obliged to react

55 Budé's preface was published in Greek, but the king had it read in a French version: BnF, MS fr. 25445.

56 Lefranc (1932: 38).

57 Lefranc (1932: 38–39).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

publicly as soon as possible, in order to rescue the respectability of Greek and humanist studies. He did so in 1535 by printing his *De Transitu Hellenismi ad Christianismum*, in which he developed the idea that secular literature is good for educating the young, while an educated man's old age should ideally be dedicated to pious readings only. Moreover, in his dedication to the king he offered his thoughts about the religious troubles dividing France, dissociating himself from the Lutheran part of the humanist movement.

Responses to this important policy change made history as they are related to the beginnings of Calvinism and of the Jesuits: John Calvin's (1509–1564) preface to the king in his *Institutio Christianae Religionis* (1536), addressing Budé's views, defended the opposite position, of a solidarity among all Christians, either educated or not, in the name of the Gospel. In the same period, Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556), who had been a student in Paris since 1528, founded the Society of Jesus with his friends in Montmartre in August 1534, after having seen in Paris how easily "those who studied Greek tended to become Lutherans" (*qui graecizabant, lutheranizabant*).[58]

If the conservative battle against the Reformation was to continue in France, the humanist part, as such, would have to keep developing in a parallel but distinct path from that of the reformed intellectuals, like Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560), who defended their own vision of the humanities. In 1537, Lazare de Baïf published a French translation of Sophocles's *Electra* (Paris: Étienne Roffet), the first Attic tragedy printed, and in his preface he introduced the word *tragédie* in French. In the years 1530–1550, from Rabelais's novels to the seminal manifesto *La Deffence et Illustration de la Langue françoyse* (1549) by the Pléiade poet Joachim Du Bellay (*c*.1522–1560), Greek language and literature were promoted as providing an ideal model for the renewed French literature.[59] Enthusiasm for Greek was also reflected in the myth of the Greek origins of the French, first found in Budé and in Geoffroy Tory (*c*.1480–1533), and further developed in Henri Estienne's famous *Traicté de la conformité du langage françois avec le grec* (1565).[60]

58 Bobadilla (1913: 614–15).

59 On Rabelais's Greek learning, see, expertly, Menini (2009); Menini (2012); Menini (2013); Menini (2015). See also Menini & Pedeflous (2015).

60 See Sanchi (2006: 111–19) and Boulhol (2014: 232). See also Stenhouse's chapter in this volume.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

5 Conclusion

In these pages, I have considered how the story of the Greek Renaissance in France has been told. The basic materials of this study, such as manuscript copies and early printed books, with their main contents, their marginal notes, and their dedicatory letters, give us a plethora of information about the circles of Greek scholars and students, the subjects that were progressively studied, their various cultural interests, their patrons or patrons-to-be, and sometimes episodes of their lives. The study of these materials leads to a complex and international prosopography, which might be of greater interest to historians than philologists but which is essential when it comes to the history of texts and their circulation.

In the case of Paris, we can easily understand how central the religious themes were, and how strong the battle between innovators—among them scholars and students in Greek—and conservatives was as a result. But this long struggle allowed a sort of "third" party to emerge, consisting of the partisans of a royal patronage based on a Gallican fidelity to the king, who were often trained in law schools or were illustrious representatives of legal humanism, and who were willing to separate humanistic interests from

TABLE 2.1 Greek studies and humanism in Paris (1490–1540)

1. Before 1490–1510

Decades	**Patrons** **Court, Parliament, Church**	**Greeks** **Humanists, teachers, scribes, diplomats**
before 1490	1478–1479 David Chambellan, *maître des requêtes de l'hôtel du roi*, learns Greek from Hermonymus 1483 Guillaume de Rochefort, chancellor	1475–1476 Andronikos Kallistos's stay in Paris 1476–ca. 1511 **Georgius Hermonymus** teaches basic Greek, copies and sells some 120 Greek mss

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

religious and social matters, even though—or precisely because—a great number of students in Greek of the first generation were attracted to Luther's messages of radical reform. On the eve of the French Wars of Religion, this terrible split ended up with the creation of *lecteurs du roi* and *imprimeurs du roi* in Paris on the one side, and, on the other, with the development of other intellectual poles in Protestant towns like Basel and Geneva, where important scholars, such as the Estienne, eventually decided to move. If we consider the question from a linguistic point of view, the rise of Greek humanism in France also accompanied and fostered the rise of a modern literature in French, mainly at the expense of the once-flourishing Neo-Latin *respublica litteraria*.

Nevertheless, this dramatic situation was the prelude to a splendid period of French book printing, philological studies, and intellectual progress in all fields, particularly in Greek studies, which came to be regarded as the key to authentic knowledge. The lasting achievements of the generations of Greek scholars coming to prominence in France after 1540 can testify to this favourable ground and to the way prominent personalities—the most iconic being Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614)—succeeded in their demanding scholarly targets even through the disasters of a tragic period.

Italians with knowledge of Greek	**Frenchmen Printers and humanists**	**Europeans Printers and humanists**
1456–1459 **Gregorio da Tiferno** teaches Greek in Paris 1476–1477 **Filippo Beroaldo Senior**'s stay in Paris, teaches Lucan 1484 Pico della Mirandola's trip to Paris; meets local humanists and praises discussion methods at Sorbonne (*modus Parisiensis*)	**1470** Guillaume Fichet founds the **Sorbonne university press**, first prints Gasparino Barzizza's *Letters*, then Latin classics 1472 Fichet leaves France to follow **Bessarion** in Italy Robert Gaguin corresponds with humanists, writes and translates from Latin	Ulrich Gehring and other German printers in Paris 1477–1478 **Johannes Reuchlin** learns Greek from Hermonymus in Paris 1486 Josse van Clichtove comes to Paris ca. 1495 Wilhelm Kopp, from Basel, come to Paris, learns Greek, will be appointed king's doctor

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

TABLE 2.1 Greek studies and humanism in Paris (1490–1540) (*cont.*)

Decades	**Patrons** **Court, Parliament, Church**	**Greeks** **Humanists, teachers, scribes, diplomats**
1490s	**1494** French conquest of **Naples**, several **Latin and Greek mss** are taken to Paris 1497 Guy de Rochefort, chancellor **Jean** and **Germain de Ganay** (the former will be chancellor in 1512; the latter corresponds in 1494 with Marsilio Ficino, who sends his ps.-Dionysius's translation and commentaries on Plato, will be bishop of Orléans in 1512) 1497 King Charles VIII asks to receive Budé at his court	1494–1503 **Janus Lascaris**'s frequent stays in Paris (links with Milan, Venice and Rome); Greek lessons to Budé
1500s	1503 **Étienne Poncher** becomes bishop of Paris, travels to Milan (where his secretary is the Hellenist Aulo Giano Parrasio), sponsors humanism at King Louis XII's court (will be *garde des sceaux* in 1511) François Deloynes, counsellor at the Parliament Gaillard Ruzé, cousellor at the Parliament and canon (*chanoine*) of Notre-Dame Pierre de Courthardy, First President of the Parliament	1503–1509 Lascaris is French ambassador in Venice, leaves in Paris to Budé **a crate full of Greek books** (Hermonymus makes a copy of Lascaris's essential Plato ms. *Paris. gr.* 1807) and sends to Paris mss and printed editions of Greek classics

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Italians with knowledge in Greek	**Frenchmen Printers and humanists**	**Europeans Printers and humanists**
1495–1505 architect **Giovanni Giocondo** da Verona's stay in Paris, teaches Vitruvius, works on Pliny the Younger's Letters Italian humanists in Paris: Fausto Andrelini, Paolo Emilio da Verona, etc.	ca. 1491 **Guillaume Budé**'s beginnings as a scholar, 1494 studies Greek with his brother Louis 1492 **Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples**'s beginnings: travels to Italy, then teaches Aristotle and (from 1497) edits Aristotle's books in Paris with Josse van Clichtove French humanist printers: Jean Petit, Guy Marchand, Antoine Vérard, etc. French humanists: Robert Gaguin, Nicolas Bérauld, Charles de Bovelles, etc.	1494–1499 **Erasmus**'s stay in Paris, learns Greek from Hermonymus, then leaves to London
1501–1504 **Jacopo Sannazaro**'s trip to France 1505 Budé's trip to Italy, meets Pietro Crinito in Florence, sees **Poliziano's notes with the Digest's *graeca***, offers Pope Julius II a Plutarch translation 1508–1514 **Girolamo Aleandro** teaches Greek, prepares and sells Greek editions; his 1512 *Greek grammar* enjoys European success until 1550	**1502** Budé presents to his commissioner, Germain de Ganay, his Latin version of ps.-Plutarch's *De placitis philosophorum*, **first translation from Greek made by a Frenchman** 1504 Henri I Estienne (**Stephanus)** founds his Parisian press with Simon de Colines **1507 first Greek print in Paris**: François Tissard's *Liber gnomagyricus* (at Gilles de Gourmont's press) French humanists: Jean Salmon ("Macrinus"), Guillaume Briçonnet	1503 **Josse Bade**, from Aasche, founds his "Ascensian Press" (**Praelum Ascensianum**) 1503 Beatus Rhenanus learns Greek from Hermonymus 1505 First edition of **Valla's *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum*** in Paris, by Erasmus 1511 Erasmus's *Praise of Folly* is published in Paris (also in Strasbourg and Antwerp)

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

TABLE 2.1 Greek studies and humanism in Paris (1490–1540) (*cont.*)

2. 1510–1520

Decades	King's court and other patrons	Italians
1510s	**1515 Francis I** is King of France, will protect humanists from Faculty of Theology's attacks The King's sister, Marguerite, protects humanists and French Lutherans Guillaume Petit, King's confessor 1516–1526 Louis Ruzé, *lieutenant au Châtelet*, prevents censorship 1516 Guillaume **Briçonnet** becomes bishop of Meaux, protects Lefèvre's evangelical group	1518–1522 **Agostino Giustiniani**'s stay in Paris, teaches Hebrew and Arabic, the Hellenist François Vatable is one of his students

3. 1520–1540

	Political and religious facts
1520s	1521 censorship is established in all the kingdom against **Luther, condemned by the University** of Paris, March 18th French Hellenists are suspected of being Lutheran, especially during King Francis's captivity, 1525–1526 1527 **Marguerite becomes Queen of Navarra**, welcomes French protestants at court 1529 French nobleman and Hellenist **Louis de Berquin is tortured and burned** in Paris due to his religious choices (16 April)
1530s	1533 Sorbonne anti-humanist *syndic*, **Noël Béda**, loses the trial he launched against Royal Professors 1535 Cardinal **Jean du Bellay** protects Royal Professors from the consequences of the religious scandal *Affaire des Placards* (1534)
after 1540	1547 King Francis dies

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Frenchmen	European humanists in Paris
1512 N. Bérauld teaches in Paris 1510 the Hellenist Germain de Brie is secretary of Anne of Brittany 1513 Budé's student **Jacques Toussain** begins working at Josse Bade's press	1514–1516 Christophe de Longueil's (Flanders) Paris stay, then Rome to attend J. Lascaris's *Collegium Graecum*. ca. 1517–18 Unsuccessful attempts to have Erasmus staying in Paris to supervise a Greek and Latin college (trilingual colleges already exist in Vienna [1501], Alcalá [1508], Cambridge [1511], Oxford [1515–1516], and Louvain [1517])

Humanist scene
*c.*1520–1529 **Musurus's student Girolamo Fondulo** teaches Greek and deals mss. in Paris Legal humanist **Andrea Alciato**'s stay in several French universities 1520 Henri Estienne dies, **Robert Estienne**, his son (b. 1503), works at stepfather Simon de Colines's press 1521–1526 **Étienne Dolet** studies in Paris, then travels to Italy 1523–1524 **François Rabelais** corresponds in Greek with Budé 1528 Jean Cheradame's edition of Aristophanes with **Greek prefaces** 1529 first edition of Budé's ***Commentarii linguae Graecae*** **1530** Pierre Danès and Jacques Toussain are the first **Royal Greek Professors** 1530–1534 **Lazare de Baïf** is appointed ambassador in Venice 1539 Toussain's nephew Conrad Néobar and Robert Estienne are appointed **Royal Printers (Greek, Hebrew, and Latin)** 1544 Robert Estienne is royal printer in Greek A new, remarkable generation of Hellenists arises: Jean Dorat, Adrien Turnèbe, Denis Lambin, Isaac Casaubon, Henri II Estienne, etc.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

CHAPTER 3

Teaching Greek with Aristophanes in the French Renaissance, 1528–1549

Malika Bastin-Hammou

The rediscovery of ancient Greek drama, like the reception of Hellenism in general, started later in France than in Italy, and was to a large extent the result of French dramatists who aspired to create a national literature. Inspired by the classicism of the day, these dramatists turned to Greek models to achieve this. The reception of Greek drama in Renaissance France is a complex story all the same, with interesting differences between comedy and tragedy. Although Aristophanes did inspire some theatrical adaptations, such as the *Néphélococugie* written by Pierre Le Loyer (1550–1634) in 1579,[1] no major French author wrote a comedy based on Aristophanes during the French Renaissance. This of course sharply contrasts with the ways in which the Greek tragedies were taken as a model and example for French plays in this period. This is not to say, however, that the comic poet was not read at all. Rather on the contrary, his work was discussed in the scholarship and translated into French. But, perhaps surprisingly, Aristophanes's place in Renaissance France was not so much on stage as it was in the classroom, and his work was mainly read by professors and students of the Greek language.

Many recent studies have dealt with the teaching of Greek in the French Renaissance, but they usually do not focus on the role of specific authors in education.[2] One notable exception to this trend is Paul Botley's imporant study *Learning Greek in Western Europe*, which offers much useful information about the authors read in the classroom. However, it does not go beyond 1529, when French teachers and students began to use Aristophanes. Although studies on the reception of ancient drama have known a prolific development over the last decades, they tend to focus mainly on the stage reception. A decisive impulse to this flourishing branch of reception scholarship has been taken, for instance, by the Archive of Performances of Greek and Roman Drama,[3]

1 Le Loyer (2004).

2 See Sanchi's contribution to this volume.

3 The APGRD is a research project based in the Classics Centre at the University of Oxford. It investigates the performance of ancient texts in any medium and any period, from Greek

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2020 | DOI:10.1163/9789004402461_005
Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

and, as far as Aristophanes is concerned, by the conference on Aristophanes in performance, held in 2007, which mapped no less than 1374 documented theatrical productions of his plays.[4] Translation studies have also come across Aristophanes, but they usually one-sidedly concentrate on translations into the vernacular, neglecting the Latin translations of the comic poet. This is notable in view of the fact that, until as late as the eighteenth century, the Latin translations were much more frequent than the translations and adaptations into the vernacular, and, as we shall see, frequently served a pedagogical rather than purely literary or theatrical purpose.

This paper will consider twenty years of studying Aristophanes in France (1528–1549) through editions published in this period in order to shed light on, and expand our understanding of, the various ways in which the comic poet was used in French Renaissance culture: from a textbook for beginners to a manual of translation and, eventually, textual editing and theatrical performance. Additionally, I will consider to what extent the pedagogical use of Aristophanes co-shaped the invention of French drama at exactly the time when the poets of the *Pléiade* heavily relied on the ancients as models for the creation of a national literature.

1 Aristophanes as a Source of Atticism: Jean Chéradame and the First French Edition (1528)

We can date the beginnings of the teaching of Greek in France to 1478: the year when Georgius Hermonymus of Sparta (fl. 1475–1508) arrived in Paris. However, Aristophanes does not seem to have been used as a study text in Paris before as late as 1528,[5] when Gilles de Gourmont (*c.*1480–*c.*1535) printed Jean Chéradame's (*c.*1495–*c.*1543) edition of the nine comedies which had been first printed by Aldus Manutius (1449–1515) in Venice in 1498.[6] Chéradame, who edited texts for Gilles de Gourmont after Girolamo Aleandro's (1480–1452)

tragedy to Roman epic, from stage to screen, from antiquity to the present day (<www.apgrd.ox.ec.uk>, last accessed in July 2017).

4 Hall & Wrigley (2007). See especially, for our concern, Matthew Steggle's contribution "Aristophanes in Early Modern England" (pp. 52–65), Edith Hall's Introduction (pp. 1–29), and Vassiliki Giannopoulou' bibliographical survey "Aristophanes in Translation before 1920" (pp. 309–42).

5 Botley (2010: 90): "He [Aristophanes] does not figure prominently in early teaching in France. Aleandro's teaching in Paris is not known to have included Aristophanes, though he did pass a request for a copy of the *editio princeps* to Aldus from Paris in July 1508".

6 Chéradame (1528a).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

departure in 1513, gave the first French edition of Aristophanes. It would seem that this edition was produced for students of Greek, even though his edition does not state this purpose and even though there were no public lessons of Greek in Paris at that time.

Gilles de Gourmont is one of the first French printers who tried to print Greek and Hebrew and he was the first to publish, in 1507, a complete work in Greek printed in France, self-consciously calling himself *primus Graecarum et Hebraearum litterarum Parrhisiis impressor*. The first work printed in Greek in France, the *Liber gnomagyricus*, was the work of the French Hellenist François Tissard (*c.*1460–1509), who, having learned Greek in Italy, worked hard to establish Greek printing in France as well.[7] The edition offers a Greek alphabet transliterated into Latin, rules of pronouncing Greek, and a selection of Greek texts, which had previously been published by Aldus Manutius (1495). De Gourmont rapidly printed other Greek texts edited by Tissard: the *Batrachomyomachia*, Hesiod's *Works and Days*, and Manuel Chrysoloras's *Erotemata*, a learning method in question-and-answer form. All these books were meant to help students of Greek to learn the language efficiently. After Tissard, Girolamo Aleandro, who taught Greek in Paris, also worked with Gilles de Gourmont, editing a dozen of books for students of Greek, among which Crastone's *Lexicon Graecolatinum*, which had already been published by Aldus Manutius in 1497.

We do not know much about the life of Jean Chéradame, and what we know comes mainly from his prolific prefaces, usually written in Greek. Born in Normandy, he is known to have taught in the Collège de Lisieux in Paris, referring to himself as "professeur et exposeur des trois langues, cest assavoir hebrieu, grec et latin".[8] Among the books he produced for De Gourmont, there are many "learning books", such as his own grammar book and the grammars of Manuel Chrysoloras (*c.*1350–1415) and Theodore Gaza (d. *c.*1475), but he also published the Greek texts of Aristotle, Demosthenes, Homer, Isocrates, Libanius, Lucian, Plato, and Plutarch. These editions are mostly reprints, and rather than correcting previous editions, Chéradame seems to have wanted to make available as many texts as possible and to contribute to the promoting of the study of Greek in France. In 1542, he became one of the *lecteurs royaux*, but not in Greek: his task was to teach "sacred scriptures".[9]

7 *FH*: II, 215–16.
8 *FH*: II, 571.
9 *FH*: II, 571, 664, 667.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

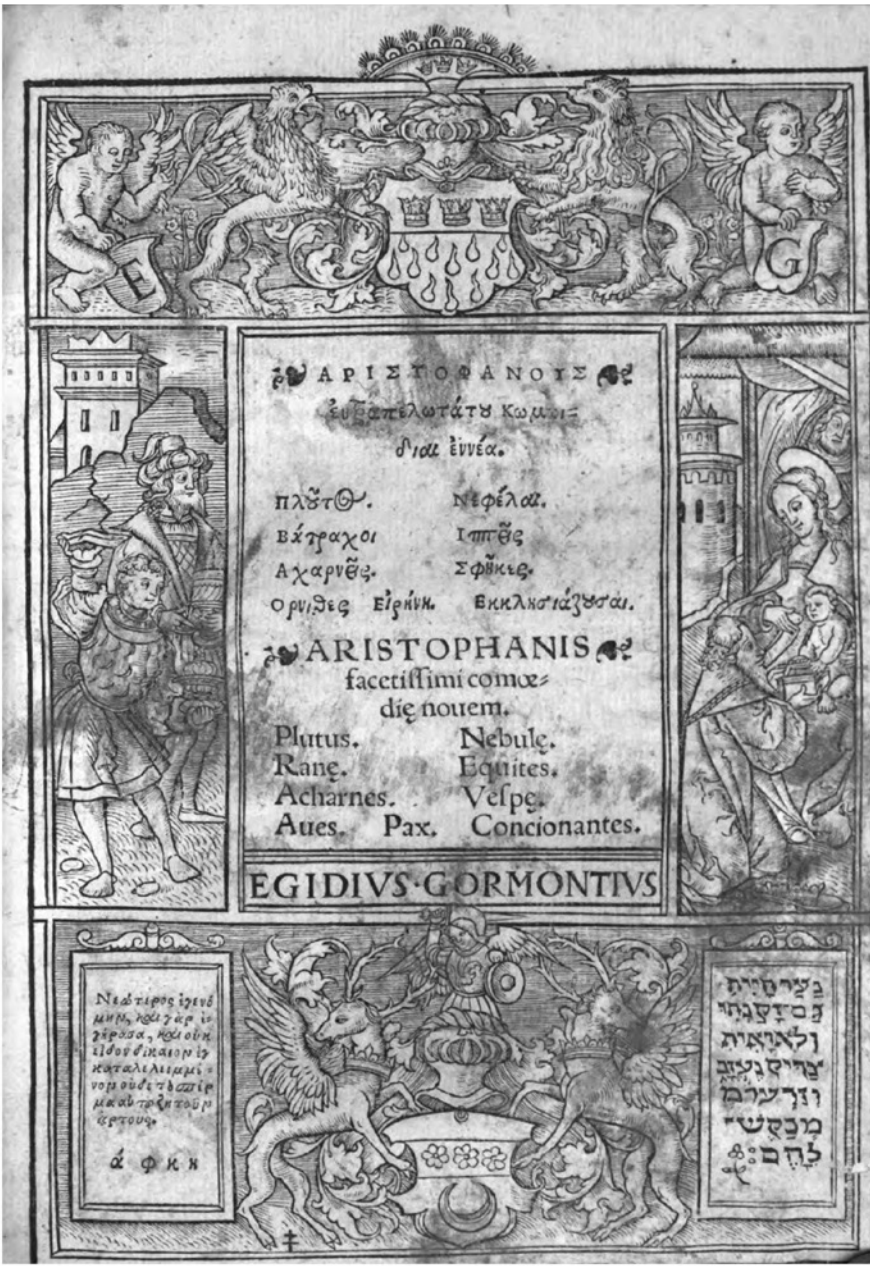


FIGURE 3.1 Titlepage of *Ἀριστοφάνους ἐυτραπελώτατου κωμῳδίαι ἔνδεκα. Aristophanis facetissimi comoediae novem* (Paris: Gilles de Gourmont, 1528)

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

His edition of Aristophanes is a reprint of the Aldine (1498) and the Juntines (1515, 1525) and contains the same nine comedies.[10] The front page of the volume (Fig. 3.1) is characteristic of De Gourmont. In the middle, one can read, in Greek, the name of the poet and the titles of the nine comedies contained in the volume, followed by a Latin translation. This is squared by four cases: on the top left, the initials of the printer, "E" for "Egidius" (Gilles) and, on the right, "G" for "Gourmont". At the bottom of the page, there is, on the left, a short Greek text and, on the right, a Hebrew one, two languages Gourmont was among the first to print in Paris; in between, two winged and crowned deers and an "ecu" with the emblem of Paris, a white boat, with Saint Michael above.

In the book, each individual comedy has its own front page with its title and its own colophon, except *Clouds* and *Birds*, which only have the word ΤΕΛΟΣ. This leads to the assumption that each comedy could also be sold separately. The individual pieces are also preceded by a dedicatory letter in Greek, which is quite rare: from the editions of Aristophanes printed before Chéradame's, Marcus Musurus's preface to the Aldine *princeps* is the only one in Greek, all the others being in Latin. After Chéradame, editors of Aristophanes sometimes included Greek prefaces into their editions, for example Angelus Caninius (1521–1557) in his edition of 1548, and Aemilius Portus (1511–1581) in his posthumous edition of 1607, both literally copying Musurus's opening address: τοῖς φιλέλλησιν, εὖ πράττειν. Chéradame, however, diverted from Musurus's example by introducing each of the plays with its own Greek preface. Another, and perhaps more important, difference with Musurus's preface is that Chéradame's prefaces, notwithstanding their length, say almost nothing about Aristophanes or the contents of his plays.

The letter preceding *Wealth* most explicitly deals with Aristophanes, as it serves as a preface both for this particular play and for the entire volume. Its addressee is the English diplomat John Clerk (d. 1541). Clerk had been bishop of Bath and Wells since 1523, after Wolsey, who protected him, had become cardinal. He came to France for a diplomatic mission in 1526 escorting Cardinal Wolsey's natural son, Thomas Winter (*c*.1510–*c*.1546). In 1528, when Chéradame published his edition of Aristophanes, Winter was staying in Paris with his tutor Thomas Lupset (*c*.1495–1530) in order to learn Greek. Lupset is mentioned—and praised—in the address to Clerk and in the address to Winter, which precede *Clouds*.[11]

10 Jean Chéradame seems to ignore, as did the Juntine published in 1525, the separated Juntine edition published at the begining of 1515, containing only *Lysistrata* and *Thesmophoriazusae*. The first complete edition of Aristophanes, containing the eleven plays, dates to 1532.

11 *FH*: II, 628–30 and Taylor (2012: 18–22).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

In this address to Clerk, Chéradame praises Aristophanes's *poiesis* (ποίησις) and his *eiremena* (εἰρημένα), i.e. his poetry and his expressions:

> Ἄξιόν μοι δοκεῖ θαυμάζειν τὴν Ἀριστοφάνους ποίησιν, τοῖς τε παρ' αὐτοῦ εἰρημένοις ἐμμένειν καὶ τὰ οὐκ οὔσης σχολῆς βέλτιστα μανθάνειν, ὃν πάντων ποιητῶν ἥδιστον καὶ χρησιμώτατον νομίζω, τοῖς γε βουλομένοις φυγεῖν βοιωτίαν ὗν, ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὄνειδος.
>
> I think that Aristophanes's poetry deserves admiration, that one should stick to his expressions and should, if lacking time, learn the best, since he is, to my mind, the most pleasant and the most useful of all poets, at least for those who do not want to be called "Boeotian porks".

Aristophanes is *hedistos* (ἥδιστος) and *chresimotatos* (χρησιμώτατος). This is nothing new, as the same ideas can be found in Aldus Manutius's and Marcus Musurus's prefaces.[12] What is interesting though is that Chéradame sees his poetry as a kind of reservoir of expressions: he invites the readers to learn his comedies by heart or, at least, to memorise the best expressions (*ta beltista*: τὰ βέλτιστα) which can be found in his texts, and to use them in their own Greek writings. Chéradame's advice is clearly not intended for beginners, but for those willing not only to read Greek texts, but to write in Greek as well.

Nothing else, in his long letters, relates to the use of his edition as a learning tool. Nor to Aristophanes as a learning aid. The ancient comedian is, however, regarded as a moral poet consistent with Christianity. For example, according to Chéradame, *Wealth* is relevant to modern readers because it reminds them that having money is not as important as being rich from the inside. In his letter preceding *Frogs*, addressed to the French Hellenist Pierre Danès (1497–1577), Chéradame specifically praises Aristophanes's *parrhesia* in criticising the "fake poets":

> [...] ἀμούσοις ποιηταῖς πρὸς χάριν ἐροῦσιν, καὶ ἐπισκοτοῦσιν τῷ καθορᾷν αὐτοὺς τὸ βέλτιστον, οὓς καὶ δικαίως ἂν Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν τῷ πάροντι δράματι ἐπιτιμήσειεν.
>
> [...] uneducated poets who will only speak to please, and provoke troubles by despising what is the best, whom Aristophanes might be right to attack in this comedy.

12 Manutius (2016).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Even *Clouds* is read as a moral comedy, which, according to Chéradame, merely chastises the sophists, overlooking what happens to Socrates in this play, and the fact that, because of precisely this comedy, Aristophanes has since Plato been considered to be responsible for the death of Socrates. In his attempts to offer moralising interpretations of the comedies, he even misreads them on purpose, as in the letter preceding *Acharnians* and addressed to Jean de Tartas (fl. 1525–1534), who since 1525 headed the Parisian Collège de Lisieux, where the three languages were taught and where Chéradame himself had taught in 1521, along with Pierre Danès. Jean de Tartas later became the head of the Collège de Guyenne in Bordeaux.[13] In Chéradame's letter, the chorus members are presented as enemies of Athens. Chéradame does not moralise *Wasps* and *Peace*, though: nothing is said about the content of these two comedies, which interested him from a didactic point of view. The comedies seem to be, for Chéradame, merely good textbooks to students of the Greek language. And *Assembly Women* does not even have its own letter: the one attached to it, and addressed to Guillaume Quinon,[14] is identical to the one addressed to Raulin Séguier,[15] preceding Chéradame's edition of Lucian:[16] it does not even mention the ancient authors by name, but instead praises the addressee, especially his generosity towards his learned friends (δεῖ δὲ οὖν ὑπαρχούσῃ οὐσίᾳ φίλοις σπουδαίοις δυστυχοῦσι βοηθῆσαι [...]). *Assembly Women* was potentially troublesome, and this might explain why Chéradame did not mention the play or its content in this address, but merely praises Séguier for loving philosophy and being generous with scholars, and criticises those who are never satisfied with their fortune and want more of it instead of applying their mind to spiritual matters.

Chéradame's discomfort with Aristophanes is perhaps most obvious in the letter preceding *Knights*, dedicated to Jean Viole (d. *c.*1532), who was then "conseiller au Parlement de Paris". Here, the editor not only blames Aristophanes, who is said to "have lived in the world of the senses and to have been unable to raise himself to a superior kind of discovery".[17] In the same letter, Chéradame also blames the Greeks in general for their lack of piety and for being fond of sophisms and speeches:

13 Trinquet (1964: 516).

14 Guillaume Quinon was "commandeur de l'ordre de Jérusalem" from 1525 to 1542. See Bietenholz & Deutscher (1985–1987: III, 126).

15 Raulin Séguier was a Hellenist and a law-man. See Gerig (1909).

16 Chéradame (1528b). On this edition, see *FH*: II, 626.

17 [...] Ἀριστοφάνους, τῇ αἰσθήσει μόνῃ ζήσαντος καὶ οὐ δυνησαμένου εἰς μείζονα εὕρεσιν ἑαυτὸν ἀνεγκεῖν [sic] δοῦναι. Chéradame alludes to a phrase from Ammonius's commentary on Porphyry's *Isagoge* here (but with ἀνεγκεῖν instead of ἀνενεγκεῖν as we find it in the 1891 edition of Adolf Busse, p. 40, l. 10). See also *FH*: II, 634.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

> σοφιζόντων καὶ ληροῦντων ἑλλήνων καὶ τὸ τῶν λόγων πλῆθος ἔθους ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀκροάσεως λεγόντων καὶ τῇ ἀπορίᾳ θεοσεβείας συνοικοῦντων.
>
> [...] the Greeks making sophisms and uttering nonsense and multiplying words, as usual, and aiming at the pleasure of their auditors, and being used to a lack of piety.

This apparently paradoxical attitude, where Aristophanes can be both praised for his *parrhesia* and blamed for being Greek, might be linked to the religious context in which Chéradame produced his editions, and to his aims. First, he is not as much interested in the specific content of Aristophanes's comedies—and of Greek classical authors in general—as by what they can teach him about the Greek language. So there is no point for him to praise the contents of the Greek texts, and he can even openly criticise them. Secondly, his apparent hostility towards them might also be explained by his eagerness to demonstrate that, even if he was a Hellenist, he distanced himself from the Reformation, with which Hellenists were often associated.

To sum up, as the first appearance of Aristophanes in France, Chéradame's edition of 1528 underlines the purity of the poet's language and invites readers to learn his best expressions by heart in order to use them when writing Greek. If the plays are moralised, it seems to be in order to avoid religious troubles more than to give a well-argued reading of the comedian, whose plays do not seem to interest Chéradame for what they say, or what can be learnt from them beyond the Greek language.

2 The *lecteurs royaux de grec* and Aristophanes (1540)

The founding of the *Collège des lecteurs royaux* in 1530 marks a turning point in the history of Greek studies in France. Pierre Danès and Jacques Toussain (*c.*1499–1547), the first *lecteurs royaux de grec*, made use of many Greek authors in their lessons, along with grammar books. However, Aristophanes does not appear in the records of the Collège before 1540, when a decade of craze for the comedian starts in Paris.[18] Surprisingly enough, however, students of Greek did not use Chéradame's edition. A new generation of editors and printers had meanwhile risen during the 1530s. Printers from Germany and the Low Countries, specialising in Greek printing, emerged and settled in Paris, and the

18 Rosenstein (2002: 341).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

year 1540 saw the publication of no less than two editions of Aristophanes in Paris, both probably related to Jacques Toussain and his teaching.[19]

The first one is printed by Conrad Néobar (d. 1540), a young printer born in Cologne, who came to Paris around 1535, where he worked as a corrector for the printer Chrestien Wechel (1495–1547).[20] Notwithstanding his move to Paris, Néobar stayed in touch with his country: when printing editions, he mainly followed editions printed in Basel and his printing mark (the Greek letter *tau* with two snakes around it) is reminiscent of that of Melanchthon (1497–1560) (Fig. 3.2).[21] His treatises, aiming at students of Greek, seem to be influenced by the same Melanchthon, who in 1528 edited *Wealth* and *Clouds* for the classroom. Néobar married Émonde Toussain (d. 1548), the niece of Jacques Toussain, and became the first royal printer for Greek in 1539. He printed nineteen editions, primarily of Greek texts.[22] While Chéradame mainly copied Aldine editions, Néobar did his best to gather manuscripts and previous editions to produce a better Greek text, putting his corrections between brackets. He died in the autumn of 1540, just after having completed the edition of three plays of Aristophanes, and Robert Estienne (1503–1559) succeeded him to the position of royal printer for Greek.

Néobar's edition contains the three plays of the so-called Byzantine triad, i.e. *Wealth, Clouds*, and *Frogs*: the three comedies which have been best transmitted probably because they were used by teachers of Greek in Byzantium.[23] They seem to have been printed for the lessons of Jacques Toussain at the Collège, and may also have been edited by him, though Toussain's name is not printed. The copy held by the Bibliothèque nationale de France has no preface, no preliminary letter or address, no scholia, commentaries or translation: it features only the Greek text, preceded by one or two summaries of the play and the list of the characters.

But what we do have are some annotated copies of students who followed Toussain's lessons. These allow us to know the dates and to gain insight, to some extent, into the teacher's method and the way Toussain actually used Aristophanes in his class. We only have three annotated copies of Néobar's edition. The first one, partial, in the Bibliothèque Mazarine in Paris, only contains the *Clouds*.[24] Another copy, held in the Bibliothèque nationale de

19 *FH*: II, 477 and Renouard (1991: 87–88).
20 Renouard (1991: 82–115).
21 Bietenholz (1971: 179–200).
22 Renouard (1991).
23 *Ἀριστοφάνους Πλοῦτος. Plutus. Νεφέλαι. Nebulae. Βάτραχοι. Ranae* (Paris: Conrad Néobar, 1540).
24 Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 14494–4*.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

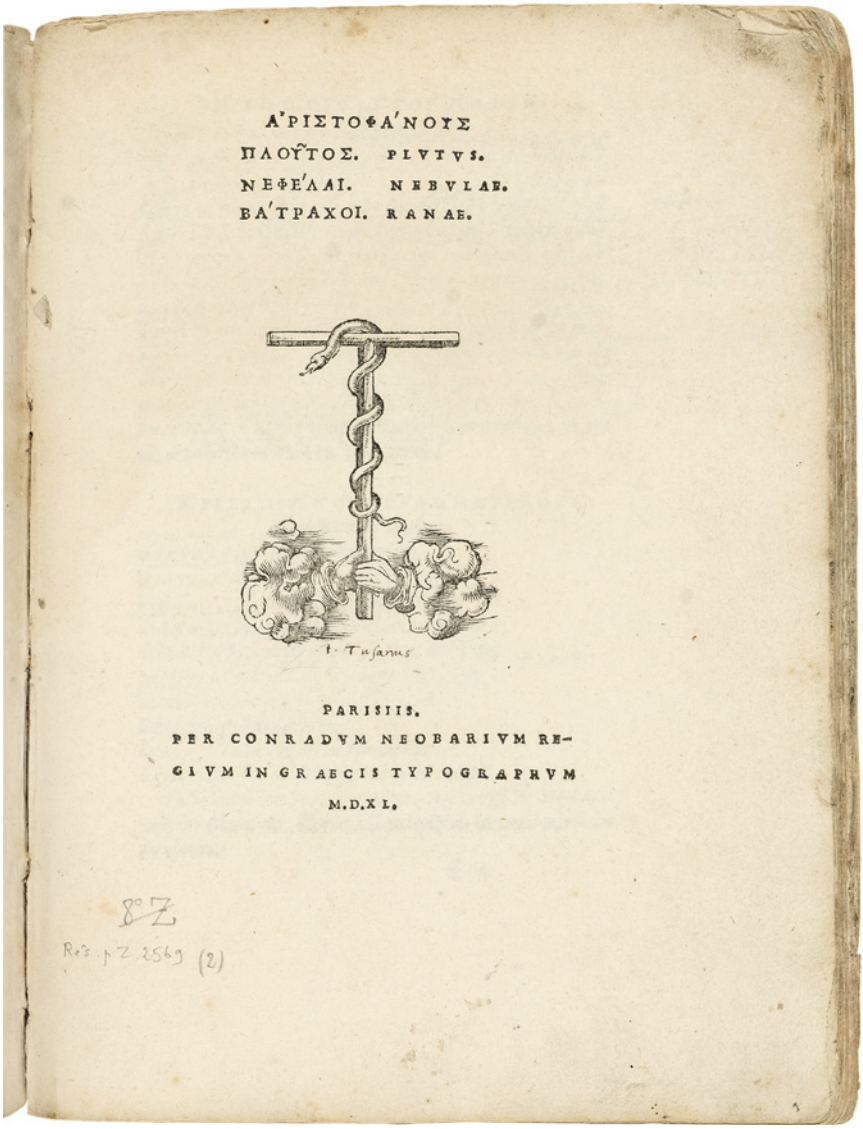
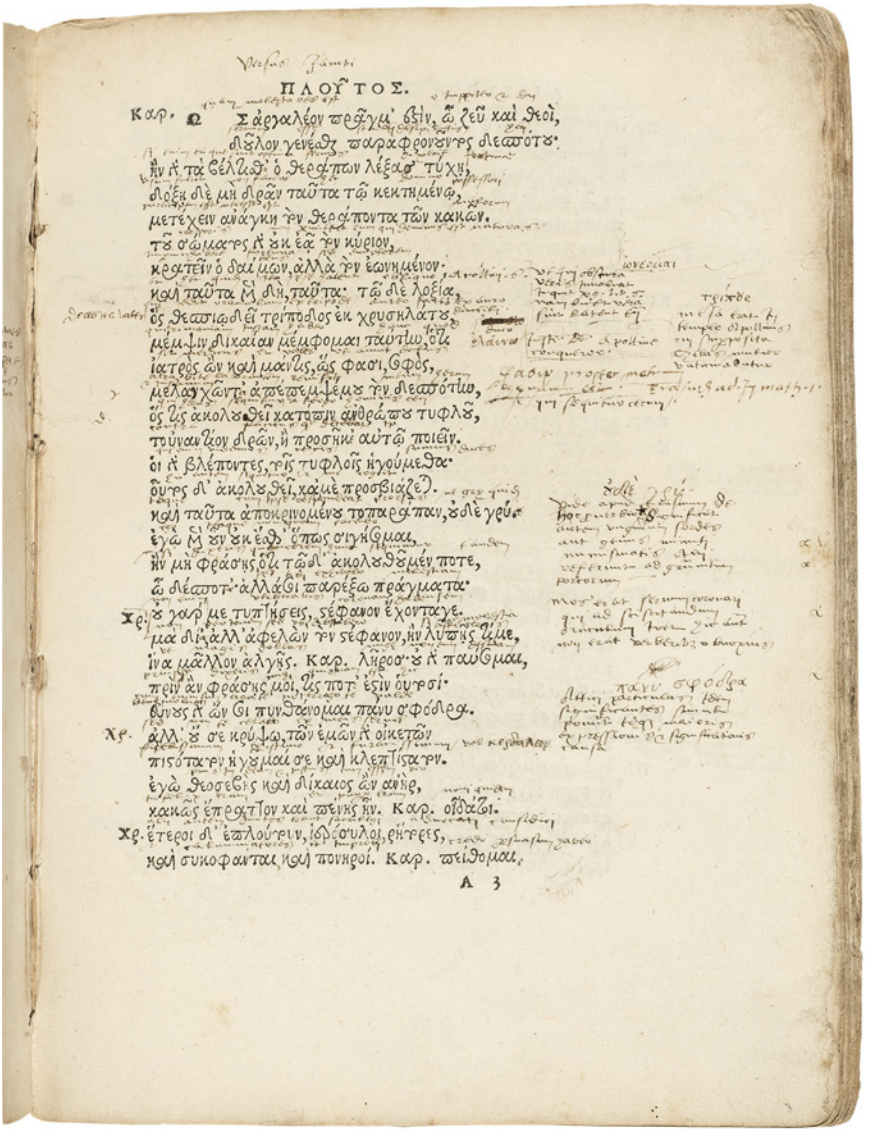


FIGURE 3.2 Title page of Néobar's *Ἀριστοφάνους Πλοῦτος. Plutus. Νεφέλαι. Nebulae. Βάτραχοι. Ranae* (Paris: Conrad Néobar, 1540). in-4°. Bibliothèque nationale de France, RES P-Z-2569 (2)

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access



ΠΛΟΥΤΟΣ.

Καρ. Ω Σαργαλέον τρᾶγμ' ὅστιν, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί,
ἄλλον γενέσθαι πωραφρονοῦντες ἀεστότα.
ἢν δ' τὰ θέλῃ σὺ ὁ θεράπων λέξας τύχῃ,
ἀλόξαι δὲ μὴ δρᾶν ταῦτα τῷ κεκτημένῳ,
μετέχειν ἀνάγκη τὸν θεράποντα τῶν κακῶν.
τὸ σῶμα τοῦ δ' οὐκ ἔστ' τὸν κύριον,
κρατεῖν ὁ δαίμων, ἀλλὰ τὴν εὐνημένην·
καὶ ταῦτα μὴ δῆτ', ταῦτα· τῷ δὲ λοξίᾳ,
ὃς θεσπιῳδεῖ τριπόδιος ἐκ χρυσηλάτου,
μεμψιν ἀλιταίαν μέμφομαι πρώτιστον, ὅτι
ἰατρὸς ὢν καὶ μάντις, ὡς φασι, θρόος,
μελαγχόλῳ τ' ἀρρώστῳ μέλλοντι τὴν ἀεστότητα,
ὃς ζῆς ἀκολουθεῖ κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρώπου τυφλόν,
τὸν ἀναίσχυντον δρᾶν, ἢ προσῆκ' αὐτῷ ποιεῖν.
οἱ δ' βλέποντες, ἧς τυφλοῖς ἡγούμεθα·
οὗτος δ' ἀκολουθεῖ, κἀμὲ προσβιάζεται.
καὶ ταῦτα ἀποκρινομένου τοῦ παρόντος, ὁ δὲ γεύ-
ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐκέθ' ὅπως σιγήσομαι,
ἢν μὴ φράσῃς ὅτῳ τῷδ' ἀκολουθήσομέν ποτε,
ὦ δέσποτ'· ἀλλὰ σοὶ παρέξω πράγματα·
Χρ. σὺ γάρ με τυπτήσεις, σέφανον ἔχοντ' ἐγώ.
μὰ δί' ἀλλ' ἀφελῶν τὸν στέφανον, ἢν λυπῇς ἐμέ,
ἵνα μᾶλλον ἀλγῇς. Καρ. λήρου· σὲ δ' οὐ παύσομαι,
πρὶν ἂν φράσῃς μοι, ὅς ποτ' ἐστὶν οὗτοσί·
θύσας δ' ὧν σοι πυνθάνομαι πάνυ σφόδρα.
Χρ. ἀλλ' ὅσ' ἐγὼ κρύψω τῶν ἐμῶν δ' οἰκετῶν
πιστότατον ἡγοῦμαί σε καὶ κλεπτίστατον.
ἐγὼ θεοσεβὴς καὶ δίκαιος ὢν ἀνήρ,
κακὰς ἔπραττον καὶ πονηρὰς ἡμέρας. Καρ. οἶδα δῆτ'.
Χρ. ἕτεροι δ' ἐπλούτουν, ἰδιοῦλοι, ῥήτορες,
καὶ συκοφάνται καὶ πονηροί. Καρ. πείθομαι,

Α 3

FIGURE 3.3 First page of *Ἀριστοφάνους Πλοῦτος. Plutus. Νεφέλαι. Nebulae. Βάτραχοι. Ranae* (Paris: Conrad Néobar, 1540). in-4°. Bibliothèque nationale de France, RES P-Z-2569 (2)

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

France, survives in three different parts, each play being bound in a different volume.[25] On this BnF copy, on the front page, one can read Toussain's name, probably written by the student owner (*Tusanus*), as well as interlinear and marginal glosses.[26] Finally, there is another annotated copy of Néobar's edition in Bern, which has been studied by Carlotta Dionisotti.[27] On the front page of *Clouds*, this copy also contains the dates when the class started and ended: *hunc librum interpretari coepit Tusanus 12 die januarij 1540* [*41*].

The same year 1540 saw the publication of a complete edition of Aristophanes by Chrestien Wechel. It may well be that after Néobar's death, Toussain turned back to Wechel, with whom he had been working before,[28] and edited the whole volume—though, again, his name is not printed anywhere.

Toussain was the most influential Hellenist in France from about 1530 until his death in 1547 and he played a major role in shaping Greek studies in France. Born in a family of farmers close to Troyes, he came to Paris with Guillaume Budé (1468–1540), worked for the printer Josse Bade (*c.*1461–1535), and gave private lessons. In 1530 he became, along with Pierre Danès, the first *lecteur royal de grec*, and his lessons were very popular. Among his students were the most famous Hellenists of the next generation such as Ramus, Calvin, Loyola, Gilles Bourdin, and Jean-Antoine de Baïf. Following the method of Tissard and Aleandro, he used a very large corpus of authors, along with grammar books and lexicological tools. In 1531, Wechel published his edition of the speeches of Aeschines and Demosthenes, following mainly the text printed by Thomas Anshelm (*c.*1570–*c.*1524) and edited by Johannes Reuchlin in Hagenau in 1522. In 1535, Wechel also printed the first book of Thucydides. As appears from the student notes in the copies of Bern and Paris, Toussain studied it with his students.[29] In 1537, he seems to have chosen to study Galen, in 1538 Herodotus and Xenophon.[30] In 1540, he studied *Plutus* and the following year, *Clouds*.[31]

25 BnF, RES. p. Z. 2569–2* [only *Wealth*]; Yb. 264–2 [only *Clouds*]; Yb 264 (3) [only *Frogs*].

26 The glosses concern only *Wealth* and the prologue of *Clouds*.

27 Zentralbibliothek Bern, N 44 (4); Dionisotti (1983).

28 In 1530, Wechel published his edition of Theodore Gaza's grammar translated into Latin. It was published again, complete or in parts, in 1531, 1535, 1536, 1539, 1540, and 1542. Toussain's name does not appear in the first edition, but only in that of 1531, after he had become *Lecteur royal*. From 1543 onwards, Jacques Bogard, who married Emonde Toussain after the death of Néobar, published Toussain's editions of Gaza's grammar.

29 See Dionisotti (1983: 197 n. 68) and *FH*: II, 450.

30 See *FH*: II, 463–64; Letrouit (1999: 50); Reverdin (1984: 60–61).

31 As Dionisotti has shown from studying the Bern copies, *Plutus* was read in October 1540 (*1540 octo. post Epictetum*), *Clouds* from 12 January 1541 on (*Hunc librum interpretare coepit Tusanus 12. Januarii 1540*[*41*], and *Frogs* after Apollonius, from the 4 October 1541 to

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Notwithstanding his importance, Toussain's name is almost never mentioned in the editions discussed and mentioned so far. Néobar, in another edition, mentions the help of a friend and explains that he does not give his name to avoid troubles: according to Maillard and Flamand, this friend must be identified with Toussain.[32] In two editions, however, his name is given: his editions of Epictetus and the *De mundo*, attributed to Aristotle and Philo, where the opening of the preliminary letter explicitly states: Ἰάκωβος Τουσανὸς τοῖς ἰδίοις μαθηταῖς εὖ πράττειν.

What can be deduced from the students' notes is that the study of the ancient texts was mainly aimed at learning the language: verbal forms, syntax and, in a large part, vocabulary, through the evocation of synonyms and derived terms. But it also seems that Toussain explained lexical peculiarities of the authors under study. More incidentally, Toussain also pointed out parallels with other authors, or explained *realia*.

The copy of *Plutus* held by the Bibliothèque nationale de France has a particularly striking feature: only the first twenty pages are annotated, up to line 650, plus the very last page. This means that it has been annotated, and thus perhaps only studied, up to the point where Carion tells Chremylus's wife about the night they spent in the temple of Asclepius and how they put an end to Plutus's blindness. As for *Clouds*, the notes stop at line 314, when Strepsiades asks Socrates about the song the Clouds just sung, and before they enter the stage. In these two cases, we might infer, the professor seems to have stopped studying the comedy when religious matters were about to become an issue. This also suggests that Toussain worked only on parts of the comedies, which is entirely consistent with his dominantly linguistic interest in these texts. Moreover, in itself, working on selective parts of the text of Aristophanes was not unusual, as is nicely shown by Nicolas Clénard's *Meditationes*, to which we will now turn.

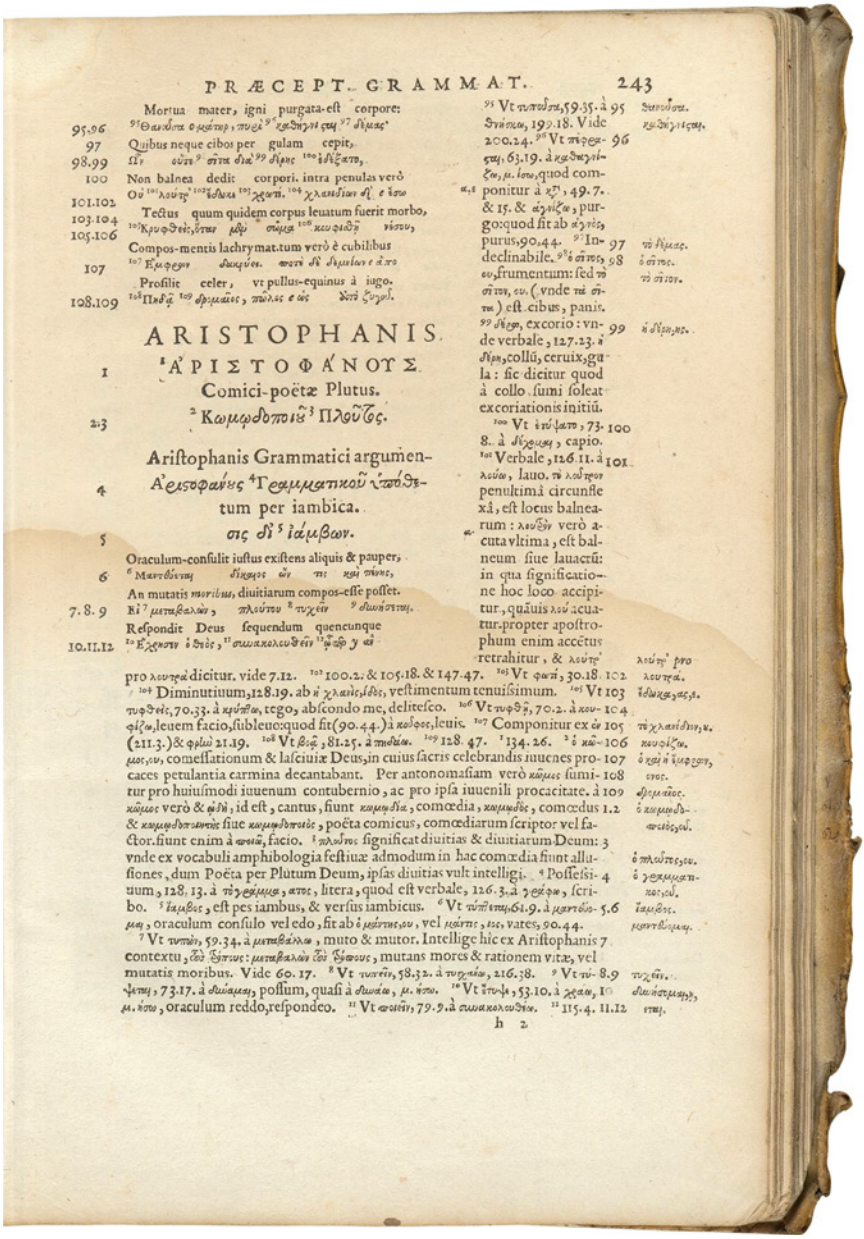
3 The *Plutus*-Prologue as a Study Text: Clénard's *Meditationes* and Antesignanus's *Praxis* (1531–1554)

In 1530, Nicolas Clénard (1495–1542) published his *Institutiones in linguam Graecam* in Louvain and a year later, his *Meditationes Graecanicae in artem grammaticam*, which offer exercises for students unable to attend class. The

12 December 1541 (*4° post Apollonium, absolutus 12. die Decemb. 1541*). See Dionisotti (1983: 181) and *FH*: II, 478.

32 *FH*: II, 370, 468–70.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access



PRÆCEPT. GRAMMAT. 243

Mortua mater, igni purgata est corpore:
Θανοῦσα μήτηρ, πυρὶ καθαγισθεῖσα
Quibus neque cibos per gulam cepit,
Οὓς οὔτε σῖτα διὰ φάρυγος ἔλαβεν,
Non balnea dedit corpori. intra penulas verò
Οὔτ' λούτρ' ἔδωκεν σώματι, χλανίδων ἔσω
Testus quum quidem corpus leuatum fuerit morbo,
Κρυφθεὶς, ὅταν μὲν σῶμα κουφισθῇ νόσου,
Compos mentis lachrymat. tum verò è cubilibus
Ἔμφρων δακρύει. ὅταν δὲ δόμων ἐκ
Profilit celer, vt pullus equinus à iugo.
Πηδᾷ θᾶσσον ὡς πῶλος ἐκ ζυγοῦ.

ARISTOPHANIS

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ

Comici poëtæ Plutus.

Κωμῳδοποιοῦ Πλοῦτος.

Aristophanis Grammatici argumentum per iambica.

Ἀριστοφάνους Γραμματικοῦ ὑποθεσις δι' ἰάμβων.

Oraculum consulit iustus existens aliquis & pauper,
Μαντεύεται δίκαιός ὢν τις καὶ πένης,
An mutatis moribus, diuitiarum compos esse possit.
Εἰ μεταβαλὼν, πλούτου τυχεῖν δυνήσεται.
Respondit Deus sequendum quemcunque
Ἔχοντα ὁ θεὸς, συνακολουθεῖν ᾧπερ ἂν

πρὸ λουτρὰ dicitur. vide 7.12. 100.2. & 105.18. & 147.47. 101 Vt φασί, 30.18. 102 λουτρά. 104 Diminutiuum, 128.19. ab ἡ χλανὶς, ίδος, vestimentum tenuissimum. 101 Vt 103 ἔδωκα, σας, σε. τυφθεὶς, 70.33. à κύπτω, tego, abscondo me, delitesco. 106 Vt τυφθῆς, 70.2. à κου- 104 φίζω, leuem facio, subleuo: quod fit (90.44.) à κοῦφος, leuis. 107 Componitur ex ὦ 105 τὸ χλανίδιον, υ. (211.3.) & φλῶ 21.19. 108 Vt βιῶ, 81.25. à πηδάω. 109 128.47. 134.26. 2 ὁ κώ- 106 κουφίζω. μος, ου, comessationum & lasciuiæ Deus, in cuius sacris celebrandis iuuenes pro- 107 ὁ καὶ ἡ ἔμφρων, caces petulantia carmina decantabant. Per antonomasiam verò κῶμος sumi- 108 ονος. tur pro huiusmodi iuuenum contubernio, ac pro ipsa iuuenili procacitate. à 109 ὁρμητέος. κῶμος verò & ᾠδὴ, id est, cantus, fiunt κωμῳδία, comœdia, κωμῳδὸς, comœdus 1.2 ὁ κωμῳδ- & κωμῳδοποιὸς siue κωμῳδητὴς, poëta comicus, comœdiarum scriptor vel fa- ωδοδιδάσκαλος. ctor. fiunt enim à ᾠοιῶ, facio. πλοῦτος significat diuitias & diuitiarum Deum: 3 vnde ex vocabuli amphibologia festiuæ admodum in hac comœdia fiunt allu- ὁ πλοῦτος, ὁ. siones, dum Poëta per Plutum Deum, ipsas diuitias vult intelligi. Possessi- 4 ὁ γεγραμμα- uum, 128.13. à τὸ γέγραμμα, ατος, litera, quod est verbale, 126.3. à γράφω, scri- τικὸς, ὁν. bo. ἴαμβος, est pes iambus, & versus iambicus. 6 Vt τύπτω, 61.9. à μαντεύο- 5.6 ἴαμβος. μαι, oraculum consulo vel edo, fit ab ὁ μάντις, ου, vel μάντης, ου, vates, 90.44. μαντεύομαι.

7 Vt τυπτῶ, 59.34. à μεταβάλλω, muto & mutor. Intellige hîc ex Aristophanis 7 contextu, τοῦ ἤθους: μεταβαλὼν τοῦ ἤθους, mutans mores & rationem vitæ, vel mutatis moribus. Vide 60.17. 8 Vt τυγχάνω, 58.32. à τυγχάνω, 216.38. 9 Vt τύ- 8.9 τυχεῖν. πτω, 73.17. à δύναμαι, possum, quasi à δυνάω, μ. ήσω. 10 Vt ἔπομαι, 53.10. à χράω, 10 δυνήσεται, μ. ήσω, oraculum reddo, respondeo. 11 Vt φωνῶ, 79.9. à συνακολουθέω. 12 115.4. 11.12 στω.

h 2

FIGURE 3.4 First page of Aristophanes's *Plutus* in Nicolaus Clenardus's *Institutiones ac meditationes in Graecam linguam* [...] *cum scholiis et praxi P. Antesignani Rapistagnensis* ([Geneva]: Excudebat Ieremias Des Planches [Jeremie des Planches], 1580). in-4°. Bibliothèque de Geneve, Hb 86 85.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

volumes were re-edited, separately or together, many times and became a classic.[33] Petrus Antesignanus (1525–1561) added his *Praxis seu usus praeceptorum grammatices* to them, printed in Lyon in 1554 and again in Paris in 1557, reprinted in many editions of Clénard. The *Praxis* offers a set of basic Greek texts translated into Latin with grammatical notes. The texts come mostly from poets—Euripides, Hesiod, Homer, Theocritus, Pindar, and Aristophanes—and there are only a few lines of each. As concerns Aristophanes, only the first 44 lines of *Plutus* were included in the textbook. At least in France, this grammar was used up to the eighteenth century.

The educational use of the beginning of *Plutus* as a study text may shed new light on a vexed question in the reception history of Aristophanes in France. This concerns the French translation of the prologue of *Plutus*, around 1549, which has often been attributed to Pierre de Ronsard (1524–1585). It is the earliest French translation of Aristophanes, and many specialists of Ronsard regard it as part of a complete translation made by the famous poet, now lost. The only evidence for Ronsard's authorship is what his biographer, Claude Binet (d. 1599/1600), wrote in his *Vie de Pierre de Ronsard* (1586). According to him, the poet translated the entire play while being a student of Jean Dorat (1508–1588); he also argued that this translation was staged at the Collège de Cocqueret, in Paris.[34]

It is not our purpose here to decide whether or not Ronsard translated the 275 lines into French. However, in itself, it is by no means surprising that the translator, whoever it was, translated only the prologue. Leonardo Bruni (1370–1444) had previously also translated only the beginning of the text, and we can infer that the students of Jacques Toussain did so too, as well as the readers of Clénard's and Antesignanus's grammar.[35] They did so in order to learn Greek by translating it. Even if we assume that the translation was staged, it is very well possible that only the prologue was staged. As a matter of fact, it was quite usual for college students to stage only part of a play by way of exercise. My hypothesis would be that this was also the case with the famous prologue of *Plutus*.

33 Hummel (2007: 254); Bakelants & Hoven (1981: 19).

34 Binet (1910: 13): "Ce fut ce qui l'incita à tourner en François le *Plutus* d'Aristophane, et le faire représenter en public au collège de Cocqueret, qui fut la première comédie Françoise jouée en France".

35 For a detailed discussion of this question, see Bastin-Hammou (2015).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

4 Practising Translation: Cabedio's Verse Translation of *Plutus* (1547)

Another testimony to the use of *Plutus* as a study text for practicing translation in France is the Latin verse translation which Miguel Cabedio de Vasconcellos (1525–1577) produced in 1547 and which was published by Michel de Vascosan (*c.*1500–1576).[36] Cabedio was only twenty-two at that time, and a law student. In his autobiography, he recalls his love for Greek authors and the many translations into Latin he made, without publishing them, apart from one, that of *Plutus*.[37] Cabedio became a famous lawyer, wrote Latin verses, but he is not known to have produced other scholarly work in the form of editions or translations beyond his *Plutus* version.

In his dedicatory epistle to his uncle, Cabedio presents his translation as a holiday pastime. This recalls what Aldus Manutius said of Aristophanes in the preface of the *editio princeps*: according to him, reading Aristophanes was an excellent means of taking rest from reading the more serious authors.[38] Along the same lines, Cabedio almost apologises to his readers for having indulged into this pleasant exercise, which allowed him to take some rest from his studies. He calls his rendering a *lucubratiuncula*, using a diminutive familiar to humanists speaking about their own work:

> Converti, Domine, per eos dies quibus paucis, iuris studia, more maiorum, intermitti solent, unam de Aristophanis Comoediis in Latinum sermonem, Plutum, quam inter caeteras eius authoris in primis tibi probari intellexeram. Eam igitur qualem qualem lucubratiunculam mihi perire cum nollem, tibi dicatam emisi, ratus opellae nihili, plurimum momenti nomen tuum facturum.
>
> Master, during the few days when the study of law was interrupted, as the ancients used to do, I translated into Latin one of Aristophanes's comedies, the *Plutus*, which I understood you liked the most among this author's comedies. And, as I did not want such a small work to perish with me, I sent it and I dedicated it to you, having in mind that such a small work would become, with your name on it, a major event.

36 Cabedio (1547).
37 Cabedio (1608: 509–17).
38 Musurus (1498).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

5 *Plutus* as Self-Teaching Aid: Girard's Latin Translation (1549)

Two years after Cabedio published his Latin translation of the entire *Plutus*, another Latin translation was published in Paris. It is one of the most interesting documents concerning the teaching of Greek with Aristophanes in the French Renaissance. It is not only interesting because it was not the work of a Parisian, something noteworthy in itself. The translator, Charles Girard, who is almost entirely unknown, was professor of Greek at the University of Bourges, probably from 1543 to at least 1559.[39] We do not have any other edition, nor any translation of Greek texts of his hand, and the few things we do know about him can be inferred from the documents concerning his more famous successor at Bourges, Jacques Amyot (1513–1593). More importantly, however, Girard's translation is very much unlike any translation of Aristophanes published in France before: it was conceived in such a way as to give the beginner all the tools he needed to learn Greek through reading Aristophanes's *Plutus* independently and *without* the help of a professor.[40] Unlike other translations, the Latin translation was not in verse but in prose. Moreover, it was not intended to be read at once in its entirety, as would normally be the case with a literary translation in verse. Rather, it was produced in such a way as to facilitate the understanding of the Greek text step by step, word for word, line by line: Girard gives a few lines of the Greek text, followed by a Latin translation, and then he adds comments to the translated lines before moving on to the next portion of the Greek text.

Girard's comments are by far the most interesting part of this work. They are mainly concerned with morphology, syntax, and *realia*. His method is very consistent: he first translates the word or the phrase *ad verbum*, he then offers a grammatical explanation of the phrase and adds a simpler synonymous expression, before drawing parallels with other similar expressions in *Plutus*, and, eventually, in other authors. Sometimes he ends up formulating a general rule or developing a stylistic analysis.

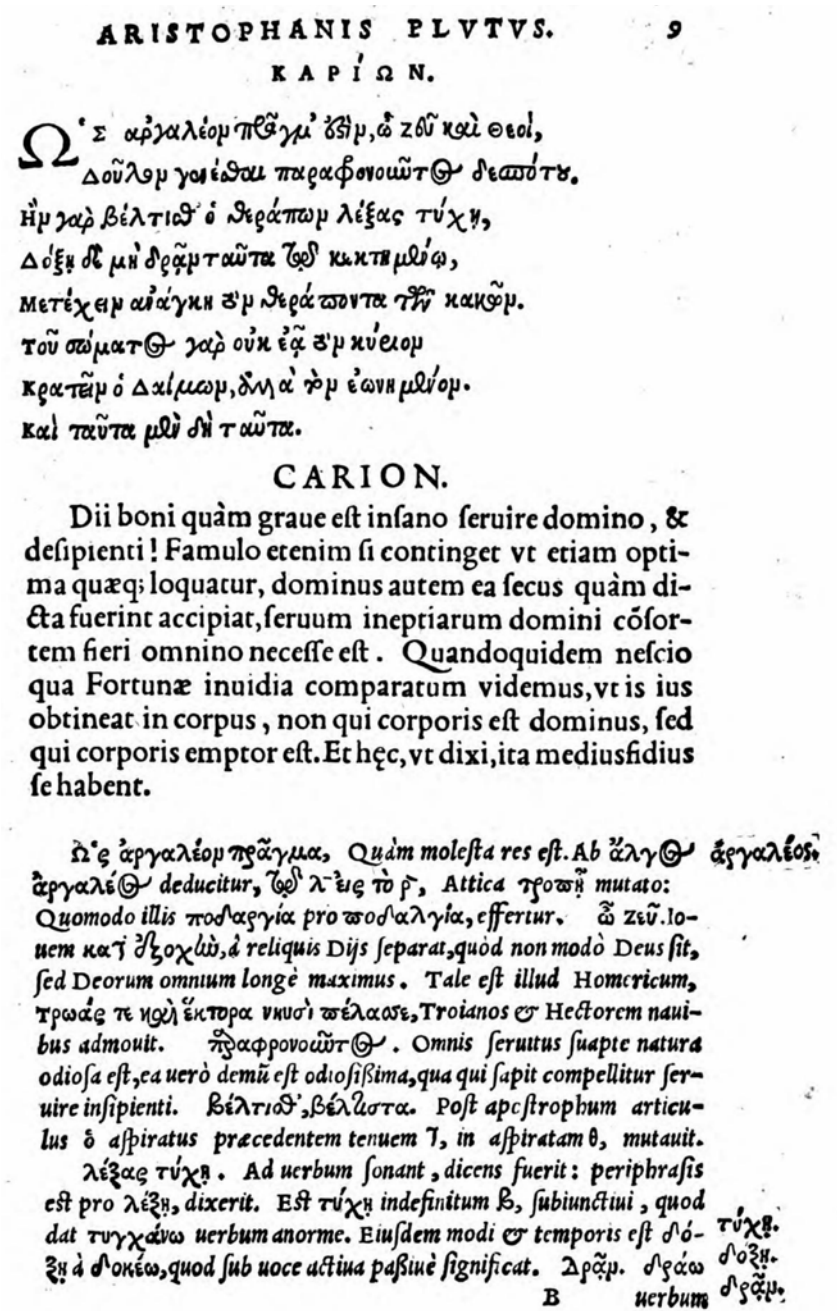
For example, in *Plutus* line 3 one can read the phrase λέξας τύχῃ. Girard comments by first translating *ad verbum* (Fig. 3.5):

> ad verbum sonant, dicens fuerit: periphrasis est pro λέξῃ, dixerit. Est τύχῃ indefinitum, subjunctivi, quod dat τυγχάνω verbum anorme.

39 Cioranescu (1941: 39–40) and Sturel (1907: 45 n. 2).

40 Girard (1549: 9).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access



ARISTOPHANIS PLVTVS. 9

ΚΑΡΙΩΝ.

Ὡς ἀργαλέον πρᾶγμ' ἔστιν, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί,
Δοῦλον γενέσθαι παραφρονοῦντος δεσπότου.
Ἢν γὰρ βέλτιστ' ὁ θεράπων λέξας τύχῃ,
Δόξῃ δὲ μὴ δρᾶν ταῦτα τῷ κεκτημένῳ,
Μετέχειν ἀνάγκη φησὶν θεράποντα τῆς κακοῦ.
Τοῦ σώματος γὰρ οὐκ ἐᾷ φησὶν κύριον
Κρατεῖν ὁ δαίμων, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐωνημένον.
Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ταῦτα.

CARION.

Dii boni quàm graue eſt inſano ſeruire domino, & deſipienti! Famulo etenim ſi contiget vt etiam optima quæq; loquatur, dominus autem ea ſecus quàm dicta fuerint accipiat, ſeruum ineptiarum domini cõſortem fieri omnino neceſſe eſt. Quandoquidem neſcio qua Fortunæ inuidia comparatum videmus, vt is ius obtineat in corpus, non qui corporis eſt dominus, ſed qui corporis emptor eſt. Et hęc, vt dixi, ita mediusfidius ſe habent.

Ὡ̓ς ἀργαλέον πρᾶγμα, *Quàm moleſta res eſt.* Ab ἄλγος ἀργαλέος, ἀργαλέος deducitur, τοῦ λ̓ εἰς τὸ ῤ, *Attica* τροπῇ *mutato: Quomodo illis* ποδαργία *pro* ποδαλγία, *effertur.* ὦ Ζεῦ. *Iouem* κατ̓ ἐξοχὴν, *à reliquis Dijs ſeparat, quòd non modò Deus ſit, ſed Deorum omnium longè maximus. Tale eſt illud Homericum,* Τρωάς τε καὶ Ἕκτορα νηυσὶ πέλασσε, *Troianos & Hectorem nauibus admouit.* Παραφρονοῦντος. *Omnis ſeruitus ſuapte natura odioſa eſt, ea uerò demũ eſt odioſiſſima, qua qui ſapit compellitur ſeruire inſipienti.* Βέλτιστ', βέλτιστα. *Poſt apoſtrophum articulus* ὁ *aſpiratus præcedentem tenuem* τ, *in aſpiratam* θ, *mutauit.*

λέξας τύχῃ. *Ad uerbum ſonant, dicens fuerit: periphraſis eſt pro* λέξῃ, *dixerit. Eſt* τύχῃ *indefinitum* β, *ſubiunctiui, quod dat* τυγχάνω *uerbum anorme. Eiuſdem modi & temporis eſt* δόξῃ *à* δοκέω, *quod ſub uoce actiua paſſiuè ſignificat.* Δρᾷ. δράω *uerbum*

τύχῃ. δόξῃ. δρᾷ.

B

FIGURE 3.5 First page of Aristophanes's *Plutus* in [Charles Girard,] *Aristophanis Poetae Comici Plutus* (Paris: Mathurin Dupuys, 1549).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

> if one translates *ad verbum*, one gets *dicens fuerit*, which is a periphrasis of λέξῃ, that is *dixerit*. τύχῃ is a subjunctive, aorist, of the irregular verb τυγχάνω.

But in his translation, Girard translates the phrase λέξας τύχῃ with *loquatur*. Thus, his commentary aimed at illuminating the Greek text as well as explaining the definitive translation, by first, translating *ad verbum* into Latin, second, explaining the Greek form, and third, giving a simpler Greek form. In some other cases, when applicable, Girard additionally formulates a general rule, as he does for explaining the form κεκτημένος:

> Scitum hoc satis, passivas voces Atticis subinde active usurpari.[41]
>
> It is well known that the passive voice was often used as an active in Attic.

Sometimes though, the grammar lesson turns into a stylistic analysis, as we can observe in his commentary of line 5, about the use of the article τῶν before κακῶν:

> Articuli ea est natura, ut de rebus certis, et de quibus facta prius mentio fuerit, dicatur.
>
> The nature of the article is to be employed about things known or which have been mentioned before.

The rule is then used to explain the line:

> Cum generaliter, et sub incerto de malis et incommodis agatur quae servis contingunt a dominis, merito τῶν hic abundarit.
>
> As general matters are here dealt with, and with no certitude about the type of bad things that happen to slaves because of their masters, it is justified to use τῶν in this context.

Then Girard refers to a similar use in the same text, in the third line, and paraphrases the lines, while underlining their comic dimension:

41 Girard (1549: 10).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

> Hoc ait: Quemadmodum dominus meus demens caecum sequitur deridicule, ita et me servum insano quodam modo caecum sequi oportet, et cum ridiculo domino me simul deridendum omnibus propinare.
>
> It means: just as my foolish master stupidly follows a blind man, I myself, too, being his slave, have to follow a blind man foolishly, and with my ridiculous master I make everybody laugh.

What we have here is not a translation but an interpretation of the text, which highlights its comic dimension by emphasising the duo master and slave and the *topos* of the cunning slave faced with a stupid master. Among the many scholia to this passage, Girard chose to keep this one. Even more striking here is the fact that the terms *deridicule*, *ridiculo*, *deridendum*, used by Girard, do not render any specific Greek words in the original text, nor do they come from the scholia, like many of Girard's notes; they are rather meant to amplify the text's comic dimension. Starting with explaining a rule of grammar, Girard thus gradually moves towards a dramatic and literary interpretation of the passage. In this way, we move away from teaching Greek with Aristophanes to teaching and explaining his comedy.

In a few cases of detailed grammatical exegesis, Girard is actually led to question the authority of the established text; in these cases, commenting the text spills over in correcting it. A good case in point is his discussion of the genitive *apokrinomenou* (ἀποκρινομένου) in line 17:

> Undenam hic genitivus? Respicit ne ἀνθρώπου τυφλοῦ? Hoc non patitur orationis ductus et sensus: potius ad Chremylum refert. At cum dictum sit: οὗτος δ'ἀκολουθεῖ κἄμε προσβιάζεται, syntaxis exigit, ut ἀποκρινόμενος dicatur.
>
> Where does this genitive come from? Is it linked to ἀνθρώπου τυφλοῦ? This is, however, against the meaning: it has rather to be linked to Chremylus. But as it has been said: οὗτος δ'ἀκολουθεῖ κἄμε προσβιάζεται, the syntax demands us to read ἀποκρινόμενος.

Here, Girard's grammatical explanation of the text becomes textual criticism; the commentator did not refrain from considering correcting the ancient text *ope ingenii* when he thought this was necessary. Interestingly, since Ludolf Küster's (1670–1716) edition of Aristophanes (1710), all the editions today read *apokrinomenos* (ἀποκρινόμενος), a reading which is confirmed by the authoritative *Ravennas* manuscript. Although Küster knew Girard's work, and

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

included his commentaries in his edition, he attributed the emendation of ἀποκρινομένου to Richard Bentley (1662–1742)—and the modern editions follow him in this.[42] In any case, in some passages, Girard's work thus exemplifies the close link that typically existed in early modern scholarship between teaching, translating, and editing Greek texts.

6 Concluding Remarks

Despite his popularity in the sixteenth century, in seventeenth-century France, Aristophanes completely disappeared from the curricula.[43] As a matter of fact, he became an anti-model for the French dramatists—apart from one single example, that of Racine. After a century of glory as a study text, his comedies fell into the purgatory, from where they would not re-emerge until the end of the nineteenth century.[44] Notwithstanding his later negligence, Aristophanes's uses during the first stages of Greek learning in France had been multifarious, as is evidenced by the variety of surviving editions. His comedies were used to learn Attic phrases, to learn Greek grammar, but also to practice translation, to question the established text and, at some point, to learn the specific features of Greek comedy—for example, by discussing the master-and-slave duo or other typical comic effects. But his comedies were seldom staged and, when they were, it was for pedagogical rather than literary or recreational purposes. While Greek drama thoroughly influenced French dramatists in the seventeenth century, the comedian Aristophanes had to wait until the nineteenth century to become a star of the French stage.

---

42 Küster (1710: 319). On this emendation, Bentley wrote a letter to Küster, without mentioning Girard, which is included in Küster's edition. In it, Bentley states: *illud potius dixero, sententiam ipsam clamitare, sic esse corrigendum: καὶ ταῦτ' ἀποκρινόμενος &c. Chremylus sc. Carioni. Patet ex vers. 19 et 24 Chremylum a servo interrogatum nihil respondisse: hoc ille indignatur. Plutum vero nondum fuisse interrogatum versus 60 ostendit, et 52*.

43 While Erasmus, in his *De ratione studii* (1512), recommended Aristophanes for the teaching of Greek, the comic poet is absent from the Jesuits' *Ratio studiorum* (1599) (see *Ratio studiorum* 1997 for a modern edition and translation with commentary), Jouvancy's *De docendi* (1691) (for a translation, see Jouvancy 1892), Arnauld's *Réglement des études*, the Oratorians' *Ratio studiorum* (1645), Rollin's *Traité des études* (1726) (Rollin 1863 for a modern edition) as well as Rolland d'Erceville's *Recueil* (1762) (see Rolland d'Erceville 1783). See Grell (1995: 8–9).

44 The French Hellenist Paul Mazon, when he was a young teacher, published, to the benefit of his highschool pupils, his *Extraits d'Aristophane* (1902). This collection was augmented after the discovery of Menander's *Dyscolus* and was reissues as *Extraits d'Aristophane et de Ménandre* (1908). As such, it was reprinted several times until 1984.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

This paper thus demonstrated the importance of Aristophanes in the teaching of Greek during the French Renaissance and also showed something of the various ways in which the comic poet was used by professors and students. Further study of editions of Aristophanes and their pedagogical uses is needed to understand the extent of their influence on the work of French dramatists. As is well known, the debate over the use of ancient literature did not end in the sixteenth century, but culminated with the *Querelle des anciens et des modernes*. In this chapter, we have only looked at the beginning of a pedagogical tradition in France which can be traced from then onwards, up to our own time.[45]

45 The discussion is still relevant, as recent pedagogical decisions concerning the teaching of Greek in France have shown.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

CHAPTER 4

A Professor at Work: Hadrianus Amerotius (*c.*1495–1560) and the Study of Greek in Sixteenth-Century Louvain

Raf Van Rooy

> Est in eodem collegio Adrianus Suesionius, praeter exactam utriusque litteraturae peritiam, et philosophiae gnarus et iuris Caesarei non ignarus, moribus mire candidis.[1]
>
> ERASMUS IN DE VOCHT 1951–1955: IV, 257 n. 1

> In due time, [Amerotius's] nomination as Greek professor became an accomplished fact, and the Trilingue thus secured the collaboration of one of the best Hellenists, and one of the most devoted pedagogues of the sixteenth century.
>
> DE VOCHT 1951–1955: IV, 253

Few sixteenth-century Hellenists can boast of such words of praise by such eminent scholars as Desiderius Erasmus (1466/1467/1469–1536) and Henry De Vocht (1878–1962). Yet even fewer Hellenists have been denied the scholarly attention they deserve. Erasmus's and De Vocht's words stand in striking contrast with the relative lack of interest in Amerotius's life and work.[2] Because of the considerable amount of research that still needs to be done—for instance, a thorough study of his Greek grammar is still lacking,[3] I can only offer a partial antidote to this deplorable neglect here. I aim to provide a brief updated account of his life and work, first and foremost as a Hellenist

1 "In the same college [the Lily in Louvain], there is Adrien of Soissons, who, apart from his accurate skill in both literatures, is both an expert of philosophy and not inexperienced in imperial law [and he has] marvellously impeccable manners" (my translation).

2 The most important modern studies (all partial) are, in chronological order, Nève (1856: 207–10); De Vocht (1951–1955: I, 272; II, 194–95, 223; III, 294, 578; IV, 221, 245–47, 252–68, 300, 311, 352, 369, 378–79, 426, 438, 444); Hoven (1970: 11–14); Antony (1984: 50–53); Hoven (1985: 1–19); Hummel (1999); Swiggers (2000); King (2001: 147–51); Botley (2010: 47–48); Swiggers & Van Rooy (2015); and some of my notes in Papy (2017). See also Van Rooy & Van Hal (2018: *passim*).

3 In spite of Botley (2010: 47–48).

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2020 | DOI:10.1163/9789004402461_006
Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

and teacher of Greek, without, however, neglecting his other didactic, clerical, and legal services. To achieve this in as surveyable a manner as possible, I start with a concise biographic account, followed by a more extensive discussion of Amerotius's Greek studies and teaching, and its embedment in his overall profile as a humanist scholar. I conclude by raising questions about the study of Greek by scholars such as Amerotius, with specific attention to early modern conceptions of "the Greek language" and its position in Renaissance scholarship, which I believe are particularly promising avenues for further research.

Before moving on to Amerotius's life and work, it is worthwhile to linger here briefly on Greek studies in the Low Countries before his arrival in Louvain in late 1513 in order to gain deeper insight into his importance and contribution. In the fifteenth century, few Greek was taught in the Low Countries, a major exception being the German humanist Alexander Hegius's (1439/1440–1498) tutoring. Hegius had learned Greek from the Groningen humanist Rudolf Agricola (1443/1444–1485), who had learned Greek in Ferrara,[4] and would subsequently teach the basics of the language for about 15 years (1483–1498) at the Deventer Latin school, of which he was rector. One of Hegius's first students there was Desiderius Erasmus.[5] However, for the large-scale study of Greek in the Low Countries, we have to wait until the early sixteenth century. Louvain was a particularly important intellectual centre in this context. At first, only occasional (non-permanent) and private lessons without any real impact took place there. For instance, around 1500, two Greek noblemen were procuring some basically fruitless teaching in that city. It was only with the arrival of Amerotius from Paris that in Louvain—and by extension in large parts of the Low Countries—Greek came to be seriously studied in the typical Renaissance spirit.[6] Indeed, his private lessons, combining expertise with clarity, were a hugely important channel through which students in the Low Countries (especially the southern part) acquired knowledge of Greek before the Collegium Trilingue's (est. 1517) public lessons.

4 IJsewijn (1988).

5 See Bedaux (1998: 15–71) for an extensive biography of Hegius. Hegius is also the author of a poem on the utility of learning Greek (in which the imperative *discito Graece* occurs as a refrain), immensely popular during the Renaissance.

6 De Vocht (1951–1955: I, 271–73).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

1 Hadrianus Amerotius of Soissons (*c.*1495–1560): a Versatile Scholar[7]

Amerotius was born in (or near) Soissons (nowadays northern France) somewhere in the 1490s—his precise year of birth remains unknown. His father was a Flemish migrant called Jacques Guennevelle (or Quennevelle), also called "Amerot laboureur", and his mother, Ysabeau Docosse, was a native of Mollins, near Soissons. His family was poor, which forced him to make a living of his own early on. In 1512–1513, Amerotius was in Paris, studying Greek with the Italian humanist Girolamo Aleandro (1480–1542), with whom he corresponded later in his life. In November 1513, as a *pauperculus iuvenis* ("poor youngster"), Amerotius matriculated at the University of Louvain, being enrolled as *Adrianus de Suetione* ("Adrien of Soissons"). He entered the College of the Lily, one of the four pedagogies of the university's arts faculty, where he soon started to teach Greek to his fellow-students, probably as early as 1514. His teaching activity was pioneering for Louvain: Amerotius was the first to give quasi-permanent private lessons in that language. In 1516, Amerotius promoted to the degree of Master of Arts and was his year's *primus*. Yet he stayed at the Lily, combining his private teaching with a law study; he soon obtained the degree of Licentiate in this subject.

By June 1522, Amerotius was a priest as well as a professor of philosophy, teaching Aristotle's *Physica*. Also around this time, his friend Paschasius Berselius (*c.*1480–1535) gave him an astrolabe (an astronomic device used to determine the positions of celestial bodies), perhaps as a present to congratulate him with his appointment.[8] This seems all the more likely since, in his *Physica*, Aristotle touches on issues of astronomy; this would make Berselius's gift to Amerotius very appropriate indeed. We do not know how long Amerotius held his teaching position, but it is certain that, before long, he also became the preceptor of the sons (and some other relatives) of Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle (1486–1550), the secretary of Charles V (1500–1558). This task preoccupied him for a large part of his life and only ended around 1550.[9] Thanks to the (incomplete) preservation of the correspondence between Amerotius and Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), Nicolas's son, we are best informed about

7 This overview is mainly based on De Vocht (1951–1955: I, 272–74; IV, 252–65); Antony (1984: 50–53); Hoven (1985: 1–6); and new data which have emerged from my own examination of Amerotius's unedited correspondence with Antoine Perrenot. See Appendix B for a first edition of one of these letters, which offers us a unique window on Amerotius's varied pedagogical programme.

8 The astrolabe bears the inscription: *Hadriano Amerotio Berselius me dono dedit. 1522*. See King (2001: 141–42).

9 Antony (1984: 53).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

this aspect of Amerotius's life. In his capacity of preceptor, he was in contact with many leading humanists and noblemen. In the years 1529–1531, for instance, he travelled with the renowned Antwerp humanist Joachim Fortius Ringelbergius (*c.*1499–*c.*1531/1536) to Paris and Orléans (and maybe also to Bourges). Ringelbergius praised Amerotius as a *vir utriusque linguae peritissimus* ("a man very skilled in both languages").[10] Yet it is probable that Amerotius also knew Hebrew: in June 1537, Antoine Perrenot addressed him as "Master Hadrianus Amerotius, teacher, very skilled in the three languages and master of both laws", which very probably refers to the three "sacred languages".[11] After his travels (in the years 1532–1533), Amerotius acted as a lawyer for the Brederode family at the decease of Charlotte de Brederode.[12] Around the same time, Amerotius seems to have set up a boarding-house in Louvain, where he accommodated and educated his pupils in preparation for university, both members of the Granvelle family and other students.[13] He was the private teacher of Antoine, Thomas (1521–1571), Jérôme (1524–1554), Charles (1531–1567), and Frédéric (1536–1602) Perrenot. He also taught their first cousins Charles and Pierre Bordey.[14] In 1534, he corresponded from Louvain with Nicolaus Olahus (1493–1568), the secretary of Mary of Hungary (1505–1558), residing in Brussels.

For the years 1535–1542, we only have a few snippets of information. Amerotius probably continued his boarding-house activities and is said to have given a series of sermons for a period of two years. Recently rediscovered letters reveal that Amerotius also travelled during this period. Between early 1536 and late 1537, he was in Dole in the County of Burgundy, accompanying Granvelle's brother Jérôme and another relative of his, who probably studied at the local university and no doubt visited Jérôme and Antoine's uncle Johannes Mauricius, senator in the city.[15] He may also have supervised the studies of Maximilien Morillon (1517–1586), a close friend of Antoine Perrenot who

10 See Ringelbergius (1531: 616) and Hoven (1985: 2). His Dutch name is Joachim Sterck van Ringelbergh.

11 In the original Latin letter (written in Padua), the address reads: *A*[*ntonius*] *P*[*errenotus*] *trium linguarum peritissimo et utriusque iuris licentiato D*[*omi*]*no Adriano Amerotio praeceptori*. See BPR, MS II/2798, fol. 54^{v}.

12 He was the executor of her will and had the "full power" to act in the best interests of the family when several heirs started to take legal steps (De Vocht 1951–1955: IV, 258).

13 De Vocht (1951–1955: IV, 258).

14 A number of these pupils are mentioned in the letter edited in Appendix B. For Pierre Bordey, see Castan (1888: 21–30).

15 BPR, MS II/2298, fol. 6 and MS II/2794, fol. 42^{r}.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

had studied law in Louvain, but finished his studies in Dole in 1538.[16] Around 1539/1540, Amerotius was in Louvain again, inciting Gerardus Mercator (1512–1594) to publish a new globe.[17] In the years 1542–1545, he was teaching Greek at the College of the Castle (or Fortress), which was, like the Lily, an arts college of the University of Louvain. The establishment of such language courses in the arts colleges was no doubt inspired by the example of the Collegium Trilingue. This institute for advanced studies in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew had been founded in 1517 under the will of Hieronymus van Busleyden (*c.*1470–1517) and by the efforts of, among others, Erasmus, its "spiritual founder".[18]

In 1543, Amerotius was involved in a trial with Jan Heems of Armentières (d. 1560), the regent of the College of the Lily and his arch enemy ("mon perpetuel adversaire"), over clerical privileges.[19] In September 1545, he had to substitute the professor of Greek at the *Trilingue*, Rutgerus Rescius (*c.*1495–1545), who was seriously ill and passed away on 2 October. Amerotius succeeded him and thus became the second professor of Greek at the Collegium Trilingue. His eventual appointment, however, took some time, because the approval of the last living executor of Busleyden's will was required. Amerotius's inaugural oration as an interim professor is extant, a unique document showing a humble scholar who wanted to give the board of the *Trilingue* the freedom to choose whomever they wanted as Rescius's successor.[20] He did so by reading a brief text during this period of transition: Menelaus's *Declamatio* on Helena (= *Declamationes* 3) by Libanius the Sophist.

In June 1546, there was a rumour in Louvain that Amerotius was about to enter the Franciscan Order, which Charles Perrenot denied in a letter to his brother Antoine.[21] In January 1548, Amerotius wrote to his (former) pupil, Antoine, to report about the progress made by Antoine's brothers and other relatives, and about other services to the Granvelle family (see Appendix B for an edition and translation of this letter). He seems to allude to his Greek courses at the *Trilingue* in this letter, which he mentions together with Petrus Nannius's (1496/1500–1557) Latin courses (see Appendix B n. 63). In 1550, the year of Nicolas Perrenot's death, there came an end to Amerotius's employment as teacher of the Granvelle family. At the same time, he asked Antoine

16 See Poullet's first note with Morillon's letter to Granvelle in Granvelle (1877–1896: I, 12); Piot (1899).

17 BPR, MS II/2298, fol. 306^{r}.

18 On the Collegium Trilingue, see most recently Papy (2018).

19 BPR, MS II/2317, fol. 188^{r}. For Heems, see Guenther (1995).

20 See Van den Gheyn (1909) for the *editio princeps*. Van Rooy (2017a) offers a corrected edition with Dutch translation.

21 BPR, MS 7912/92 (*pace* Antony 1984: 52–53).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

to give him either a position at the college of Besançon, a city he might have visited in the late 1530s, or a parish in Armentières in northern France.[22] He was probably also travelling again in 1550 (perhaps to northern France?); in October of that year, Theodor(ic)us Langius (d. 1578), who later succeeded Amerotius as professor of Greek in 1560, took over his lessons at the *Trilingue*. In September 1557, Amerotius is mentioned as the patron of Suffridus Petri (1527–1597), the later secretary and librarian of Antoine Perrenot, when he was cardinal.[23] In December 1559, he wrote his will, which he changed at various occasions during that same month. He died on 14 January 1560 and was buried at St Gertrude's Abbey Church in Louvain. Part of his property went to his family, another part was intended to be used for theological scholarships in a college to be founded, and yet another part was destined for the recently established College of Ghent, a grammar school in Louvain. Due to circumstances (i.e., unresolved debts owed to Amerotius and objections of Amerotius's relatives), his plan for a college never materialised, although part of his fortune was used for scholarships in two other Louvain colleges. All means of Amerotius's foundation were, however, lost in the chaos of the 1580s.

2 Amerotius as a Teacher and Hellenist

Let us now look at Amerotius's colourful teaching career. He taught philosophy, Latin,[24] (Catholic) theology,[25] law, and even Flemish. I will not have the opportunity to discuss all these aspects of Amerotius's teaching career here, but I do want to point out the remarkable fact that he taught Flemish as a kind of extra-curricular course to foreign pupils lodging with him and specifically to Charles Perrenot de Granvelle, one of the sons of the imperial secretary Nicolas. In a 1548 letter to Charles's brother, Antoine, Amerotius explained how he had been teaching Flemish in his boarding-house:

> As to Flemish, I have prescribed that we read, master Jean, I and the children, every day after dinner and after supper, histories in Flemish, and I will arrange in this manner that they will know the language. There is absolutely no hope at all to make them learn it by talking with the domestic servants, as they do not want to make use of it, even though

22 Antony (1984: 52–53).

23 De Vocht (1951–1955: IV, 267; IV, 355).

24 BPR, MS II/2317, fol. 187. See also Isaac (1586: 1^{v}) and De Vocht (1951–1955: IV, 300).

25 See De Vocht (1951–1955: IV, 300).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

> they understand it well. And recently, on New Year's Day, the protonotary said, in the presence of Viron, that he did not at all like the country and that, if he would be out of it, he would never again return. Thus, he indicated that since he did not at all want to stay in the land, he had but little use for the language. Never had I heard such things from him. And the abovementioned lord Viron and I, we reminded him of his duties and we brought him back to his best senses. Milord and you can understand by this that it is rather difficult for a hunter to catch the hare when the dog does not want to run. And to remedy it, I will catch the hare myself and I will tie him up by his foot and I will make him understand, by means of the histories we read and translate every day, what is said in Flemish, and only a small quarter of an hour every time, so that we do not at all interrupt the other studies too much.[26]

This amusing anecdote reveals that renowned teachers and humanists such as Amerotius were also appealed to by their patrons when more practical linguistic competences needed to be acquired; in this case, the main goal was to overcome problems caused by language barriers, undesirable for someone like Charles who was destined for a political-clerical career in Flemish-speaking territory.[27] Be that as it may, Amerotius is most renowned for his teaching of the ancient Greek language and literature.

Amerotius taught Greek more or less continuously for about 45 years (1514–1560), but unfortunately, we have little information about large parts of this period. In any case, it is certain that he taught Greek at the Pedagogy of the Lily in the years 1514–1521, at the Pedagogy of the Castle in the years 1542–1545, and at the Collegium Trilingue in the years 1545–1560. This leaves us with a gap of just over twenty years between 1521 and 1542. It seems probable, however, that Amerotius regularly taught Greek during that period too, for instance in private lessons for members of the Granvelle family and other students. Antoine, therefore, is likely to have learned Greek from him in this period. It is moreover

26 See Appendix B for the French original of this letter, accompanied by a full English translation.

27 See Appendix B for text and translation. This tutoring of Flemish can be understood as consistent with the ideal of the cultivated polyglot dignitary active on the multilingual political scene of Habsburg Europe, which was embodied in an exemplary fashion by Antoine, who *Mithridatem quoque ipsum* […] *cognitione linguarum aequabat: nam praeter vernaculam, hoc est, Gallicam, ac praeter Latinam et Graecam, quas puer in scholis didicerat; Italam insuper, Hispanam, Belgicam et Germanicam examussim callebat* (Saccus 1586: 18–119). It seems plausible that Antoine had enjoyed similar classes in the Dutch language, perhaps also under Amerotius's supervision.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

possible that Amerotius was still teaching Greek privately as late as 1548 (see Appendix B n. 63).

The passage from Erasmus's letter quoted at the outset of this paper shows that in 1521, Erasmus used Amerotius's expertise in Greek language and literature as a means of attracting pupils to come and study in Louvain. What is more, Amerotius was not only acquainted with many important Hellenists of his age (for example, Aleandro, Erasmus, and Ringelbergius), but also taught the Greek language and literature to many prominent figures, including the theologian Guilielmus Lindanus (1525–1588), the Frisian humanist Suffridus Petri, the famous botanist Carolus Clusius (1526–1609), and the Spanish philologist Sebastián Fox Morcillo (*c.*1526/1528–1560).[28]

Amerotius's oral didactic method is well reflected in his 1534 correspondence with Nicolaus Olahus, who had asked him about the interpretation of a passage in the *Parasitus*, a dialogue by Lucian. The professor's response reveals his method of teaching Greek texts in some detail.[29] His letter suggests that his teaching method was traditional in that it consisted of (1) literal, word-for-word translation of the Greek text, (2) paraphrase, and (3) explanation of contents and *realia* (scholia). In at least one respect, Amerotius's method diverges from general practice. This concerns his remarkably close attention to the interconnection and internal coherence of Greek clauses in the passages under scrutiny. Whether this characterises his teaching style generally is difficult to say. In this particular case, the teacher's attention for coherence might very well have been inspired by the subject of the passage: dialectics, the art of reasoning.

So what kind of Greek texts did Amerotius discuss in his actual classes? Unfortunately, not much information on this issue is available. His inaugural oration of 1545 does show, however, that very much like his predecessor Rescius, he did not shy away from reading later, and often lesser-known, Greek texts—by Lucian and Libanius—instead of what we consider to be the "great classics" (such as Homer's epic poems or works from the "golden age" of Athens).

Apart from his teaching, Amerotius also produced didactic writings with a long-term effect: his printed grammatical work. At a very early age (*c.*1514–1520), he had already drawn up precepts for learning Greek in manuscript, based on Greek grammarians as well as his personal reading of Greek literature. He later rearranged his precepts in a methodical and concise manner and published them with Thierry Martens (1446/1447–1534) in 1520.[30] Although only one edition of Amerotius's *Compendium Graecae grammatices* was

28 See De Vocht (1951–1955: IV, 352; IV, 369; IV, 379; IV, 438).

29 Amerotius (1875: 467–71).

30 See Amerotius (1520: sig. a.i^{v}).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

issued, it nevertheless had a long-term effect. This is for several reasons. First, his *Compendium* circulated for several decades in the sixteenth century. This is shown by the fact that Amerotius is mentioned among the approved grammarians of Greek in an imperial book catalogue published in Louvain in 1550 alongside three other renowned Hellenists of his lifetime: Nicolaus Clenardus from Diest (*c.*1493/1495–1542), Johannes Varennius from Mechelen (1462–1536), and the Swiss humanist Jacobus Ceporinus (1499/1500–1525).[31] What is more, early modern and modern scholars alike have not ceased to emphasise the merits of Amerotius's introductory handbook, including the renowned Spanish humanist Juan Luis Vives (1492/1493–1540).[32] It is interesting to note here that Amerotius's didactic abilities were also praised in Greek and by a Greek from Rhodes, Jakovos Diassorinos, who was in Brussels around 1555.[33] Diassorinos composed a dedicatory poem in honour of Amerotius, which remains prefixed to a manuscript copied by the Greek and containing the dialogue *Theophrastus*, authored by Aeneas of Gaza.[34] In his poem, Diassorinos praises Amerotius as a "most pious man, most befitting of sacred matters" and as a "most wise and sensible teacher".[35]

A second reason for Amerotius's long-term effect lies in two excerpts from Amerotius's grammar which enjoyed a rich *Nachleben* from 1530 onwards. His discussion of the Greek numerical system came to be frequently published as an attachment to Greek dictionaries (*De Graecorum notis arithmeticis compendium*), while his booklet on the Greek dialects (*De dialectis diversis declinationum Graecanicarum tam in verbis quam nominibus*) was printed either separately, or as an attachment to lexica.[36] Amerotius's *De dialectis* was particularly well-received and was sometimes also printed together with grammatical treatises on other aspects of Greek grammar.[37] Moreover, the front

31 Anonymus (1550: sig. c.iii^{v}).

32 See Vives (1531: 108^{r}); Nève (1856: 209); De Vocht (1951–1955: IV, 255); Swiggers & Van Rooy (2015: 11–12). Botley (2010: 48) is less enthusiastic about Amerotius's grammar.

33 De Meyier (1948: 291) and Hoven (1985: 3–4 n. 20).

34 The poem was previously edited by Omont (1885: 14–15) and *BH XV–XVI* II, 419. See Appendix A for a new edition of the text together with an English translation. Cf. also Van Rooy (2017b).

35 Around the same time, Diassorinos also dedicated a manuscript with scholia on the orations by Gregory of Nazianzus to Amerotius's pupil and patron, Antoine Perrenot, in a similar manner (De Meyier 1948).

36 The history of the treatise on Greek numbers is in need of a closer investigation, but the work on the dialects has already received extensive attention from Hoven (1985: 5–19) and Hummel (1999).

37 See, e.g., Longolius (1533: [1^{v}]): *Deinde dialectorum tractatum addere supersedimus, quod longe dilucidiorem et faciliorem earum traditionem apud Adrianum Amerotium, in hac*

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

pages of two Parisian editions of Clenardus's grammar (1534, 1536) advertised a separately sold edition of this booklet.[38] Yet it should be added that, in later centuries, Amerotius's authorship of the treatise on the dialects came to be forgotten. Not only was there confusion about his name,[39] the treatise was also wrongly attributed to Johannes Varennius, doubtlessly because it was often printed together with different treatises (on Greek prosody and syntax) by this Mechelen humanist.[40]

A third and final reason for the impact of Amerotius's grammar may be that it influenced Clenardus's grammar, which became one of the most widely used Greek grammars of the early modern era. Although this was already argued by Chauvin and Roersch and—in their tracks—De Vocht, this claim has not yet been thoroughly investigated.[41] In any case, it will remain difficult to separate what Clenardus owes directly to Amerotius from what he has taken from elsewhere. I am planning to conduct a careful analysis in the future. A first superficial comparison, however, reveals that Clenardus sometimes uses wordings very similar to phrases in Amerotius's grammar. Compare, for instance, the opening sentences of the section on the third declension of nouns (my emphasis):

> Tertia declinatio est nominum masculinorum, femininorum, communium vel promiscuorum in ος et neutrorum in ον desinentium, ut ὁ λόγος hic sermo, ἡ ὁδὸς haec via, ὁ καὶ ἡ ἄνθρωπος hic et haec homo, ὁ ἀετὸς haec aquila, τὸ ξύλον hoc lignum, et quae in ος terminantur, omnino sequuntur declinationem articuli masculini generis, quae in ον, neutri. Et habent *neutra tres casus similes*, nominativum, accusativum et vocativum in omni numero et in omni declinatione.[42]

> Tertia declinatio complectitur masculina, feminina et communia in ος, ὁ λόγος, ἡ ὁδός, ὁ καὶ ἡ ἄνθρωπος, et neutra in ον, τὸ ξύλον. Vocativus in ε. Genitivus, dativus et accusativus, item dualia et pluralia, sequuntur

lingua versatissimum editam cognoscamus. See also Hoven (1985: 6 n. 29); Chytraeus (1593: 101^{v}–102^{r}).

38 Hoven (1985: 6).

39 See Simonis (1752: 216), who mentions "Andr. Amerotius" among the "more recent" scholars discussing the Greek dialects.

40 Twenty such editions appeared between 1542 and 1616 (Hoven 1985: 6). See also Hauptmann & Schmid (1737: 15), where Varennius is mentioned as one of those *qui διαλεκτολογίαν in genere sunt complexi*.

41 Chauvin & Roersch (1900: 80) and De Vocht (1951–1955: II, 223).

42 Amerotius (1520: c.iv^{v}).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

> articulum masculinum et neutrum. […] *Neutrorum tres casus similes*, nominativus, accusativus et vocativus.[43]

In this passage, Clenardus's discussion seems to be an abridged version of Amerotius's account. Elsewhere, his wording also appears to have been inspired by the work of his predecessor. For instance, when stating that there are "five principal Greek tongues" (*quinque Graecorum linguae praecipuae*),[44] Clenardus seems to be relying on Amerotius's statement that there are "almost as many tongues of the Greeks as there are tribes, among which nevertheless principally five are employed" (*Graecorum linguae tot paene sunt, quot nationes, ex his tamen praecipue quinque celebrantur*).[45] The use of the word *praecipuus* in this context has no earlier parallels. Yet apart from the similarities, there are considerable differences between the two grammars as well; as pointed out before, the matter awaits further investigation.

Finally, when we take a look at what "kind of Greek" Amerotius describes in his *Compendium*, it becomes immediately clear that this is not primarily Attic, which is the form of Greek first studied in secondary schools and at universities nowadays. He calls Attic the most graceful dialect,[46] but his grammar only describes common forms, i.e. forms which are (allegedly) the same for all dialects. Forms particular to different dialects are offered *passim* in the grammar, with a more systematic discussion at the end of the work (i.e., his later *De dialectis* booklet).

3 Outlook: Amerotius and the Greek Language

Amerotius taught and transmitted Greek to hundreds of students for decades, both orally and through his grammatical work, and was thus of paramount importance for the spread of Greek studies in the sixteenth-century Low Countries in general and in Louvain in particular. This holds all the more true, since he was one of the first to enjoy considerable success with his Greek lessons. His didactic activities and success clearly testify to the fact that Greek was a vastly important language for humanists and—more importantly—increasingly so north of the Alps and especially in the Low Countries, an episode in the history of Greek studies that is still underexplored. Greek held an estimated place in

43 Clenardus (1530: 6–7).
44 Clenardus (1530: 7 [*sic pro* 6]).
45 Amerotius (1520: sig. Q.i^{v}).
46 See Van den Gheyn (1909: 62) and Van Rooy (2017a: 335).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

the multilingual patchwork of the early modern world and was therefore by no means isolated or self-sufficient, contrary to its place in ancient and Byzantine Greek scholarship, which took no genuine interest in seriously studying other languages. This thought raises two questions which as yet lack an adequate and systematic answer. On the one hand, it seems desirable to ask ourselves which position Greek occupies in the diversified linguistic patchwork of early modern scholarship, especially since Hellenists like Amerotius often mastered not only several learned languages (Latin and Hebrew in Amerotius's case) but also one or more vernacular tongues (here, French and Dutch). Such a focus will enable us to better understand the nature of early modern Hellenism. On the other hand, it is important to ask ourselves how early modern scholars conceptualised the Greek language. In other words, what *was* Greek from their varying perspectives? Did a Greek or Italian intellectual have the same idea about it as a German or French humanist? Did conceptions evolve over time and if so, how? Was there a kind of (silent) consensus? Or did the notion of "Greek" vary according to one's scholarly goals? We often intuitively assume that we have approximately the same conception of "the Greek language" as early modern scholars did, but this is far from the truth. Although there may be overlaps between current and early modern conceptualisations, there seem to be great differences in what can be dubbed the "prototypicalisation" of Greek. Nowadays, classical scholars often silently assume that Attic is the prototypical form of Greek, whereas linguists focus on different kinds of "Greek": "Greek" as a specific branch of the Indo-European language family, "Greek" as "proto-Greek", "Greek" as modern Greek, "Greek" as (varieties of) ancient Greek, etc. And yet, for early modern thinkers, the *lingua Graeca* prototypically coincided with a kind of Attico-Ionicised *koine*, i.e., a hybrid variety of Ancient Greek,[47] which they referred to as *lingua communis*. They regarded the dialects as a body of forms exhibiting (more or less regulated) deviations from the *koine*, as did Amerotius. What is more, throughout the early modern period, vernacular Greek is viewed as a "marginal" variety of Greek, which needs to be determined by means of additional adjectives ("barbarous", "vulgar", etc.), and its relationship to ancient varieties of the Greek language caused much trouble to scholars of the period. To sum up, a closer investigation into the early modern conceptualisations of "the Greek language"—in grammars such as Amerotius's

47 Ciccolella (2008: 123) states that "the language taught in these grammars [by Chrysoloras, Gaza, and Lascaris] is the usual mixture of fifth-century Attic Greek, archaic Ionic dialect, and Hellenistic-Byzantine κοινή, without any focus on the history or the evolution of the language". See also the inclusion of the so-called Attic declension among the declensions of the "Greek language", which points to this hybrid conception of "Greek". Jacobus Ceporinus tried to remedy this (Botley 2010: 50).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

and elsewhere—is indispensable in order to gain a fuller understanding of the linguistic dimensions of early modern Hellenism.

Appendix

A. *Jakovos Diassorinos's Poem in Honour of Amerotius*

Below, I provide a slightly updated edition and a first English translation of Jakovos Diassorinos's poem in honour of Amerotius, who was the dedicatee of Diassorinos's manuscript copy of Aeneas of Gaza's *Theophrastus* (Brussels, Royal Library, MS 11373). Previous editions are Omont (1885: 14–15) and *BH XV-XVI*: II, 419.

Greek text

Εἰς τὸν εὐσεβέστατον καὶ ἱεροπρεπέστατον ἄνδρα κύριον
Ἀδριανὸν Ἀμερότιον σοφώτατόν τε καθηγητὴν καὶ νουνεχέστατον.
Ἀδριανὲ, ξείνου ἀνδρὸς τόδε λάζεο δώρον
Κερκαφίδου[48] Δαναοῦ, εἴγε μικρὸν τελέθει.
Τυτθὴ μὲν δέλτος, ζητήματα δ' ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῇ
πίστεος ἀκραιφνοῦς ἄξια σῇ πραπίδι.
Ζεὺς γὰρ ἀεὶ προσάγει παραπλήσιον ἐς τὸν ὁμοῖον
ὡς ἡ Μαιονίδου φθέγξατο Καλλιόπη.
Μύστην οὖν θεορημοσύνης[49] τόνδ' ἱεροφάντορ
ξεινίσας[50] ξενικῶς δέχνυσο εὐμενέως.
Ἰάκωβος Διασσωρῖνος Ἕλλην Ῥόδιος.

English translation

To the most pious man, most befitting of sacred matters, master
Adrianus Amerotius, most wise and sensible teacher.
Adrianus, receive this gift from a foreign man,
a Cercaphidan[51] Danaid,[52] if really it is a small one.

48 For the use of Κερκαφίδης (v. 4) as well as Μαιονίδης (v. 8)—both to be understood as male nouns of the first declension—Diassorinos probably relied on the *Greek Anthology*. Cf. *Greek Anthology* 9.287.2 and 16.49.3 for the former noun and 7.674.2, 9.28.6, and 9.192.2 for the latter.

49 The word θεορημοσύνη is a late antique neologism (4th cent.), which is glossed in the Byzantine era as: τὴν θείαν διδασκαλίαν, τὴν κατήχησιν; see *Collectio verborum utilium, Versio antiqua* Θ.52 (Cunningham 2003); Photius, *Lexicon* Θ.104.

50 Omont (1885: 15) and *BH XV–XVI*: II, 419 wrongly read Ξενίσας.

51 I.e., Rhodian.

52 I.e., Greek.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Little indeed is the manuscript, but your mind will find
questions in it that are worthy of honest faith.
For Zeus always brings a near equal to the similar,
as Calliope, the [muse] of the Maeonid,[53] recounted.
So, priest, receive this initiate of divine teaching
hospitably and welcome him kindly.
Jakovos Diassorinos, Greek from Rhodes.

B. *Hadrianus Amerotius to Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (21 January 1548)*

Below, I offer an edition, translation and annotation of a recently (re)discovered letter from Amerotius to his patron and (former) pupil Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle prepared by me.[54] The letter, written in French, dates from 21 January 1548. The value of this document consists not only in the fact that it provides previously unknown information on Amerotius's life; rather, it also contributes to pedagogical history in that it allows us a unique window on his didactic activities as well as on his ties with the Granvelle family. The letter gives us a glimpse of his teaching of Greek and his tutoring of law and—quite remarkably and unusually—the local vernacular "Flemish" (Dutch) to members of the Granvelle family (and other students) at his boarding-house in Louvain. The text is preserved in Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 7904, item 51, and can be consulted online at the *Biblioteca Digital Hispánica*.[55] The letter is the original one sent by Amerotius to Granvelle and still bears marks of its seal. I have respected the original orthography of the letter as much as possible, adding, however, acute accents on the last syllables whenever confusion could occur, and introducing apostrophes according to modern usage. I have replaced <i> by <j> and <u> by <v> whenever they represent a phoneme with consonantal value. I have moreover introduced the *c cédille* in accordance with current practice. Abbreviations have been resolved silently.

French text

1 Mon seigneur, je tiens que Monseigneur et vous aurez eu bon contentement de la response que j'ay faict la veille des Roix a voz dernieres lettres et que aurez esté

53 I.e., Homer. Calliope is said to have been Homer's muse in composing the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Homer was called the "Maeonid", because some believed him to originate from Lydia, of which Maeonia was part.

54 I am grateful to Professor Pierre Swiggers for having brought the letter to my attention and for providing helpful advice in editing and translating it.

55 Until now, the letter has not yet been edited in its entirety; Castan (1888: 23 n. 2) and Antony (1984: 52) quote some passages incorrectly.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

mieulx informé de tout ce qu'il peult concerner la bonne nourriture et institution et du succes de leurs estudes et ensemble du fruict que peuent jusques oyres avoir faict mes escoliers, que n'avez entendu par avant, et suyvant l'ordonnance que m'avez faict, j'ay commancé a monstrer au protenotaire [*sic*][56] les *Institutes* textuellement avec le plus substantial des glosses et, oultre ce, a commancé de ouir la leçon du docteur institutaire sur le tiltre *De obligationibus*. De quoy il est tresjoyeux [*sic*] et fort content et est bien deliberé de soy y bien emploier, voire en continuant tousjours les bonnes lettres latines, en oyant les deux leçons de Nannius et les grecques en oyant ma leçon, ce qu'il a mieulx aymé que de ouyr la leçon grecque publicque. Frederic est aussi fort ayse de ce changement. Et mesmement pour ce qu'ilz sont delivrés des leçons de maistre Jehan. Et pour les entretenir en ce bon vouloir, je leurs [*sic*] ay accordé trois heures pour estudier et repeter a par eulx[57] ce qu'ilz vouldront, a charge qu'ilz me rendront compte de leur debvoir. Auquel si je treuve faulte, je leur feray nouvelle ordonnance. Pierre Bordey estudie assez bien, mais il a eu grant regret au commancement de ce qu'il ne tenoit compaingnie au protonotaire pour estudier aux *Institutes*. En somme, le commancement de ce nouveau changement est bon et m'en contente bien.

Quant au flamen, j'ay ordonné que nous lisons, Maistre Jehan et moy et les enfans, tous les jours apres disné et apres soupé, histoires en flamen et feray par ce moyen qu'ilz sçauront la langue. Il n'y a point d'espoir de leur faire sçavoir en parlant avec les domesticques, car ilz n'en veullent riens faire encore qu'ilz l'entendent bien. Et le protonotaire dict, en presence de Viron dernierement le jour de l'an, qu'il n'aymoit point le pays et que s'il en estoit dehors, il n'y reviendroit jamais plus, en donnant par cela a entendre que, puis qu'il ne vouloit point demourer au pays, il n'avoit que faire de la langue. Jamais n'en avoie tant ouy de luy. Et, ledict Seigneur Viron et moy, nous le remismes sur ses droictz et le ramenasmes a meilleure intelligence. Monseigneur et vous peuez par cela entendre qu'il est bien difficile a ung chasseur de prendre le lievre, quant le chien ne veult courir. Et pour y remedier, je prendray moy mesmes le lievre et l'attacheray par le pied,[58] et luy feray prendre au moyen des histoires que nous lisons tous les jours et interpretons que dict est en flamen et seullement ung petit quart d'heures a chascune fois pour point empescher les aultres estudes.

Le filz du vicechan<ce>lier de Boesme, qui vint la veille des Roix, est encore chez nous avec ung serviteur et pour ce que n'avoie reçeu lettre de personne et

56 This is a *lapsus calami* for "protonotaire" (cf. l. 18 and l. 24).

57 The prepositional combination "a par" in the phrase "repeter a par eulx" ("recapitulating by themselves") is unusual.

58 The word "pied" ends with a curve that may represent an additional letter. There are, however, no palaeographic parallels to it in the present letter. Moreover, context and grammar seem to require the singular "pied". I have rendered it as a comma.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

qu'il se renommoit estre venu de par vous en nostre logis, je l'ay logé avec son dict serviteur en la chambre des hostes, jusques a ce que j'auroie aultre nouvelle. Dom Maximilien Morillon me dict devant hier qu'il avoit charge de par vous de le colloquer en quelque aultre mayson pour estre nourry et instruit ainsi que desirez. Ce qu'il doibt faire de brief quant il sera retourné de Brusselles. Et combien que ledict jeune filz soit icy pour estre entretenu aux despens de son père, toutesfois je presuppose que vous entendez que je ne doibve riens prendre pour ses despens de trois ou quatre sepmainnes qu'il pouvoit avoir esté chez nous comme aussi ne feray. Monseigneur, je vous supplie communicquer ce que dessus a Monseigneur, auquel ne rescript pour le present, pour point faire de redicte et avec ceste vont les lettres de mes escoliers tant composees que tournees de la derniere forge.[59]

A tant me recommande humblement a vostre bonne grace, priant le Createur vous donner, Monseigneur, bonne vie et longue. De Louvain, ce xxi de janvier 1548.

Stilo romano. Vostre humble serviteur

Adrien Amerot.

[*post-scriptum*]

Au lieu du service de Thomas a cause de sa recheute en maladie, il me fault entretenir une femme pour le garder et faire servir en son lieu François Cornet, vostre paige. Toutesfois, il commance a donner quelque esperance de convalescance.

[*address written on the back*]

A mon Seigneur, Monseigneur d'Arras.

[*address, written vertically*]

Maistre

[*archival note, written vertically, in a different hand* (*that of Antoine's secretary?*)]

Adrien $\overline{\text{xxi}}$ de janvier 1548

59 The phrase "lettres […] tant composees que tournees de la derniere forge", which I have translated as "letters […] both most recently composed and translated", does not seem to have any clear parallels in sixteenth-century French. I interpret "de la derniere forge" as "from the last creation", i.e. "most recent(ly)". The meaning of the verb *tourner* is also unclear in this context; it is likely to refer to the exercise of translating letters.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

English translation

My lord, I assume that Milord[60] and you will have taken great satisfaction out of the answer I gave on the eve of Epiphany to your most recent letter(s)[61] and that you will have been better informed about everything that may concern good education and instruction, and about the success of their studies along with the progress my students have been able to achieve thus far, about which you have not heard before. And according to the command you gave me, I have started to show to the protonotary[62] the *Institutes*, the text of it along with the most substantial glosses, and, apart from that, he has started to attend the course of the teacher of the *Institutes*[63] on the title *On Obligations*.[64] He is very happy and well pleased about this and he is very determined to devote himself to this, even while constantly continuing his studies of the good Latin letters by attending the two courses of Nannius[65] and the Greek letters by attending my course, which he liked more than attending the public Greek course.[66] Frédéric is also very happy about this change. And likewise because they are released from the courses of master Jean.[67] And in order to maintain their benevolence, I have accorded them three hours for studying and recapitulating by themselves whatever they want,

60 This refers to Antoine's father, Nicolas.

61 The French word *lettres* can refer to several different letters or to one single letter (by analogy to Latin *litterae*, "letter"). The end of the letter suggests the former interpretation.

62 The protonotary is most likely to be identified with Charles Perrenot, Antoine's brother, who had this title since 3 December 1543 (Castan 1888: 23 n. 2); Antony (1984: 52). Antoine also held this office; see, e.g., a Latin letter from Amerotius to Antoine dated 20 September 1537 (BPR MS II/2298), in which Antoine is addressed as *candidiss*[*ime*] *D*[*omine*] *proto*[*notari*] (fol. 6^{r}) and *D*[*omine*] *proto*[*notari*] (fol. 6^{v}).

63 The title *docteur institutaire* refers to the professor who explained the *Institutes* of Justinian.

64 This title is part of the *Institutes*—see the first and fifth *tituli* of the fourth book.

65 Amerotius refers to his colleague Petrus Nannius, then professor of Latin at the Collegium Trilingue (a position he occupied since 1539). On Nannius, see Polet (1936); De Vocht (1951–1955: IV, 268–98).

66 Amerotius's reference to "his course" of Greek is somewhat enigmatic. He contrasts his Greek lessons with the public Greek course. Consequently, he might well refer here to Greek courses he taught both publicly at the *Trilingue* and in private. However, he does not explicitly state that he is the teacher of the public course, nor is it known whether or not he was still teaching Greek privately in January 1548. It therefore seems most likely that the course which Amerotius calls "ma leçon" refers to his own teachings at the *Trilingue*, all the more since he brackets it together with Nannius's Latin courses. However, if we interpret the text in this sense, it remains unclear what is meant by "the public Greek lesson". This might then refer to courses of Greek taught at the arts faculty of the University of Louvain. As a matter of fact, from 1528 onwards, there were official courses of Greek at the College of the Lily (De Vocht 1951–1955: I, 68).

67 This is perhaps Jean Sachet (1501–1563), who also taught Antoine. See Antony (1984: 45, 47, 50, 52).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

provided that they will give an account of their homework. But if I find fault with it, I will give them a new assignment. Pierre Bordey is studying well enough, but he had great regrets at the beginning about the fact that he did not keep the protonotary company to study the *Institutes*. To sum up, the beginning of this new change is good and I am well pleased about it.

As to Flemish, I have prescribed that we read, master Jean, I myself, and the children, every day after dinner and after supper, histories in Flemish, and I will arrange in this manner that they will know the language. There is absolutely no hope at all to make them learn it by talking with the domestic servants, as they do not want to make use of it, even though they understand it well. And recently, on New Year's Day, the protonotary said, in the presence of Viron,[68] that he did not at all like the country and that, if he would be out of it, he would never again return. Thus, he indicated that since he did not at all want to stay in the land, he had but little use for the language. Never had I heard such things from him. And the abovementioned lord Viron and I, we reminded him of his duties and we brought him back to his best senses. Milord and you can understand by this that it is rather difficult for a hunter to catch the hare when the dog does not want to run. And to remedy it, I will catch the hare myself and I will tie him up by his foot and I will make him understand, by means of the histories we read and translate every day, what is said in Flemish, and only a small quarter of an hour every time, so that we do not at all interrupt the other studies too much.

The son of the vice-chancellor of Bohemia,[69] who came on the eve of Epiphany, is still in our house along with a servant, and because I did not receive any letter from anybody, and he claimed to have come directly from you to our residence, I have lodged him with his aforementioned servant in the guest room until I have more news. The day before yesterday, Dom Maximilien Morillon told me that he acted on your behalf placing him in another house in order that he be educated and instructed as you desire. And he has to carry out this task shortly, as soon as he returns from Brussels. And although his young son, mentioned above, is here to be provided for at his father's expenses, I presuppose you assume that I need not charge anything for lodging expenses of the three or four weeks during which he might have stayed at our house, and this I will not do. Milord, I request you to communicate the above to Milord, to whom I am not writing back for the time being, lest I repeat myself. And attached to this are the letters of my students, both most recently composed and translated.

68 Odet Viron was Antoine's representative in the Low Countries (Van Durme 1953: 249, 296, 332).

69 This is Ferdinand von Loxau (Logschau/Loxan/Lokschan), the son of Georg von Loxau (Loxanus; d. 1554), the vice-chancellor of Bohemia (see Bůžek 2009: 97 n. 265). The latter is known to have corresponded with Antoine in 1549.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Having said this, I humbly greet your good grace, praying the Creator to give you, Milord, a good and long life. From Louvain, this 21 January 1548.

[Dated] in Roman fashion. Your humble servant,

Adrien Amerot.

[*post-scriptum*]
Instead of the service of Thomas,[70] because of his relapse into illness, I have to avail myself of a woman to look after him and to make François Cornet, your page, serve in his stead. In any case, he is starting to give some hope for recovery.

[*address written on the back*]
To my lord, Milord of Arras.

[*vertical*]
Master

[*vertical, in a different hand* (*that of Antoine's secretary?*)]
Adrien 21st of January 1548

70 This refers to Thomas Perrenot, Antoine's brother.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

CHAPTER 5

Greek History in the Early-Modern Classroom: Lectures on Herodotus by Johannes Rosa and School Notes by Jacques Bongars (Jena, 1568)

Anthony Ellis

In 1568 Johannes Rosa (1532–1571)—Professor of History, Ethics, Logic, and Theology at the Lutheran University of Jena—delivered a set of lectures on Herodotus. Rosa never published anything on Herodotus but one of his students, a fourteen-year old French Huguenot by the name of Jacques Bongars (1554–1612), assiduously copied down Rosa's words, bound them with the rest of his school-notes, and kept the volume throughout his itinerant diplomatic career. They survive today in manuscript at the Burgerbibliothek in Bern along with the rest of Bongars's *Nachlass*.[1] Rosa was not a renowned Hellenist, nor did his lectures attract much attention. As such, their chance survival gives us an opportunity to look inside a fairly unremarkable classroom in Lutheran Germany, and to ask how and why young students at a late sixteenth-century Lutheran university studied ancient Greek history. The value of this material also lies in its format: the words which Rosa dictated to his students were neither intended nor revised for publication: they thus allow us to see something of the structure of the lesson and the teacher's *ipsissima verba*.

1 Background: Codex 663, Jacques Bongars, and Johannes Rosa

Codex 663 in Bern's Burgerbibliothek—which today houses much of the remains of Jacques Bongars's personal library—is formed of a series of notes from lectures Bongars heard at three German universities during his itinerant childhood education. The volume is 15–16.5cm in height and 9–10.5cm in width.[2] It begins with a printed text of Cicero's speech *Pro Roscio Amerino*

1 For comparable cases of diligent students archiving their lecture notes and keeping them into old age see Leonhardt & Schindler (2007: 35–40).

2 More physical details can be found at: <katalog.burgerbib.ch/detail.aspx?ID=129684>.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2020 | DOI:10.1163/9789004402461_007
Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

(Cologne, 1553),[3] which has been heavily annotated (MS 663, no. 1, pp. 1–79).[4] The rest of the volume consists of 91 folios of handwritten notes on cheap, blank paper with diverse watermarks and tattered edges (MS 663, no. 2, folios 1–91);[5] these contain Bongars's notes from at least four courses of lectures: one on Silius Italicus heard in Marburg in 1567 (teacher unnamed, starting on fol. 42^{v}); two sets of lectures given by Johannes Rosa in Jena in 1568, the first on Herodotus's *Histories* (covering almost all of the story of Croesus, starting on 1^{r}),[6] the second entitled *De studiis recte instituendis* (starting on 32^{r}); and one set of lectures entitled "Speusippus the pupil of Plato: *On Plato's Definitions*", heard in Strasbourg in 1569 (teacher unnamed, starting on 58^{r}). The volume also contains much miscellaneous material of varying length, including lists of ancient orators (starting on fol. 52^{r}), and a series of notes on the political constitutions of various ancient peoples, beginning with the Spartans, Athenians, and Romans, but including briefer summaries of the customs of other peoples, including the Thracians, Indians, Scythians, Carthaginians, Achaeans, and so on (starting on fol. 71^{v}).[7] After the volume assumed its present form, i.e. in or after 1569, Bongars himself numbered the pages and wrote an index (fol. 91^{v}, copied out in a later hand at the start of the volume on fol. 1^{r}), and it was presumably around this time that the volume received its current parchment binding. For the Cicero and Herodotus notes Bongars also created individual indexes of commonplaces (Cicero on fol. 11^{r}; Herodotus on fol. 1^{v}).

The notes have received no detailed study,[8] and the Herodotus lectures on fols. 1^{r}–26^{v} (together with the short list of Lydian kings from Gyges to Cyrus on fol. 29^{r}, clearly related to the lectures) are discussed here for the first time.

---

3 The edition is identified by Michel-Rüegg (2012: 44–45).

4 For this format of lectures on Cicero earlier in the sixteenth century, see Leonhardt & Schindler (2007).

5 As indicated above, the volume is divided into front matter (fols. I, II), no. 1 (the printed book annotated by Bongars, numbered according to the printed pagination), and no. 2 (the handwritten section, containing notes on Herodotus and other authors, which bear Bongars's own numbering system at the bottom of the page (A.1^{r}–A.8^{v}, B.1^{r}–B.8^{v}, etc.) and the modern numbering at the top, i.e. fols. 1^{r}–92^{r}). I use the modern pagination and refer throughout to the handwritten section (no. 2) by folio number alone.

6 The Herodotus notes also contain two smaller leaves (numbered as fols. 10 and 12a) with algebraic problems and notes (in one case in German) which must originate in other lectures from Bongars's youth.

7 Since those lecture notes which are dated are not bound in chronological order—i.e., the lectures from Marburg in 1567 are placed after those from Jena in 1568—it is not possible to assign a date to the undated notes on the basis of their place in the book.

8 The volume is described in outline by Michel-Rüegg (2012: 44), and mentioned in passing by some—though not all—of Bongars's biographers (see next note).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

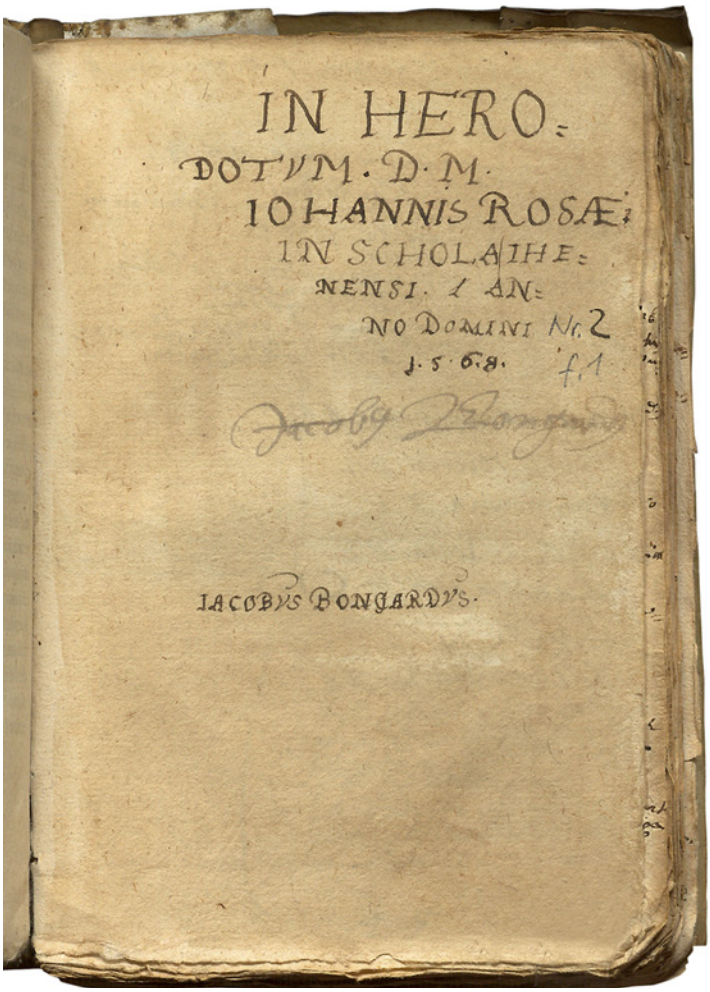


FIGURE 5.1 Jacques Bongars's notes from Johannes Rosa's lectures on Herodotus. Burgerbibliothek Bern, MS 663.2, fol. 1r

Before examining them in detail, it is worth taking a brief look at the circumstances of the two protagonists in 1568—the teacher Johannes Rosa and his pupil Jacques Bongars—and the university in which they met.

Jacques Bongars's early youth is known only in its broad details, since little contemporary evidence survives.[9] Born to a prominent Protestant family in

9 Secondary literature on Bongars's early life can be found in Hagen (1874: 12–13); Schultess (1905: 108–10); Kohlndorfer-Fries (2009: 20–21); Michel-Rüegg (2012: 44–45); Mittenhuber (2012: 9–10). For confusions surrounding his study in Jena, see below, n. 14.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Orléans—or perhaps a family which converted soon after his Christening (to judge from the Old Testament names of his younger siblings Esther and Isaac)[10]—young Jacques was sent away for schooling in Protestant Germany, like many Huguenot children.[11] The decision to school children in Lutheran Germany or Calvinist Geneva was relatively common among France's substantial Protestant minority, both because education was dominated by the Catholic Church and because of the threat of religious violence. The first of many French Wars of Religion broke out in the wake of the massacre of Protestant worshippers at Vassy in 1562 when Jacques was about eight and religious conflict may already have claimed members of Bongars's family.[12] In later life Bongars would state that he first visited Germany at the age of ten.[13] If this recollection is strictly accurate then his study voyage probably began in 1564. A combination of university matriculation records and his own student notes indicate that he was at the Latin school in Heidelberg in 1565, at the University of Marburg in 1566–1567, at the University of Jena in 1568,[14] and in Strasbourg between 1569 and 1571, where he may have attended the famous Gymnasium of Johannes Sturm.[15] The teaching at Marburg, Jena, and Strasbourg was strongly influenced by the reformer and humanist Philipp Melanchthon

10 Benedict (2015: 2). On Bongars's immediate and wider family, see Schultess (1905: 105–08) and Vial (2015).

11 For other examples of French Protestants educated in Germany who went on to have careers as royal diplomats, see Benedict (2015: 11) on Nicolas de Harlay, sieur de Sancy (1546–1629), who served, like Bongars, as a diplomat for both Henry III and IV and Benedict (2015: 15) on Philippe Canaye de Fresnes (1551–1610), educated in Heidelberg and later ambassador for Henry IV. On the international nature of early modern universities, particularly Protestant and Lutheran Universities, see De Ridder-Symoens (1996: 339), who notes, e.g., that a third of students at the Lutheran University of Leipzig were from outside the German Empire *c.*1550.

12 On the drowning of Philibert Bongars—apparently a relative of Jacques's father, Girard—see Schultess (1905: 107).

13 Hagen (1874: 53 n. 241).

14 The presence of Bongars in Jena has been the subject of some confusion. Anquez (1887: xvi) stated that Bongars studied in Jena and Marburg but gave no dates. Schultess (1905: 108–10) noted the absence of Bongars from the matriculation records of the University of Jena but, on the authority of Anquez alone, placed him in Jena in 1564–1566 (the dates apparently being a guess) and then in Marburg from 1566 onwards (deriving the date from Marburg's matriculation records). Kohlndorfer-Fries (2009: 20–21) seems to have the same evidence at her disposal but is more cautious, denying that Bongars studied in Jena at all on the basis of his absence from the matriculation records. Both seem to have been unaware of MS 663's handwritten testimony that Bongars heard two sets of lectures from Rosa in Jena in 1568—presumably the basis of Anquez's statement—which confirm the issue beyond doubt. Why the matriculation records in Jena should have omitted Bongars and the rest of the group from Orléans is unclear.

15 For an overview of Johann Sturm's educational methods, see Tinsley (1989).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

(1497–1560), Professor of Greek in Wittenberg from 1518 and the dominant pedagogical force in Reformation Germany through the middle decades of the sixteenth century.

Bongars travelled through Germany with several other young French Huguenots—sources give the names of Jean le Normant and Orasse de Montdoré—and accompanied by a tutor, a Dutch Anabaptist by the name of Christian Martin.[16] Little else is known about them. Frequent changes of school and university were quite common among students in the early modern period[17] and the presence of a fourteen-year-old child at a university was also not unusual: this was a period when universities often provided elementary education and when there was no clear line between secondary schooling and other institutions of higher education.[18] In 1571, after some eight years in Germany, Bongars was back in Orléans. At the age of eighteen, in 1572, he seems to have enrolled to study philosophy and philology in Bourges and perhaps also Orléans, later studying Law with Jacques Cujas in Bourges from 1577. He visited Rome in the late 1570s, where Fulvio Orsini (1529–1600), librarian and antiquarian to the Farnese family, showed him his bibliographical treasures, and he travelled to Constantinople through the Balkans in 1585.[19] By then, or soon after, Bongars was in the service of the Protestant King Henry of Navarre (the future Henri IV of France) whom he later served as a diplomat until the monarch's death in 1610. Bongars's own contribution to classical scholarship came relatively early—a Latin edition of Justin's epitome of Pompeius Trogus, published in 1581, which secured the admiration of learned contemporaries and awakened expectations, never fulfilled, of further scholarly endeavours. The edition earned him a reputation as a philologist and helped him establish contact with the most eminent scholars of his day, including Justus Lipsius (1547–1606), Joseph Scaliger (1540–1609), Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614), and Joachim Camerarius the Younger (1534–1598).[20]

16 Kohlndorfer-Fries (2009: 20–21, 31) identifies the students from the Heidelberg matriculation records and from a letter which locates Bongars in Strasbourg in 1571; Schultess (1905: 108–10) notes the presence of another student from Orléans, viz. Guillaume Mesland ("Guiliemus Meslandus"), in the Marburg matriculation records of 1567. It may be that the number of students in Martin's care varied according to the wishes and fortunes of their families.

17 See Michel-Rüegg (2012: 44). On the international mobility of students more generally, see de Ridder-Symoens (1996, esp. 339–40 on Protestant universities).

18 Frijhoff (1996: 60–62); for the provision of elementary education in the Middle Ages in the medieval period, see Hamesse (1999: 112).

19 Frei-Stolba (1998); Ludwig (2015).

20 For Bongars's work as a philologist, and the role of the edition as Bongars's "entry-ticket" into the Republic of Letters, see Amman (2015).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

At the age of fourteen, however, when he heard "Magister Johannes Rosa" lecture on Herodotus, all this lay in the future. The notes in Codex 663 indicates that young Jacques was a diligent note-taker, with an elementary knowledge of ancient Greek (to judge from his spelling), but was far from the distinguished philologist he would become. Worth bearing in mind is the ambitious schedule of some contemporary educators: the Lutheran schoolmaster Johannes Sturm expected children who arrived illiterate at the age of seven to be reading Cicero's shorter letters within a year, to read Virgil two years later, to begin the study of Greek at ten, read Aristotle's logic at the age of twelve, and to start Hebrew at the age of fourteen.[21] While Sturm might have been at the pinnacle of achievement and ambition, in such a context a fairly advanced knowledge of Greek and a fluent grasp of Latin—the language of the schoolroom—is not surprising.

Our knowledge of Johannes Rosa is more limited. Born in Hellingen in 1532, Rosa matriculated in Wittenberg just before his eighteenth birthday early in 1550.[22] In the summer semester of 1553 he enrolled at the Lutheran Gymnasium in Jena,[23] where he presumably studied with Johann Stigel and Victorin Strigel, the founding teachers at the Jena Gymnasium.[24] In 1554 Rosa received his Master's Degree from the University of Wittenberg[25] and he joined the Arts Faculty at Jena as a Professor of History, Logic, and Ethics in 1558 when the school was reestablished as a university.[26] The faculty and university were, as we shall see, dominated by Wittenberg-educated Lutherans like Rosa, many of whom had studied with Melanchthon. In 1562 Rosa became a Professor of Theology and went on to serve three times as Rector of the University (1562, 1565, 1561).[27] He died in post in November 1571, shortly before reaching the age of 40.

21 Tinsley (1989: 27).

22 Förstemann (1976: 1, 251) lists his matriculation on 5 January 1550 ("Johannes Rosa Ellingensis"). He was born on 12 January 1532.

23 Mentz & Jauering (1944: 265).

24 Further references below, nn. 43–46.

25 Zinserling (1998: 100).

26 On the problems surrounding the terminology for and definitions of institutions of higher education (and the difficulties experienced by new Protestant *Hohe Schulen* which wished to be recognised as Universities by the relevant political and religious authorities), see Frijhoff (1996: 56–63).

27 For further biography on Rosa see Walther (2008: 34–36) and Zinserling (1998: 100–01).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

2 Rosa's Lectures on Herodotus: the Classroom

In using the notes in Codex 663 to reconstruct Rosa's lectures on Herodotus we are limited by the format and dependent on the diligence of the student. The layout of Bongars's notes on Herodotus is largely identical to that of the notes he took in Marburg a year earlier during lectures on Silius Italicus. It is thus part of a noting practice which Bongars brought with him to the class. In both sets of notes the majority of the content is written in a hasty hand, inset about an inch from the left hand side of the page (see Figs. 5.2, 5.3, and 5.4); in the resulting left-hand margin brief summaries of the main body of text are written in a neat italic hand and underlined. Latin quotations from classical authors are often written in a painstaking italic script, more careful than that of the headings.

The main body of the notes consists of Latin text dictated by Johannes Rosa: longer or shorter sentences supplying background information to the events described in Herodotus's text, including various aspects of Greek culture, introductions to particular scenes or topics, or parallels from other ancient sources. The other major component of the notes is Greek vocabulary: the Latin explanations are interspersed with Greek words from Herodotus's *Histories* which run in order from the start of the text (1.1.1: ἀπαγινεεῖν [sic] on fol. 2^{v}) to a point near the end of the story of Croesus (1.86.6: καταβιβαζειν [sic] on fol. 26^{r}), where the notes on Herodotus peter out mid-sentence. The vocabulary entries, usually one to a line, consist of a Greek word followed by a Latin translation, and indicate that the class was oriented towards linguistic instruction as well as interpretation. The vocabulary was clearly noted down as the class progressed through the text, presumably while translating it into Latin. The class was therefore structured around the reading of Herodotus in Greek from the start of the *Histories* to the point where the Lydian king Croesus is rescued from the pyre (*Histories* 1.87) after his defeat by the Persian king Cyrus. This constitutes almost the entire Croesus *logos*, the first great narrative segment of Herodotus's *Histories*. Why the class stopped before the climactic dialogue between Croesus and Cyrus (and Croesus's famous exchange with the Delphic Oracle) is unclear. Perhaps they had simply reached the end of the semester.

To the modern mind one striking feature is the degree to which the process of reading and interpreting the Greek text in Rosa's classroom was oral rather than visual. Naturally, students could not be expected to acquire their own printed folio editions of the entire Greek text, which in 1568 existed only in two folio editions: the Aldine of 1502, printed in Venice and reprinted in 1516, and Joachim Camerarius's edition of 1541, printed in Basel and reprinted in 1557. These were valuable items in the late sixteenth century and not available

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

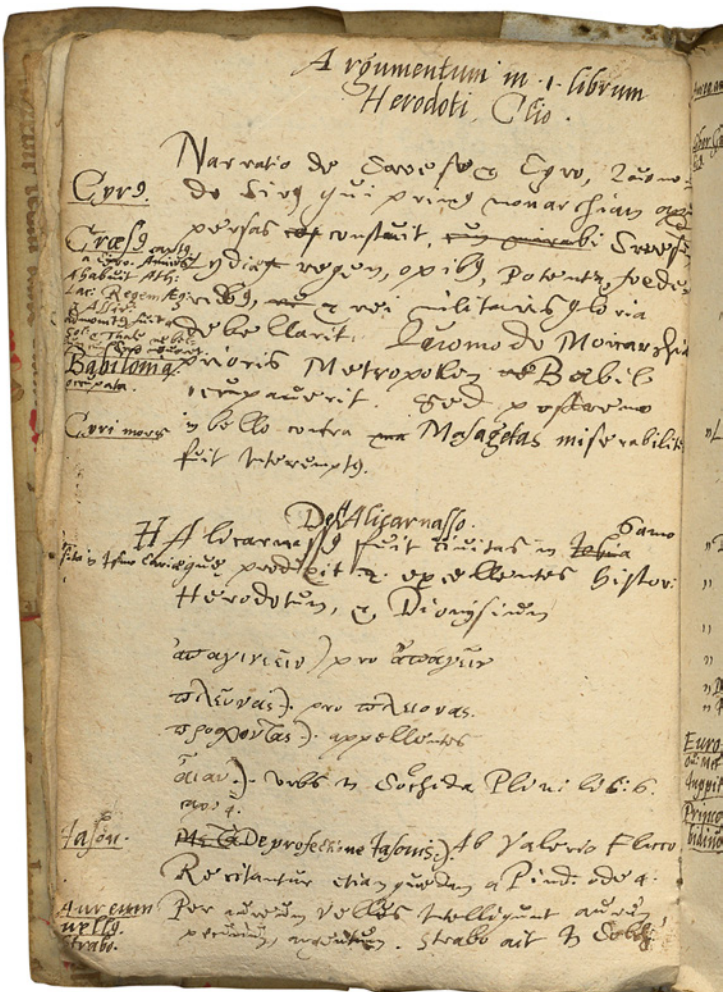


FIGURE 5.2 Jacques Bongars's notes from Johannes Rosa's lectures on Herodotus. Burgerbibliothek Bern, MS 663.2, fol. 2v

to every young student for every short course of lectures he attended. However, the Wechel editions of 1538, 1544, and 1553 offered the first (and later also the second) book of the *Histories* in quarto format. We might have expected Bongars to have made use of them, yet his spelling mistakes suggest that, in many cases, he had no opportunity to see a Greek text as he wrote. Instead he transcribed the unfamiliar items of Greek vocabulary as he heard them pronounced, presumably by Johannes Rosa. His spelling mistakes indicate that the pronunciation used in the classroom largely resembled that of contemporary Greeks, rather than that reconstructed by Erasmus and outlined some four decades earlier in his *De recta Latini Graecique sermonis pronuntiatione*

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

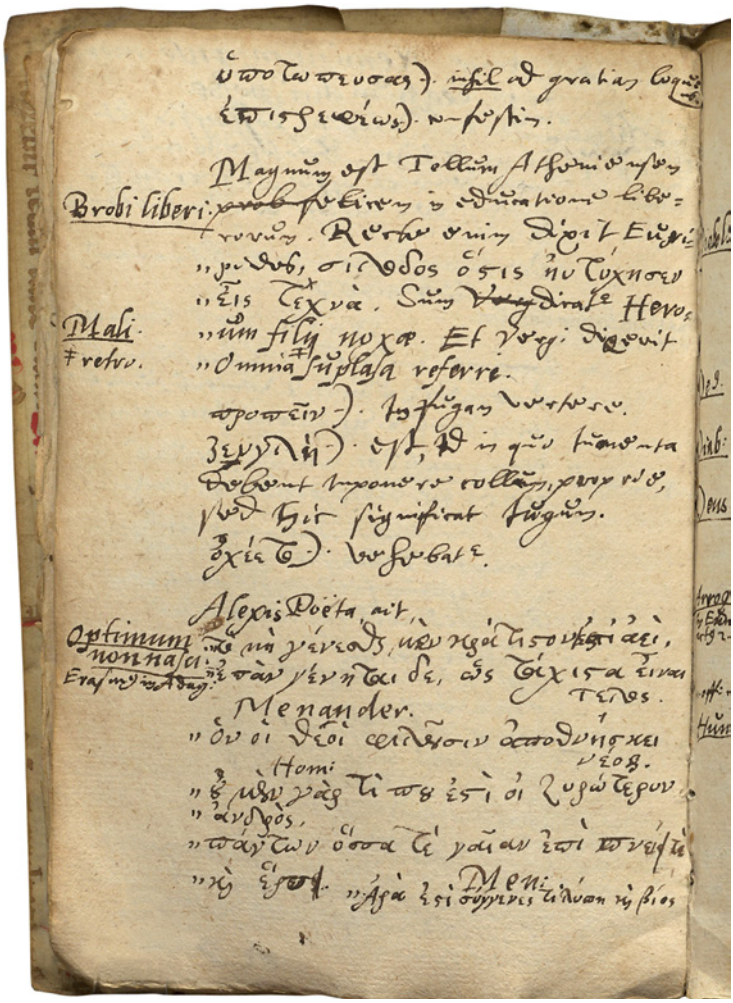


FIGURE 5.3 Jacques Bongars's notes from Johannes Rosa's lectures on Herodotus. Burgerbibliothek Bern, MS 663.2, fol. 8v

dialogus (published by Froben in 1528 in Basel).[28] Erasmus's arguments had been positively received by many humanists, particularly in Cambridge (where it was adopted by John Cheke, Thomas Smith, and Roger Ascham among others) and Paris (where Petrus Ramus introduced it to the Collège royal) as well as by other prestigious humanists like Henri Estienne.[29] By contrast, Philipp Melanchthon, who played a formative role in the dissemination of Greek

28 For the text, see Erasmus (1973).

29 For some remarks on the topic, see Holloway (2011: 118–19).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

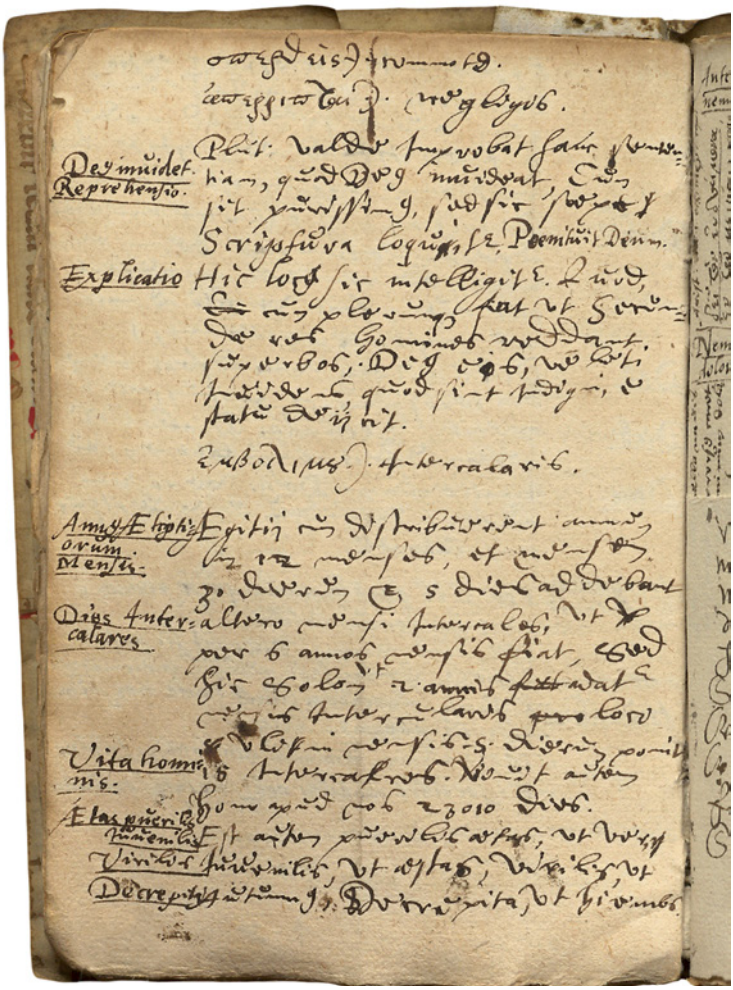


FIGURE 5.4 Jacques Bongars's notes from Johannes Rosa's lectures on Herodotus. Burgerbibliothek Bern, MS 663.2, fol. 9v

studies in Germany during the sixteenth century, stayed true to the pronunciation he learned from his Greek teacher Johannes Reuchlin (1455–1522), who in turn had it from his Byzantine teachers, including celebrated figures like Andronikos Kontovlakas and Andronikos Kallistos (1400–1486).[30] Bongars's spelling reveals the Greek pronunciation of Lutheran Germans in the late sixteenth century: *iota, upsilon, eta, omicron-iota*, and *epsilon-iota* are largely interchangeable, as are *alpha-iota* and *epsilon*, while *omicron* is often substituted for *omega* (see the table of spelling mistakes, Table 5.1).

30 See, e.g., Russell (2013: 107–08).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

TABLE 5.1 Spelling mistakes in Jacques Bongars's notes on Herodotus (Bern, Burgerbibliothek Cod. 663)

Transcriptions preserve original orthography (including the letter stigma) and reproduce accents and breathings as Bongars wrote and positioned them. To avoid repetition each word is given only once, even if it contains multiple errors.

ο ≠ ω	ι ≠ η	**Consonants (σ ≠ ζ / τ ≠ δ / θ ≠ τ / χ ≠ κ / ν ≠ νν)**
1.22.1: σορος (i.e. σωρός) 1.31.2: ὀχέετο (i.e. ὠχέετο) 1.45.1: απολολεκως (i.e. ἀπολωλεκὼς) 1.47.3: κοφοῦ (i.e. κωφοῦ) 1.70.3: ἀποϛοι (i.e. ἀπωστοί) 1.72.3: ἐυζονῳ (i.e. εὐζώνῳ) 1.80.3: ἀπέλον (i.e. ἀπελών) 7v: ἀνθροπὸς (i.e. ἄνθρωπος)	1.25.1: υποκριτιρίδιον (i.e. ὑποκρητηρίδιον) 1.50.1: κτινεα (i.e. κτήνεα) 20r: ρίτρας (i.e. ῥήτρας) 1.73.1: ἡμέρῳ (i.e. ἱμέρῳ) 1.74.3: συμβηβάσαντες (i.e. συμβιβάσαντες)	1.30.4: σιλοδος (i.e. ζηλωτός) 1.72.3: ἀνεζημοῦν (i.e. ἀναισιμοῦνται) 1.50.2: ἡμιθάλαντα (i.e. ἡμιτάλαντον) 18r: Χίλων (i.e. Κύλων, probably influenced by the prior mention of Chilon of Sparta) 1.62.4: θύνοι (i.e. θύννοι) 1.66.3: πίσυννοί (i.e. πίσυνοι)
αι ≠ ε	**ι ≠ υ**	**Misc. errors**
1.59.3: παιδίου (i.e. πεδίου) 23v, 25v: κυρουπεδίας (i.e. κυρουπαιδίας)	19v: σισσίτια (i.e. συσσιτία) 1.74.2: ἐξαπυνης (i.e. ἐξαπίνης) 26r: λυποψυχία (i.e. λιποψυχία)	1.30.5: προπεῖν (i.e. τροπήν) 1.50.1: ἀνατήσασθαι (i.e. ἀνακτήσεσθαι) 1.51.3: Diodorus Samius (for θεοδώρου τοῦ σαμίου)
ι ≠ ει	**η ≠ ει**	**ε ≠ ι and ε ≠ ει**
1.84.4: κατακυλειεσθειεαν (i.e. κατακυλισθεῖσαν)	1.30.5: προπεῖν (i.e. τροπήν) 16v: ϛηχαι (i.e. στείχε)	1.35.3: επεϛιος (i.e. ἐπίστιος) 1.82.7: κατακεράμενος (i.e. κατακειράμενος)
ι ≠ οι	**η ≠ υ**	
1.86.2: ἀκροθοίνια (i.e. ἀκροθίνια)	1.78.3: ἐπιλήδα (i.e. ἐπήλυδα)	

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

There are other indications of the oral nature of the lectures. On fol. 15^{r} we read the alphabetically hybrid "Hellivῶν": clearly Bongars realises half-way through that the word he is writing is Greek (Ἑλλήνων) not Latin (*Hellen* or something similar) and switches alphabet accordingly, a mistake which can only be made by ear. This fits with what is known about the early modern classroom: visual aids like blackboards were not used in arts faculties until much later.[31] It also raises the question of the teaching materials in use. In later life Bongars collected an impressive library, which would include three printed texts of Herodotus, one in the (revised) Latin translation of Lorenzo Valla (printed in 1566 by Henri Estienne), and two bilingual editions with the original Greek and Valla's Latin translation in parallel columns (Henri Estienne's 1592 edition and Jungermann's 1608 edition).[32] Bongars also acquired a copy of his friend Andreas Schottus's 1582 edition of geographical fragments of Herodotus with corresponding extracts from Pomponius Mela, and a copy Melchior Junius's 1586 extracts from speeches of the classical historians which includes Herodotus.[33] The only one of these books already printed in 1568 was Estienne's 1566 edition of Valla's translation, which bears the *ex libris* mark "Bongarsius" in Bongars's hand, but was almost certainly acquired after these lectures and shows no signs of annotations which correspond to the notes in MS 663. Since the notes also show no sign of reliance on the Latin translation, we can assume that Bongars came to the class with just pen and notepaper.

The frequent crossing-out of words in Bongars's notes confirms the impression given by the rushed handwriting and layout: we are dealing with *Mitschriften* not *Nachschriften*, that is, with a text which was taken *in* the class not a "fair copy" written up afterwards from rough notes.[34] The longer comments found between the vocabulary items are copied out in full sentences in a hasty hand (hard to read, like most of Bongars's writing, but only occasionally

31 Blackboards are, however, known to have been used in musical instruction in the sixteenth century; cf. Blair (2008: 63 and n. 97), with further bibliography. On the orality of the early modern classroom see also Leonhardt & Schindler (2007: 43–44).

32 Bern, Münstergasse Bibliothek, Bong. v 687: 1 (Estienne 1566: with *ex libris* in Bongars's hand and annotated only towards the end of Book 1 of the *Histories* on pp. 34 and 36, sections which Rosa and Bongars did not discuss in 1568; bound with an edition of Thucydides from the same press); Münstergasse, Bong. v 698 (Estienne 1592: bound alone, *ex libris* in Bongars's hand on the title page, not annotated); Münstergasse, Bong. v 923: 1 (Jungermann 1608: contains no *ex libris* in Bongars's hand nor any annotations; bound with five other items).

33 Respectively Bern, Münstergasse Bibliothek, Bong. iv 286: 2 (no *ex libris* or annotations) and Bong. iv 225: 1 (no *ex libris* or annotations, bound with an edition of Greek elegiac poetry).

34 For the distinction, see, for example, Blair (2008: 40).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

wholly illegible), sometimes running to several pages in length. It would have been impossible for the fourteen-year old Bongars to distill these comments from a free discussion, or to keep pace with Rosa if he had been talking at normal rate of speech.[35] Clearly, most of the historical and literary content was delivered under dictation, for the express purpose of allowing the students to write down the words verbatim. That this was a common practice throughout the Middle Ages and the early modern period is testified by the numerous attempts to ban or regulate the practice in university statutes.[36]

Nevertheless, a good deal was clearly said in the classroom which Bongars did not record: the Greek vocabulary items were presumably noted down in the course of reading the Greek text, which we can assume was read out-loud and translated.[37] Neither the Greek text nor the (presumed) oral translation is recorded in the notes: the only trace we have of this process is the running list of Greek vocabulary items (with Latin translation), presumably those words which the students did not know. It is likely that many other things were said in the lecture room, and that what we possess in the notes are those parts which were felt to be worthy of formal dictation and recording.

The order in which the Greek-Latin vocabulary and the dictated sections appear allows us to reconstruct something of the format of the class—that is, the interplay between the reading of the Greek text and Rosa's dictations. At every point it seems that the reading of an important scene or passage was preceded by Rosa's remarks—that is, Rosa introduced the passage that was to be read, rather than discussing it in retrospect.[38] Unfortunately, the notes are silent on many of the most interesting questions: how many students sat

35 Needless to say, even a very fast scribe cannot keep pace with normal human speech. For the extraordinary lengths to which some scholars went to enable the transcription of words spoken at a normal pace, see for example Francke's *Schreibechor*, an achievement of coordination and planning which required the participation of eight, or better sixteen, scribes, discussed in Blair (2008: 60–61).

36 See Blair (2008: 39 n. 1, 45–46, 49) for discussion of and bibliography on the different speeds of speech and the dominance of dictation "in arts faculties and in college teaching in most parts of Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries". For evidence for dictation in lectures on Cicero earlier in the sixteenth century, see Leonhardt and Schindler (2007: 43–44).

37 For a similar situation regarding Poliziano's lectures on Homer, see Silvano (2010: lxxvi). Here a translation was also probably provided during the lectures but this was not recorded in the notes.

38 E.g., the vocabulary noted from the start of Solon's speech (on fol. 8^{r}) occurs *after* Rosa's long discussion of the dialogue (fols. 6^{v}–8^{r}); likewise Rosa's discourse on pagan oracles *precedes* the vocabulary for the consultation of the oracles (1.47.2 on fol. 13^{v}); Rosa's discussion of Peisistratus and Hipparchus (complete with much non-Herodotean material) precedes the vocabulary for 1.59.1–2 (fols. 16^{v}–17^{r}).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

in the class, and what was the atmosphere like? Were students allowed or encouraged to ask questions, and was there any space for free discussion? How, precisely, was the translation made: was the Greek text read out loud and then translated? Did the pupils take it in turn to translate and receive correction from Rosa, or did Rosa himself do all translating? Was the discussion propelled forward by the keen questions of budding humanists, eager to expand their knowledge and put it to use as the erudite gentlemen they hoped to become? Or did the Professor reel off a series of pre-prepared topics which the young Huguenots were compelled to transcribe, whether by conscience, tutor, or fear of punishment? We can only guess.

3 Rosa's Teaching of Herodotus

Having reconstructed the basic circumstances of this particular Greek classroom, we can now address some broader questions: which aspects of Herodotus's *Histories* did Rosa think important or interesting enough to merit explanation? Where did he get his information and what materials did he use? And why did he decide to read Herodotus in the first place?

The last question is particularly intriguing. The 1558 Statutes of Jena's Arts Faculty recommend the reading of numerous Greek authors—Hesiod, Homer, Sophocles, Euripides, Theocritus, Demosthenes, Lycurgus, Aeschines, and Isocrates—but not Herodotus.[39] The *Histories*, in fact, have never been an obvious choice as a school text for those striving to master "classical Greek" for a simple reason: Herodotus's idiosyncratic Ionic dialect. The pinnacle of erudite Greek was rather the Attic dialect, and Herodotus had consequently never been a standard text in the Byzantine schooling tradition. The desire to read the stimulating content of Herodotus's *Histories* has often been tempered by a hesitancy to confuse the students with unfamiliar Ionic forms.

Bongars's notes contain no explicit justification for the choice of Herodotus. Our knowledge of the Lutheran background can, however, supply some answers. A decisive impulse had been given to the reading of classical Greek historiography, including Herodotus, by the Reformation theologian and classical scholar Philipp Melanchthon. As Chair of Greek in Wittenberg and the most influential Lutheran theologian after Luther himself, Melanchthon was the dominant force in educational reform in Protestant Germany, whence his moniker *Praeceptor Germaniae*. Throughout his life Melanchthon worked tirelessly to justify and promote the study of the pagan classics, including

39 See Huber-Rebenich (2011: 15).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

historical texts. His attitudes are laid out at length in his historical work the *Chronicon Carionis* (published in a revised edition in 1558–1560) and the same ideas are also in the speeches and lectures he gave through the 1540s and 1550s, when Rosa and many future members of the faculty of Jena were themselves studying in Wittenberg. Melanchthon stressed the importance of pagan history, which providentially begins at precisely the point where the Old Testament left off (indeed with a small overlap where *Histories* 2.161 records a fact prophesied in the Book of Jeremiah, 44:29–30, as Melanchthon and his students were fond of pointing out).[40] He argued that one could deduce the will of God from the history of the world, thereby learning the history of the True Church and distilling a moral code by which to live. He claimed that an understanding of Greek and Latin, gained through the study of pagan authors, was necessary to achieve a proper understanding of the Holy Scriptures. And he emphasised, with astounding stamina, the practical lessons that could be drawn from all history and indeed all pagan literature: that God does not wish unnecessary wars to be fought; that those who live by the sword die by the sword; that those who commit injustice will be punished.[41]

When Jacques Bongars arrived at Jena, he joined a faculty composed almost exclusively of Lutherans who had studied at Wittenberg. The foundation of a new school in Jena was, in fact, planned in 1546 by the Ernestine Elector of Saxony, Johann Friedrich I (1503–1554), as a replacement for Wittenberg after the capitulation of the city and the uncertain future of its University, which was the centre of Lutheran theology.[42] However, once Johann Friedrich's rival, the Albertine ruler Moritz von Sachsen (1521–1553), reopened Wittenberg University, Melanchthon was reluctant to leave; in his absence the new school in Jena was founded by two of his students: Johannes Stigel (1515–1562), who taught poetry and rhetoric from the school's foundation until his death, and Victorin Strigel (1524–1569), responsible for the theological and historical teaching from the foundation until his suspension in 1559 and formal departure in 1563.[43] The faculty featured other alumni of Melanchthonian Wittenberg

40 See Ellis (2015: 175, 183, 191 n. 43) for references to texts by Melanchthon, Regius, and Chytraeus making this point.

41 For a survey of Melanchthon's view of the role of Greek historiography—with particularly attention to his statements on Herodotus—and the argument that these ideas long predate the revised edition of the *Chronicon Carionis*, see Ellis (2015: 179–98), with further bibliography. For a broader discussion of Melanchthon's vision of Greek culture and its importance, see e.g. Ben-Tov (2009) with bibliography. Cf. Ludwig (2012) and Huber-Rebenich (2011: 12–15).

42 For the events leading up to the institution's foundation see Bauer et al. (2008: 25–26).

43 Stigel had enrolled in 1531 and with Melanchthon's support became Terence Professor in Wittenberg from 1543; Strigel studied theology in Wittenberg with Melanchthon from

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

including Michael Neander (1529–1581) who taught Mathematics and Greek from 1551, Janus Cornarius (*c.*1500–1558) from 1558, Michael Stifel (1487–1567), professor of mathematics from 1558, Friedrich Pensold (1530–1589), professor of Greek literature and physics from 1563, and Johannes Selnecker (1530–1592), Professor of Theology from 1564.[44] Jena also briefly hosted the divisive Gensio-Lutheran Matthias Flacius Illyricus (1520–1575), later Magdeburg Centuriator, Professor of the New Testament in Jena from 1557 until his dismissal by Johann Friedrich II in 1561 (in part due to the interventions of Stigel and Rosa).[45]

It is thus unsurprising that the 1558 Statutes of the Arts Faculty of the newly established university echo Melanchthon's pedagogical vision: the *prima lex* outlined the importance of teaching ancient history, and the *secunda lex* insisted that the teaching of philosophy was not to be done "in the heathen manner" (*ethnico more*) but rather with "the fear and invocation of GOD", the Catechism, and with an eye to the glory of God.[46] Melanchthon's abiding influence on his students has often been noted. It was exerted through his own teaching and reformation of educational institutions, through his prolific writings on diverse subjects, and even through his habit of writing lectures for his former students to use in *their* teaching once they themselves joined a university faculty (Melanchthon, for example, provided Johannes Stigel with rhetorical analyses of Virgil's eclogues for the latter's teaching in Jena).[47] When another student of Melanchthon, David Chytraeus (1530–1600), gave lectures on Herodotus

1544. On Stigel more generally, with further references, see Huber-Rebenich (2011: esp. 12–13). On Strigel and Stigel see Bauer et al. (2008: 26–28).

44 For early comings and goings at the University of Jena, see Bauer et al. (2008: 33–38).

45 For an account of Flacius's time in Jena and the sharp political and theological disputes surrounding him (which continued into the late 1560s) see Bauer *et al.* (2008: 33–37).

46 See here Huber-Rebenich (2011: 14–15 esp. n. 22) on the role history in the *prima lex* and Huber-Rebenich (2011: 15 n. 23) for the importance of a Christian approach to pagan philosophy in the *secunda lex*. The former section reads: "Nor is the reading of history to be omitted, which transmits the series of ages and times, the changes of empires, and impresses upon one the punishments of crimes and the anger of God at sin, and includes testimonies of the certainty by which the Divine Word is defended, which has been terribly attacked from the beginning of the Church and has survived to this day" (*Nec omittatur lectio historica, quae tradit seriem aetatum et temporum, mutationes imperiorum, et commonefacit de poenis delictorum, ac de ira Dei adversus peccatum, et testimonia complectitur certitudinis, qua munitur Verbum Deum, quod ab initio Ecclesiae horribiliter impugnatum in hunc diem perduravit*, cited from Huber-Rebenich 2011: 15 n. 22 [= fol. 266^{v}]). For Stigel's lectures on Virgil in 1555, which remain true to the concerns expressed in the Statutes, see Huber-Rebenich (2011: 19–20).

47 For Melanchthon's habit of providing his pupils with teaching materials, see Ludwig (2012: 90–94 [Stigel on p. 92]). On Melanchthon and his pupils more generally: Scheible (1997).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

in Rostock, some 400 kilometers further north in 1559–1562, his presentation of Herodotus put into practice what Melanchthon had stated in principle: that the positive and negative exempla culled from the *Histories* (and all other historical texts) can be used to illustrate the Ten Commandments and that Herodotus's narrative has frequent overlaps—linguistic, moral, and historical—with the Old Testament, all of which proves that God *wants* all history to be read.

Against this background it is perhaps unsurprising to find Johannes Rosa lecturing on Herodotus in Lutheran Jena. In the *De literarum ludis recte aperiendis* (1538) Johannes Sturm, another proponent of Melanchthonian pedagogy, had recommended the reading of Herodotus alongside Thucydides, Xenophon, and Livy in public lectures in the Gymnasium.[48] What is extremely surprising is that Rosa teaches Herodotus in a way that has almost nothing to do with Melanchthon's highly theological vision of history and shows no interest in the thematic concerns used in many Lutheran circles to justify the reading of pagan history. In his introductory comments Rosa does not say a word about Herodotus being part of God's plan for the continuous documentation of history, or about the four Monarchies scheme of history based on the Book of Daniel, used by Melanchthon to structure the *Chronicon Carionis*. He says nothing about the role of history in discerning God's will and moral law. While there are certainly strands of moral thought in the lectures, no effort is made to divide the figures of history in general, or of Herodotus in particular, into positive and negative *exempla* as both Melanchthon and Chytraeus had done.[49] The key concepts and terminology which closely unite Melanchthon, Chytraeus, and other Wittenberg historians like Ernst Regius and Christoph Pezel are completely absent from Bongars's notes. Rosa, like many humanists, may have possessed his own student notes from lectures he had himself heard on Greek history or on Herodotus: but it seems clear that his Jena lectures of 1568 were not substantially based on lectures which he had heard from Melanchthon in Wittenberg.

What materials did Rosa use? In a period when commentaries were hard to come by, it is odd that Rosa makes no discernable use of the largest printed work devoted to Herodotus, that is, David Chytraeus's 1563 *Chronologia historiae Herodoti et Thucydidis* or of the prefatory essays on Herodotus which that volume contained (the *In lectionem Herodoti*, followed by summaries of

48 Cf. Tinsley (1989: 27–28).

49 For the use of Herodotus by Melanchthon and his students (esp. Chytraeus), see Ellis (2015: 200).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

the content and significance of each of Herodotus's nine books).[50] Unlike Chytraeus, Rosa gives not a single date either in conventional chronology or in *anno mundi*;[51] he rarely seeks to link biblical and Greek chronology,[52] and shows at most a passing interest in using the narratives of Greek history to showcase traditional Christian apologetics. Aside from Chytraeus's books, there was no wider tradition of historical commentary on Herodotus, although each of Herodotus's major editors had prefaced their edition with some sort of apologetic essay: Aldus Manutius's brief introduction to his 1502 edition, Camerarius's longer *praefatio* to his 1541 Greek edition, and Henri Estienne's lengthy *Apologia pro Herodoto*, prefixed to his 1566 edition of Valla's Latin translation, as well as his anti-Catholic vernacular polemic, the *Apologie pour Hérodote* (1566). There is good reason to think that Rosa knew the Preface by Camerarius—the great luminary of Lutheran history in the middle decades of the sixteenth century alongside Melanchthon—but there is no sign that Rosa worked with the writings of Estienne or Chytraeus. Beyond these printed works and a copy of Erasmus's *Adagia*, which Rosa probably brought with him to the classroom, it is possible that he also had access to some form of commentary from the margins of a well-annotated Greek or Latin text, though there is no strong evidence for this.

What, then, are the essential aspects of Rosa's vision of and interest in Herodotus? Rosa, in fact, offers no comparable vision of Greek history to rival Melanchthon's. He begins with no sweeping generalisations on history, or its purpose, no review of the distinction between sacred and profane historians, nor does he start by situating Herodotus within the broader chronological framework that stretched, on contemporary views, continuously from the first historian (Moses) to the sixteenth century. For the reasons discussed above, Rosa's interests are not primarily linguistic, by contrast to the many contemporary lecturers who used ancient texts to improve their students' vocabulary and

50 First published in Wittenberg by Johannes Crato, republished in 1565 by Christian Mylius in Strasbourg.

51 By contrast Chytraeus (1565) had, for instance, placed the rape of Io by the Phoenicians in *anno mundi* 2550, that of Europa between 2250 and 2631, that of Medea by the Argonauts in 2740, and that of Helen in 2782, here, as elsewhere, juxtaposing sacred and profane chronology.

52 A rare chronological comment comes on fol. 4^{v}, where Rosa states that Archilochus is a contemporary of Numa, not Romulus; the only clear importation of Old Testament material is the figure of Daniel, who appears in Rosa's account of the lead up to the battle between Cyrus (who consults Daniel) and Croesus (who consults the Delphic oracle), fols. 22^{v}–23^{r}. This is a motif with a long history in the Christian reception of Herodotus, at least as old as John Malalas's sixth-century chronicle (further Ellis 2015: 206–07).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

facility with the ancient languages (particularly in the case of Latin authors).[53] Bongars's notes also contain no systematic introduction to the Ionic dialect.[54] Rosa appears to have left his students to simply get the hang of it—though to get the hang of Ionic Greek purely by hearing a verbal recitation of Herodotus's text in an anachronistic itacist pronunciation is a tall order.

Rosa seems instead to have used Herodotus for something completely different. In his hands Herodotus's historical writing is not an *ancilla theologiae* but rather a platform from which to shower the students with erudite proverbs and facts, and to introduce them to the world of ancient Greece and Rome. Rosa follows the basic thread of Herodotus's narrative, but works hard at all points to embellish it with ancient proverbs, wisdom, and tangential trivia, assembled from the canonical texts of classical antiquity. When Herodotus talks about the transience of human affairs (*Histories* 1.5.4), Rosa treats the students to a citation from Euripides (via Plutarch's *Consolation to Apollonius*), and then refers them to his source: Erasmus's *Adagia*, who lists the Euripidean quotation under the proverb *homo bulla* ("man is a bubble"), a phrase which the students noted down.[55] When not drawing his proverbs from Erasmus, Rosa generally parallels Herodotus with snippets from Latin authors: Seneca, Horace, Ovid, and above all Cicero. The Greek authors cited outside the many *sententiae* taken from Erasmus's *Adagia* are most often Plutarch and occasionally also Strabo and Xenophon. The name of Thucydides, Herodotus's successor, occurs just three times in the lectures,[56] suggesting that Rosa was better versed in Latin than Greek literature. In the exchanges between Croesus and Adrastus before and after Adrastus unwittingly kills Croesus's son, the characters' statements on hospitality, mutual obligation, gratitude, and bad conscience are supplemented with quotes from Cicero's *On Duties* (*De Officiis*) and *For Sextus Roscius of Ameria* (*Pro Roscio Amerino*) (fol. 11^{v}). The dominance of Latin sources is striking. When the infamously ambiguous Delphic oracle given to Croesus (*Histories* 1.53.1) is mentioned, it is the hexameter version from Cicero's *On Divination* (2.115) that the students copied into their notes—

53 Cf. Leonhardt & Schindler (2007: 44–45): In sixteenth-century notes on Cicero the emphasis is on language and rhetoric not history (e.g., many marginal glosses in the Cicero lectures give synonyms, not with explanatory purpose but as vocabulary enrichment).

54 The only sign of any comments on the unusual dialect appears on fol. 2^{v}, where Rosa gives the Attic form of an Ionic verb: ἀπαγινεεῖν, *pro* ἀπαγεῖν.

55 Fol. 3^{r}: *Homo bulla. Vide Adag. Erasmi.*

56 Fol. 14^{v} (Thucydides mentioned on the question of the antiquity of the Pelasgians: no precise passage is cited and it seems likely that Rosa got this second hand), fol. 24^{v} ("Thucydides book 4" cited for the location of Thyrea); fol. 25^{r} (cited for the history of Cythera, during the Peloponnesian War).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

neither a translation of Herodotus' text nor the hexameter version known to Aristotle (fol. 14^{r}).

Rosa's coverage of the *Histories* is uneven and thus suggests which sections he considered particularly important. One of the most overrepresented sections is the dialogue between Solon and Croesus (1.30–3), which receives eight sides of notes (fols. 6^{v}–11^{r}, cf. Figs. 3–4),[57] approaching a fifth of Bongars's notes on the first 87 chapters of Herodotus.[58] In discussing this dialogue, in which the Athenian sage Solon warns the complaisant Lydian king Croesus of the instability of human prosperity, Rosa pours forth a deluge of learned citations under various headings. "The inconstancy of human affairs" (*rerum humanarum inconstantia*) is illustrated with three citations from Seneca (*Thyestes* 596, 614–22; *Hercules Furens* 177–80; *Octavia* 924–26), along with several lines from Sophocles's *Ajax*, which had also been cited by Erasmus under the heading *homo bulla*: "man is only a breath and shadow".[59] When the class reached Solon's description of Cleobis and Biton, in which "god showed that it is better for man to die than to live" (*Histories* 1.31.3), Rosa dictated four of the citations which Erasmus had collected in the *Adagia* under the heading *optimum non nasci*:[60] one apiece from Alexis the Poet ("not to be born is always best; after one is born the best is to meet one's end as soon as possible", transmitted by Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 3.124b) and Homer ("none of all the creatures that breaths and crawls on the earth is more miserable than man", *Iliad* 17.446–47), and two from Menander ("those whom the gods love die young", cited in Stobaeus, *Anthology* 4.52.72, and "suffering and life are kindred", cited in Plutarch, *Moralia* 466b).

After this Rosa dictates short notes on several themes: the notion that death is preferable to life (found, he says, both within and outside the Church) as well as the contrast between the consolation which God offers for the miseries of life and the empty promises of the Devil (fol. 9^{r}). Rosa briefly defends Herodotus against Plutarch's charge of blasphemy (9^{v}, relating to *Histories* 1.32.1, further below) and indulges in some mathematical explanations of Solon's calculations of the life of man (*Histories* 1.32.2–4), before returning again to Erasmus's *Adagia* to offer further proverbial parallels. Bongars's notes list the next set of

57 Not counting fol. 10, which has been bound in the notes but does not belong there.

58 In Herodotus's text, by contrast, the dialogue represents only 4 of the 50 sides read during the notes, i.e. slightly under a tenth of the total.

59 The fragment, transmitted by Stobaeus, is ascribed to the comedy *Αἴας Λίκρος* by Nauck and Radt.

60 Fol. 9^{v}; cf. proverb 1249 (Erasmus 1987: 26–29).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

proverbs under two headings: *ante mortem nemo beatus* and *nemo sine dolore*.[61] For the former Rosa cites Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 3.137) and Aristotle; for the latter Rosa selected several more proverbs from Erasmus's discussion of the adage *Nihil est ab omni parte beatum* ("nothing is entirely blessed"),[62] including a proverb attributed to Seneca (*ubi mel ibi fel, ubi uber ibi tuber*), and others taken from Pindar (*Pythian* 5.54f.), Horace (*Carmina* 2.16.27–8), and a citation which Erasmus simply attributed to "the Greeks" (found in Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 12.543, Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1217, and Menander, *Monostichs* 185 in Jäkel's edition). To these is added a quote from Livy (*History of Rome*, 22.51.4). Uncritical though this deluge of *sententiae* might seem, the parallels cited follow the arc of Solon's speech: the early proverbs mirror Solon's insistence that happiness can be pronounced only after death (cf. Herodotus, *Histories* 1.32.6: πρὶν δ' ἂν τελευτήσῃ, ἐπισχεῖν μηδὲ καλέειν κω ὄλβιον, ἀλλ' εὐτυχέα) the latter that it is impossible for a human to enjoy *only* good fortune (cf. *Histories* 1.32.9: ὃς δ' ἂν αὐτῶν πλεῖστα ἔχων διατέλῃ [...] οὗτος παρ' ἐμοὶ τὸ οὔνομα τοῦτο [...] δίκαιός ἐστι φέρεσθαι).

What emerges clearly from the notes is that Rosa's primary goal was not an appreciation of Herodotus's narrative art or the text itself, but rather to build up his students' familiarity with Greco-Roman proverbs and their general knowledge of the ancient world. At the conclusion of the story of Gyges's murder of Candaules, Herodotus states in passing that Gyges had been mentioned by Archilochus of Paros (*Histories* 1.12.2). Here Rosa embarks on a description of iambics, the metre most associated with Archilochus (citing Horace's *Ars Poetica*) and relates in detail the ancient biographical tradition surrounding Archilochus, his betrothed Neobule, and her father Lycambes (fol. 4^{r-v}). The story of Gyges itself receives relatively little attention: no mention is made of the themes of the Herodotean tale—the clash of Gyges's moral feeling with the external compulsion by his king and queen which lead him, through a succession of awful dilemmas, to commit a crime against his will, for which his descendants will be punished—nor does Rosa discuss the philosophical purposes to which Plato and Cicero later put the tale. Similarly, when Herodotus mentions Peisistratus's father and birth (*Histories* 1.56.1), Rosa embarks on a long digression on this dynasty of Athenian tyrants, including the Peisistratid recension of Homer and an extensive evaluation of the character of Peisistratus himself, his relationship with the poet and law-giver Solon, his role in the war

61 MS 663 no. 2, fol. 11^{r}; the series of recherché quotes given by Rosa can duly be found, along with many others, under the heading *homo bulla* in Erasmus's proverb 1248 (Erasmus 1987: 256–64).

62 See Erasmus's proverb 2087 (Erasmus 1981: 88–92).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

against the Megarians, his *three* sons (the third, never mentioned by Herodotus, being Thessalus), and the deeds and fate of Peisistratus's children (fols. 15^{v}–16^{v}). The material originates outside Herodotus, and some of it flatly contradicts Herodotus's account, a fact Rosa seems not to have mentioned. At times Rosa's disinterest in Herodotus's narrative *per se* reaches startling proportions, cutting entirely against the tone and emphasis of the original text. At the end of the tragic story of the accidental death of the young prince Atys at the hands of his father's guest Adrastus, in fulfilment of a divine prophecy, Rosa dictates the following coda: "Croesus mourned his son much longer than Lycurgus recommended: namely 11 days; Plutarch, *Life of Lycurgus*".[63]

In practice Rosa's purpose seems to have been to situate Herodotus within the wider mosaic of classical learning which an educated humanist was expected to navigate. This approach was well suited to the uses to which many of his students might later put their education: through a familiarity with various stories from Greco-Roman antiquity an erudite man could construct a web of learned references to be deployed when the authors or the topics in question arose in conversation. By contrast to some of his contemporaries, Rosa seems to have preferred to avoid parallels with present-day events or circumstances. The students are only invited to compare ancient and modern ideas is during contrasts drawn between paganism and Christianity.

It is worth asking why Rosa should have departed so completely from the pedagogical interests of his prominent Wittenberg colleagues Melanchthon and Chytraeus, when it comes to the teaching of ancient history. These other authors had certainly shown interest in proverbs—primarily as distillations of doctrinal views rather than as rhetorical ornaments—but every page of their historical writings is soaked in Melanchthon's vision of the role of the Greek historians in God's providential historiographical plans. It may be that Rosa himself had not been exposed to Melanchthon's moralistic and theological approach, and we have no direct evidence that he was ever taught by Melanchthon. But it is worth bearing in mind that Melanchthon's approach was not the only one: even some of Melanchthon's closest friends and colleagues made little or no reference to his very particular vision of Greek literature, most notably his fellow Lutheran historiographer, Joachim Camerarius.[64] It may indeed be the case that Rosa first read Herodotus after leaving Wittenberg and was introduced to his work by reading Camerarius's *Praefatio*.

63 Fol. 11^{v}: *Croesus luget filium longiore tempore quam Lycurgus sensuit,* [....] *per 11 dies. Plut in Vita Lycurgi*. The reference is to Plutarch, *Life of Lycurgus* 27.2.

64 For Camerarius's view of Herodotus, see Ellis (2015: 196) and Ellis (2017a).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Another possibility is that these lectures display only part of Rosa's teaching repertoire, namely his approach to elementary education. Perhaps, if we had Rosa's lectures on Herodotus to advanced students, we would see greater similarities with the work of Melanchthon and Chytraeus.[65] But it seems unlikely that the difference can be explained by age alone: Melanchthon sought to inculcate his students from a very young age with his own ideas.[66] It seems likely that when David Chytraeus arrived in Wittenberg at the age of fourteen he was quickly baptised into Melanchthon's vision of Greek history, hence no doubt the zeal with which he devoted his later life to the elaboration of Melanchthon's ideas.

For all the differences between Rosa's approach to Herodotus and those of his Lutheran colleagues and teachers, there are of course multiple points of contact. Bongars's notes include general ideas and specific interpretations which were the common intellectual goods of sixteenth-century humanists and more specifically of Lutherans. Just before Herodotus's narrative of Croesus's testing of the oracles, Rosa treats the students to a three-page disquisition on the nature of pagan oracles, providing a Christian framework through which to interpret the potentially confusing aspects of the narrative (fols. 12^{r}–13^{r}).[67] Rosa argues in detail that pagan oracles cannot originate from God, good angels, or man, and so must derive "from an evil spirit", before discussing at greater length "the deceptions of the Devil".[68] He repeats the heresiological view of pagan cults widespread in Christianity until the nineteenth century, which understands paganism as a corrupted version of the pure religion of the Old Testament patriarchs, altered through time and dispersal. Thus the oracle of Zeus Ammon originated, Rosa states, from the cult instituted by Noah's son Ham ("Cham") who was worshipped as a god after his death in Africa (fol. 13^{r}).[69] Rosa, however, handles the topic with less

65 I am grateful to Florian Mittenhuber for this suggestion.

66 See, e.g., Melanchthon's letter to the young prince Palatine from 1542, which recommends the early study of history for the purposes of moral instruction, Melanchthon (1834–1860: IV, 929) (with discussion in Ellis 2015: 183–84).

67 For some different attitudes towards the narrative in contemporary Lutheran exegesis, see Ellis (2015: 188–9, 202–6).

68 Bongars's marginal headings on fol. 12$^{r–v}$ capture the movement of Rosa's argument: *Oracula unde proferantur*, *a Deo non*, *nec ab angelis bonis*, *nec de hominibus*, *a Malo spiritu*, *Insidiae Diaboli*, *oracula cessant*.

69 Melanchthon (1834–1860: XII, 731); Chytraeus makes the same claim in his advertisement for his lectures on the second book of the *Histories*, which took place six years earlier in 1560, and can be read in Chytraeus (1601: 212–14). For discussion of this theory and other related ways in which Melanchthon and Chytraeus linked pagan oracular institutions to biblical figures Ellis (2015: 181–82 and nn. 21, 23).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

emphasis than other Lutheran historians: he makes no attempt to demonstrate that all Greek oracular institutions were founded by the descendants of Noah (argued at length by Chytraeus and Melanchthon) nor does he insist that the origins of paganism in the primordial religion of Adam proves the superior antiquity and veracity of Christianity. Such apologetics, which had originated in the polemic between pagans, Jews, and Christians in antiquity and found eager proponents throughout the Reformation, seem to have held much less fascination for Rosa. Chytraeus, schooled in Hebrew, had offered fancy etymological footwork to show that the name of the mountain which towered above the Delphic Oracle—Parnassus—derives from Hebrew (in which language it purportedly meant "snake mountain" or "snake crevice") thereby demonstrating that the Pythian oracle had its origins in the Hebrew-speaking settlers of Greece after the flood. Rosa also offers a Pythian etymology, but it was much more mundane: the oracular priestess gets her name from the Greek word for "discover/find out".[70] Rosa's discussion of pagan oracles closes with the legendary "cessation of the oracles" around the time of the birth of Christ, a staple of anti-pagan polemic from the time of Eusebius and common knowledge among humanists by the end of the fifteenth century.[71]

Rosa's work reflects, albeit more briefly, other aspects of Christian apologetics which appear in Melanchthon's and Chytraeus's work on Greek history. When introducing the students to the different Greek tribes, the Ionians are said to be descended from "Ion and Japhet" (fol. 14^{v}, cf. Melanchthon 1834–1860: XII, 732; cf. XI, 556–98).[72] In his introduction to Lycurgus, Rosa states that the Spartan legislator lived at the time of the prophet Isaiah (fol. 19^{v}). Later in the story of Cyrus, Rosa offers a long tangent on the biblical prophet Daniel and his role in Cyrus's victory, another element of earlier Christian apologetics (fols. 22^{v}–23^{r}). Rosa does, thus, from time to time cast a glance in the direction of biblical chronology and the universal histories which genealogised all human races, cultures, and languages by reference to Genesis chapter 10, but he only does so rarely and in passing. One suspects that he is here deploying the "common knowledge" that one acquired as a classically trained Lutheran. But he fails, for whatever reason, to situate these nuggets clearly within the apologetic framework which, for others, represented their primary significance.

70 Fol. 13^{v}: πυθίη: *ducitur a* πυνθάνομαι.

71 See Ossa-Richardson (2013: 29–44) for the history of this idea in antiquity and its transmission into the early modern period.

72 Ben-Tov (2009: 47–49).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

What of the great question generally supposed to have most concerned Herodotus's readers in the sixteenth century: that Herodotus was an unreliable spinner of tall tales or, worse, a malicious deceiver, the "father of lies"? This was the view vehemently asserted by Plutarch in his *On the Malice of Herodotus* and taken up by numerous humanists.[73] Rosa only addresses one of Plutarch's claims: the allegation of blasphemy, levelled at Herodotus for making the Athenian sage Solon say that God is *phthoneros* (φθονερός: "envious", "jealous", "grudging", *Histories* 1.32, attacked by Plutarch in *The Malice of Herodotus* 857f–858a), a notion rejected by ancient Platonists and Christians.[74] Rosa offers a two-part discussion (*reprehensio* and *explicatio*): he first relays Plutarch's criticism and then counters it. Rosa argues that by calling God *phthoneros* Herodotus refers to God's disapproval of those who have become arrogant as a result of their good fortune: God casts them down from their lofty positions, "as if envying them, because they are unworthy". Rosa also draws an implicit parallel between divine *phthonos* and the biblical motif of divine regret: God sees the wickedness of mankind, regrets his creation, and sends the cataclysmic flood to destroy them (Gen. 6:6–8; for Bongars's text see Fig. 5.4).[75]

This was, however, not part of a concerted attempt to defend Herodotus against Plutarch—comparable to that made by Henri Estienne in his *Apologia pro Herodoto* (1566), or by Camerarius in his 1541 preface to the *Histories*. Rosa simply repeats an isolated piece of apologetics, doubtless one he found in Camerarius's *Praefatio*, and does not stray onto the wider topics covered by the earlier Lutheran scholar. Like Chytraeus and Melanchthon before him, Rosa makes no mention of the vast debate about Herodotus's factual reliability. In many ways this is irrelevant for his purposes. Rosa's lectures attempt to construct a harmonious collage of the ancient world assembled from different sources, and to make Herodotus relevant for the culture of the sixteenth

73 See Boudou (2000: 436–39); Kipf (1999: 16–19).

74 For an introduction to the wider topic, see Ellis (2017b).

75 Fol. 9^{v}: *Deus invidet / Reprehensio / Plut. valde improbat hanc sententiam, quod Deus invideat, cum sit purissimus, sed sic sedp* […] (*?*) *scriptura loquitur, Poenituit Deum; Hic locus sic intelligitur. Quod, hic cum plerumque fiat ut secundae res homines reddant superbos, Deus e*[*i*]*s, veluti invidens, quod sint indigni, e stat*[*u*] *deiicit* ("*God envies. The Censure*: Plutarch vehemently rejected this idea, that god feels envy, although it is most pure, yet this is just what Scripture […] (?) says: that God felt regret. This passage is to be understood thus: That, since it often happens that successes make men arrogant, God, as if envying them, because they are unworthy, casts them down from their position"). For Joachim Camerarius's comparable but slightly different handling of the same passage in Herodotus, see Ellis (2017a: 141–42).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

century, with its predilection for *sententiae*. Not a word is said on the reliability of any particular ancient source, nor is any attempt made to sensitise the students to the difference between different accounts: they are instead mixed together to create a superficially uniform "antiquity". It is this construct which the student is taught to navigate, since it provides the background of *exempla* and *sententiae*—the narrative bones and the verbal clothing—expected of a learned European in the sixteenth century. If the education which Chytraeus and Melanchthon dispensed was particularly well suited to theologians, the education Bongars received at the hands of Rosa was quite different, one well suited to the role he later played: an educated man who cut his teeth in philology before joining the court as a diplomat, where Latin was spoken fluently alongside French and German, and where status was enhanced when the cultural goods of antiquity flowed with ease from the tip of the tongue. In Rosa's teaching we see the kind of classical education dispensed by many teachers, to a great degree regardless of the text, in Latin-speaking Europe which stood at the beginning of a five-century long (and on-going) obsession with Greco-Roman culture.

4 Epilogue: Isaac Casaubon and Herodotus as Sourcebook for Oriental Philology

It is an intriguing possibility that Bongars was among the audience of friends to whom Isaac Casaubon delivered a series of lectures on Herodotus in the winter of 1601–1602. Bongars travelled a great deal in the service of Henri IV and is it consequently hard to know whether he was in Paris at the time. But if he was, it seems likely that he would have attended: the two men were in correspondence between 1592 and Bongars's death in 1612, and Casaubon wrote to Bongars in the fondest terms.[76] Bongars took at least a passing interest in Herodotus in later life: Herodotus was one of the dozens of authors whom he used in his 1581 edition of and commentary on Justin,[77] and over the following decades the bibliophile diplomat collected several copies of the *Histories* (both in Greek and Latin), as well as a parallel edition of geographical extracts from Herodotus and Pomponius Mela, compiled by another of his *amici*,

76 On the correspondence between Bongars and Casaubon and on the laudatory letters Casaubon wrote after Bongars's death, see Hagen (1874: 54, nn. 242, 245; 60, n. 261).

77 Amman (2015: 71, 76 n. 94); see Amman (2015: *passim*) for further discussion of Bongars's work as a philologist and the broad range of authors he consulted.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Andreas Schott.[78] Casaubon's lectures were, moreover, in large part directed at philological topics—specifically "Oriental" philology—topics which also interested Bongars, who had spent several months studying Hebrew with the Venetian Jew Judah Seligmann in Prague in 1584–1585 in the course of his interrupted journey eastwards. Bongars also seems to have cultivated his knowledge of Hebrew in later life, to judge from the extensive collection of Hebrew books which he collected and in some cases annotated.[79]

New autograph material which has recently come to my attention in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris sheds much light on the nature of Casaubon's Herodotus lectures. This is not the place to discuss the lectures in detail,[80] but the Parisian codex offers another example of just how different lectures on the same author could be in two different hands. Unlike Rosa, Casaubon took the basic historical information of the ancient world for granted and had no interest in proverbs. Instead, he focused on more advanced topics, occasionally historical or cultural but chiefly philological. The majority of his entries are notes on specific words, exploring the semantic nuances, discussing the peculiarities of Ionic forms, or offering etymological theories. Underlying many etymologies is the notion that the Greek language ultimately descends from Hebrew. Casaubon, for instance, suggests that the Cimmerians take their name from Noah's grandson Gomer (cf. Gen. 10) citing as evidence the common confusion of *c* and *g* (BnF, MS Lat. 6252: fols. 90^{v}–91^{v}); throughout the notes he suggests relationships between Greek and "Eastern" languages such as Hebrew, Chaldean, and Syrian, a notion which had concerned him a great deal in the period preceding the lectures.[81]

Like Rosa, Casaubon uses the *Histories* primarily as a platform for the discussion of topics of interest to him and his audience rather than to examine Herodotus's own narrative art or his theories of history. Casaubon's concerns were different—he shows none of the passion of his Lutheran contemporaries for finding God's will, universal moral doctrines, or attractive proverbs in the *Histories*—but, as ever, they are very much *his* concerns, not those of

78 For Bongars's acquaintance with Schott, which predates the publication of the work on Herodotus, see Amman (2015: 78). For the details of the editions from Bongars's library, today in Bern, see above nn. 32–33.

79 See Weinberg (2015: 104–06) for Bongars's Hebrew library and an evaluation of the evidence for Bongars's engagement with Hebrew language and literature. For the journey east (and guesses about its original destination), see Ludwig (2015: 90).

80 See Ellis (2015: 223–33) for a discussion of Casaubon's marginalia on Herodotus (Cambridge Adv. a.3.2) and the introductory essay in a notebook preserved in the Bodleian containing much *hebraica* (MS Casaubon 52: 99^{r}–112^{r}). For the notes in BnF, MS Lat. 6252, see Ellis (forthcoming), where I use these notes to reconstruct the lectures in greater detail.

81 The theory is described in detail by Grafton & Weinberg (2011: 92–95).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Herodotus: in this case the *Histories* is used as the basis for a master class in Greek philology and historical linguistics. These two sets of lectures by Rosa and Casaubon reveal very different ways of reading and using Herodotus and Greek history more generally, indicating in microcosm the diverse roles which Hellenism played in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Gerlinde Huber-Rebenich and Florian Mittenhuber for making me aware of Bongars's notes on Herodotus, and for their generosity in discussing both Bongars and early modern pedagogy. I am also grateful to the Burgerbibliothek in Bern for providing images, and the Leverhulme Trust for support during the research of the article. Throughout, transcriptions and translations are my own, unless stated otherwise.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

PART 2

Migration, Exchange, and Identity

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Cultural Encounters and Exchanges between "Greek East" and "Latin West"

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

CHAPTER 6

From "Bounteous Flux of Matter" to Hellenic City: Late Byzantine Representations of Constantinople and the Western Audience

Aslıhan Akışık-Karakullukçu

> At that time, the Romans had achieved the greatest rule in the world [...] They turned over Rome to their greatest archbishop and crossed over to Thrace. With the emperor leading the way to these places and to the land of Thrace (which had been colonised for being nearest to Asia), they chose *Byzantion, a Hellenic city*, to be their metropolis [...] and afterwards the Hellenes mixed with Romans and the Hellenes ultimately prevailed against the Romans and guarded their Hellenic language and customs until the very end because they were much more numerous than the Romans.[1]

In his monumental Herodotean-style history, finished sometime after 1464, Laonikos Chalkokondyles's conceptualisation of Constantinople as Hellenic city was revolutionary in its rejection of the Christian Roman identity of the imperial capital. Briefly invoking the Donation of Constantine in this passage and anonymously referring to Pope Sylvester I (314–335) and to Constantine I, the Great (r. 306–337), the historian dismantled the ways in which the forgery was employed in Byzantine tradition to support Byzantine claims to lawful political authority in New Rome.[2] Since the time of the Patriarchate of Michael Kerularios (1043–1058) and the Eastern Schism, the Byzantines, inverting the argument of the Donation of Constantine, had maintained that Constantine

1 Chalkokondyles (1922–1928: I, 4): ἐς ὃ δὴ Ῥωμαίους ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης μεγίστην ἀρχὴν ἀφικομένους, ἰσοτάλαντον ἔχοντας τύχην τῇ ἀρετῇ, ἐπιτρέψαντας Ῥώμην τῷ μεγίστῳ αὐτῶν ἀρχιερεῖ καὶ διαβάντας ἐς Θράκην, ὑφηγουμένου ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ Θράκης ἐπὶ χώραν, ἥτις ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐγγυτάτω ᾤκηται, Βυζάντιον Ἑλληνίδα πόλιν μητρόπολιν σφῶν ἀποδεικνύντας, πρὸς Πέρσας, ὑφ' ὧν ἀνήκεστα ἐπεπόνθεισαν, τὸν ἀγῶνα ποιεῖσθαι, Ἕλληνάς τε τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε Ῥωμαίοις αὐτοῦ ἐπιμιγνύντας, γλῶτταν μὲν καὶ ἤθη διὰ τὸ πολλῷ πλέονας Ῥωμαίων Ἕλληνας αὐτοῦ ἐπικρατεῖν διὰ τέλους φυλάξαι [...]. The entire *History* has recently been translated into English for the first time by Anthony Kaldellis. See Chalkokondyles (2014).

2 Angelov (2009: 91–157).

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2020 | DOI:10.1163/9789004402461_008
Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

the Great had translated the Roman empire to the east and consequently that the Byzantines, not westerners, were invested with *imperium*.

In contrast, Laonikos's interpretation tallies well with fifteenth-century western claims concerning the pope's temporal authority. The historian systematically configured historical and contemporary popes as the archbishops of the Romans and made a detailed examination of their prerogative to elect Roman emperors in numerous historical instances. In a similar vein, Laonikos referred to Byzantine emperors as either "emperors of the Hellenes" or as the "emperors of Byzantion", while assigning the label "Roman emperors" to their western counterparts from the time of Charlemagne (r. 768–814) onwards. According to Laonikos, Constantinople was not primarily the Roman imperial city of Constantine the Great (the historian omits the name of the founder of the city and the corresponding toponym throughout the narrative), but was rather "Byzantion" and a Hellenic city among others in a Hellenic universe that was unified by a common cultural and linguistic heritage rather than by imperial structures.

What was the intellectual and political context for this radical reinterpretation of the civic identity of Constantinople? How did other late Byzantine intellectuals, in both the East and the West, revive and engage with classical, late antique, and medieval traditions concerning the Byzantine capital in their attempts to make sense of the cataclysmic events they witnessed—including the Latin invasion of 1204 and the Ottoman encroachments that eventually led to fall of the city in 1453?

1 The Encomia of Theodore Metochites, Manuel Chrysoloras, and Isidore of Kiev

To answer these questions, I will take late Byzantine encomia of Constantinople as the starting point of analysis. They provide insight into the ways in which Hellenism was gradually adopted by some Byzantine intellectuals to provide a historicising narrative to questions of identity at a time when the Byzantine empire had transformed into a territorial city-state similar to its counterparts in Italy.[3] Hellenism's growing secular appeal to these Byzantine intellectuals was also contemporaneous with comparable developments in Italy.[4] The progressive shifting away from a predominantly religious representation of

3 Kiousopoulou (2011).

4 Fubini (1990); Fubini (2003).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Constantinople and the increased emphasis on the city's pre-Christian past in these rhetorical compositions thus demonstrate that related dynamics were at play in the East and the West during the Renaissance.

Comparing *Byzantios or Concerning the Imperial Megalopolis*, a rich and lengthy encomium of Constantinople by the early Palaeologan statesman and intellectual Theodore Metochites (1270–1332), with the famous *Comparison of Old and New Rome* by Manuel Chrysoloras (*c.*1350–1415),[5] I chart the ways in which these two intellectuals engaged with the idea of Hellenism in the Constantinopolitan context. I conclude with the imperial oration of Emperor John VIII (r. 1425–48) by Isidore of Kiev (*c.*1385–1463), which bears echoes of the earlier two encomia and thus illustrates a continuous intellectual tradition.[6] I also explore the political and intellectual contexts for Metochites's, Chrysoloras's, and Isidore's compositions.

Metochites was writing in the aftermath of the reconquest of Constantinople from the Latins in 1261 at the court of anti-unionist Byzantine emperor Andronicus II (r. 1282–1328), and his anti-Latin and Orthodox Christian viewpoint colours *Byzantios* (Fig. 6.1). Metochites's Hellenic interventions in forging a new urban identity for Constantinople relied on the increased importance attached to Greek ethnicity during the Nicene period (1204–1261) when the Nicene emperors had competed with rival successor polities for territory and against the Latins for Constantinople.[7] Similarly, he elaborated the late-antique Roman past of Constantinople and the figure of Constantine the Great as propaganda material against the Latins.

Thus, Metochites's emphasis on the Roman and Hellenic identities of Constantinople is fundamentally different from that of Chrysoloras who was writing for a combined Italian and Byzantine audience (Fig. 8.5). In fact, Chrysoloras belonged as much in the Italian Renaissance context as the Byzantine one, spending the greater portion of his career in the West as imperial Byzantine envoy to raise military aid against the Ottomans and converting to Catholicism.[8] By focusing on the common late antique heritage of Rome and Constantinople and drawing parallels between the two cities, Chrysoloras provided the ideological framework for his diplomatic mission.

5 Manuel Chrysoloras (2000: 6–26). Smith has translated the composition into English: Smith (1992: 199–215).

6 Philippides & Hanak (2018); Leonte (2017).

7 Angelov (2005: 293–310).

8 Mergiali-Sahas (1998).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

FIGURE 6.1 Mosaic portrait of Theodore Metochites, founder of the Chora Monastery, presenting a model of the church to Jesus Christ: Η ΧΩΡΑ ΤΩΝ ΖΩΝΤΩΝ. Over the main entrance into the nave, Kariye Müzesi, Istanbul

Isidore's career trajectory similarly bears witness to the close contacts between the Byzantine world and the West in the fifteenth century. After completing his sojourn in Mistra sometime in 1428,[9] Isidore attended the Council of Basel in 1433–1434 as imperial envoy. He was appointed Metropolitan of Kiev and all of Russia in 1437 before the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–1439). In contrast to the majority of the other Byzantine delegates at Ferrara-Florence, Isidore did not renounce the Union of the Churches after the Council. He became

9 It has been traditionally assumed that Isidore was either a student or a close associate of George Gemistos Plethon in Mistra. Recent scholarship has drawn attention to the lack of sources that explicitly substantiate this claim. Philippides & Hanak (2018: 26–7) There is extensive literature on the Neoplatonist philosopher Plethon whose life, career, and beliefs still continue to be debated: Masai (1956); Woodhouse (1986); Monfasani (1992); Tambrun (2006); Siniossoglou (2011); Hladky (2014). Plethon's loyal disciple Demetrios Raoul Kabakes noted that the philosopher passed away in 1452, a statement that was assumed to be true in the secondary literature until recently. Monfasani provides a different date, based on manuscript and various textual evidence, and argues that the philosopher died in 1454; see Monfasani (2006: 93–97). I extend thanks to Kostis Smyrlis, who attracted my attention to an Athonite document from the monastery of Vatopedi, which conclusively proves that Plethon was Judge General of the Romans. Lefort, Kravari, Giros, Smyrlis & Estangui Gomez (forthcoming).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Cardinal of the Catholic Church circa 1439 and then travelled to Moscow.[10] Isidore proclaimed the Union of the Churches in Constantinople on the eve of the capital's fall when he was visiting on ambassadorial duty. Laonikos Chalkokondyles, a member of Plethon's Mistra circle, referred to Isidore as *philopatris* of Constantinople for his defence of the city in 1453; the historian reserved this high praise for the Cardinal alone among all the myriad contemporary and historical figures he mentioned.[11]

While Metochites's earlier encomium on Nicaea has been studied, his longer and more ambitious encomium *Byzantios* has only recently begun to attract attention.[12] However, due to its pervasive intellectual influence, Metochites's *Byzantios* should be the starting point for any discussion concerning the representation of Constantinople in the late Byzantine period. An early fourteenth-century composition, *Byzantios* is also an important exemplar for the revival of the genre of city encomium in the late period. This revival was tied with renewed Byzantine interest in late antique rhetoric and influenced later Italian Renaissance literature.[13] Indeed, Chrysoloras's seminal role in introducing classical and late antique Greek learning to Renaissance Italy and the ways in which his city encomium played a paradigmatic role for understanding the past have been extensively discussed.[14] By close textual analysis, I argue that Chrysoloras was familiar with *Byzantios* and reproduced Metochites's vision of physical urban space wherein the ancient past is embedded. I also argue that Chrysoloras parted ways with Byzantine tradition by denouncing the metaphysical aspects of Constantinople, the metropolis which had been traditionally interpreted as holy space in the East. In this way, Chrysoloras's encomium provides a conceptual bridge between Metochites's vision of a divinely ordained Christian Roman Constantinople and the Hellenic city of Laonikos Chalkokondyles. I have elsewhere argued that Laonikos was writing for an elite circle of Byzantine émigrés and other intellectuals in the West who had access to classical Greek, rather than for the post-Byzantine intellectuals associated

10 Philippides & Hanak (2018: 99).

11 Chalkokondyles (1922–1928: II, 69): τὸν δὲ Ἰσίδωρον ἐλλόγιμόν τε ὄντα καὶ φιλόπατριν, ἁλόντα τε ὕστερον ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ὑπὸ βαρβάρων, ἐπαμύνοντα τῇ πατρίδι ("Isidore who was held in high esteem for learning and was a *philopatris*, was later captured in Byzantion by the barbarians when he came to the aid of the fatherland").

12 A. Voudouri in her recent doctoral dissertation studies Metochites's encomium in the larger context of other late Byzantine city encomia and through the prism of classical and late antique tradition. See also Magdalino (2012: 101–21); Polemis (2008: 241–46); Rhoby (2012: 81–99); Voudouri (2013); Voudouri (2016).

13 Ševčenko (1984); Fenster (1968).

14 Thorn-Wickert (2006); Smith (1992: 150–70).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

with the Ottoman court specifically.[15] Chrysoloras's similar western orientation at the turn of the fifteenth century helps explain his significant departure from Byzantine tradition in representing Constantinople.

2 Metochites's Brief Biography and His Orthodox Christian Humanism

Theodore Metochites's *Byzantios or Concerning the Imperial Megalopolis*, composed *c.*1312, presents an early instance wherein both Roman and Hellenic elements were combined to create urban identity. In my view, late Byzantine Hellenism may be best understood by examining the different ways in which it qualified, competed with, supplanted, and supported Christian Roman imperial identity.[16] Thus, it is significant that Metochites's unionist father, George Metochites, was exiled from Constantinople in 1283 by Andronicus II for being a staunch critic of the restoration of Orthodoxy, and that Metochites grew up in Nicaea. When Andronicus II was visiting the former capital in 1290, Metochites impressed the emperor with his Nicene oration and was subsequently employed in government; by 1321, he had risen to the highest office of *megas logothete*. Metochites upheld Orthodox Christian dogma and did not engage with debates on the schism between the Catholic and Orthodox churches—a stance no doubt influenced by his early experiences. However, he was much more innovative in dealing with secular learning, as I hope to illustrate. As prolific intellectual of the early Palaeologan Renaissance, Metochites composed numerous tracts on philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, rhetoric, ethics, and history, engaging with classical and late antique literature in a manner that has been referred to as "humanist" by some modern commentators.[17]

15 Akışık-Karakullukçu (2019). Anthony Kaldellis, on the other hand, has argued that Laonikos Chalkokondyles belonged in the intellectual circle of George Amiroutzes at Mehmed II's court. Kaldellis (2014).

16 As I hope to illustrate in this paper, the terms "Hellene" and "Roman" meant different things to different people in different historical contexts. The increased use of the term "Hellene" in the late medieval Eastern Roman context has at times been interpreted to account for the genesis of a nationalist Greek ideology. However, one should be cautious of imparting a conscious and systematic nationalist sentiment to Byzantine intellectuals whose classical education often camouflaged the changing political and cultural frameworks. Some recent publications have problematised these assumed connections between ethnicity, ideology, and national identity in the Eastern Roman context. See Haldon (2016) and Stouraitis (2017).

17 The emphasis on canonical classical Greek texts in Byzantine education helped secure the availability and continuing relevance of ancient philosophical and literary traditions for

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

In *Byzantios*, numerous themes have been put together according to the specifications set out by Menander Rhetor in the late third century for writing city encomia.[18] These include Constantinople's geographic location, water supply, abundance, climate, history and founders, central position that allows it to rule over the world, harbours, physical structures, urban expansion from a colony to a metropolis, citizens, piety, and charitable foundations.[19] Metochites famously wrote that the ancients had already said everything worth saying and that later generations had nothing original to contribute to what the ancients had already discovered.[20] In *Byzantios*, he presents the city of Constantine the Great as the ideal model, to which the Palaeologi rulers aspired in their rebuilding activities after the city's recapture from the Latins in 1261. Thus, Metochites developed the theme of renewal and regeneration in a manner that was backward looking and conscious of a contemporary urban landscape which was much inferior to its late antique counterpart.

3 Orthodox Christianity as Regenerative Power in Metochites's Byzantios

Byzantios was the first extended free-standing city encomium of Constantinople.[21] Metochites presents the city as superior to Babylon, Alexander the Great's Alexandria, Antioch, and even Rome itself, ascribing its unique status to the transformative role that Constantinople (as Roman capital) played in promulgating Christianity throughout the world. In contrast to Laonikos Chalkokondyles's later formulation, in which religion plays no metaphysical role (the historian refers to Christianity and Islam as comparable social and political systems regulating societies), Metochites portrays Constantine the Great as moved and chosen by God to preach the dogma of truth with his "apostolic eagerness" at a time when the Roman empire held sway over a great portion of the inhabited world.[22] Extensive portions of the encomium are devoted to the

intellectuals such as Metochites. See Featherstone (2011); Bazzani (2006); Bourbouhakis (2017).

18 The two treatises on writing encomia that were ascribed to Menander Rhetor in Byzantine tradition have been dated to the time of Diocletian (r. 284–305), based on internal evidence. See Menander Rhetor (1981).

19 Metochites (2003: 295–97).

20 Metochites (2002: 20–27).

21 George Karbones, a contemporary of Metochites, also composed a short encomium of Constantinople: Browning (1989a).

22 Metochites (2003: 66–67, 70–71, 73–75, 76–77); Metochites (2013: 204–09, 216–21, 226–29, 230–35).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

first Christian Roman emperor, in agreement with early Palaeologan imperial rhetoric that celebrated both Michael VIII (r. 1259–1282) and Andronicus II as "new Constantines".[23]

Just as Constantine the Great was used by the early Palaeologan rulers as an imperial and religiously charged symbolic figure to distinguish them from the Latins, so the Mother of God, also an old motif, was put to new use after 1261. Metochites devotes much attention to the Mother of God, whom he describes as divinely ordered to be the guardian saint of the city,[24] referring to her as "queen, general, and governor".[25] As Metochites points out, the Mother of God played a prominent military role during sieges and wars throughout Byzantine history.[26] It is well-known that Marian icons were paraded on top of the city walls to ward off the enemy as well as being taken into battle.[27] Metochites also writes that the Mother of God was celebrated in liturgy,[28] a tradition reflected in contemporary practice when the famous icon of the Hodegetria was an integral component of imperial ceremonial.[29] In fact, when the Venetians stole this venerated icon of Mary and the Christ Child during the Latin occupation, the local Orthodox population had revolted. Appropriately, when Michael VIII made his triumphal entry into Constantinople on 15 August 1261, a date chosen to correspond with the feast day of the Dormition of the Mother of God, the icon was carried at the head of the procession from the entry point at the Golden Gate.[30]

Metochites's vision of Constantinople as holy space, founded by Constantine the Great and dedicated to the Mother of God, is also reflected in his evaluation of the city in relation to other cities. In agreement with the Byzantine version of the Donation of Constantine, he presents Constantinople as the

23 Macrides (1980); Macrides (1994); Laiou (1972: 36).

24 Metochites (2003: 112–13); Metochites (2013: 330–31): καὶ μὴν ἔστι φρούραρχος ἄνωθεν ἐξαρχῆς […]. Φρούραρχος δ᾽οὖν οὗτος καὶ πολιοῦχος αὐτῆς ἀκάμας καὶ ἀήττητος καὶ πάσης προνοίας τῶν βελτίστων ἐπιμελητής, προσέχων ἀνεπίστροφος παντάπασι καὶ διὰ πάντων τῷ λάχει τῷδε […].

25 Metochites (2003: 115); Metochites (2013: 336–37): βασιλὶς αὐτὴ καὶ στρατηγὸς καὶ κυβερνήτης […].

26 Metochites (2003: 113–14); Metochites (2013: 332–35).

27 Pentcheva (2006: 61–103).

28 Metochites (2003: 115–17); Metochites (2013: 336–43).

29 The Virgin Hodegetria is an iconographical type depicting Mary holding the Christ Child on her left arm while gesturing towards him with her right hand. The name, "Hodegetria", derives from a specific icon that was housed in the Hodegon Monastery in Constantinople at least from the twelfth century onwards. During the Latin and Palaeologan periods, this icon was kept in the Pantokrator monastery. Macrides, Munitiz & Angelov (2013: 174–75, 178–81).

30 Wolff (1948); Macrides (1980).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

source of faith to all other cities and as the location of numerous ecumenical church councils that rooted out heresy. According to Metochites, the city at that time was the only pious metropolis still left in the world, a claim hinting at the schism between Rome and Constantinople, the Avignon Papacy as well as the fact that Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Antioch were no longer under Christian rule in the early fourteenth century.[31]

4 Ethnicity and Primordial Land: Hellenic Elements in Metochites's *Byzantios*

In Metochites's encomium, the city's Hellenic identity is subordinate to its Roman and Christian identities. This is similar to the portrayal of Nicaea in the groundbreaking panegyric of that city by Theodore II Laskaris (r. 1254–1258) which he had composed while still a prince.[32] Nevertheless, the rehabilitation of the term "Hellene" as a reference to ethnicity in these compositions implies that it was no longer only used as a synonym for pagan belief. Thus, Metochites was indebted for this usage to the formative period of the Nicene empire, when intellectuals, statesmen, and churchmen started to self-identify as Greeks and Hellenes as well as Orthodox Christians and traditional Romans.[33] In terms of length, the sections on the Hellenes in *Byzantios* are only a fraction as long as those on the Romans. In accordance with the requirements of epideictic literature, Metochites relates the founding of the city by the Dorians as Hellenic colony. He also includes a section on Herodotus's famous passage, where it was related that the Chalcedonians must have been blind to have chosen the worse site for their colony on the Asian shore when Byzantion's location, across from the Bosporus, was clearly better. Metochites calls the Chalcedonians stupid and ignorant for failing to notice the good fortune and abundance of Byzantion, for choosing artificial poverty and always struggling with ill fortune due to their ill choice.[34]

Midway through the encomium, Metochites considers the Hellenic and Roman contributions to creating the city:

31 Metochites (2003: 144–45); Metochites (2013: 410–13): αὕτη γε μὴν ἐπαρκεῖ τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον τῷ παντὶ βίῳ λαμπρὰ λαμπρῶς […] ἄνοσος ἀρκεῖ τε καὶ ἀνθεῖ καὶ ἀκμάζει καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης νῦν μόνη τῆς εὐσεβείας αὐτὴ μητρόπολις λείπεται […] ("The city helps all life brilliantly throughout the whole course of time […] It endures free of sickness, flourishes, is in full bloom, and now it is the only metropolis left in the world that is pious […]").

32 Laskaris (2000: 68–84); Foss (1996: 132–63); Akışık (2011).

33 Angelov (2005: 299–303, 306); Angelov (2007: 95–98); Angold (1975: 49–70).

34 Metochites (2003: 46–47); Metochites (2013: 152–57). See also Herodotus, *Histories* 4.144.2.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Συνοικίζεται μὲν εὐθὺς Ἕλλησί τε τοῖς πρώτοις καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων εὐγενείᾳ τηνικαῦτα πάντων κρατούσῃ, καὶ δυοῖν οὕτω τῶν ἀρίστων ἐθνῶν γνώμῃ τὲ καὶ χειρὶ καὶ πάντων ἐπιτηδεύσει τῶν καλλίστων, τὰ μὲν κατ᾽ ἔθος, τὰ δὲ κατὰ φύσιν, ἐκ δὴ τούτων ἄρα τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡ πρώτη σύμπηξις αὐτὴ γεννικὴ καὶ μεγαλοφυὴς δημιουργεῖται καὶ συντίθεται, καθάπερ οἱ φυσικοὶ φασίν, ὡς ἂν ἐξ εἴδους τινὸς καὶ ὕλης τὰ γιγνόμενα πάντα, τῆς μὲν Ῥωμαϊκῆς αὐτῆς τύχης τὴν εἰδοποιὸν ὑποβαλλούσης ἀρχήν, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ πάντων γενέσει τῶν ἀρρένων ἔχει τὰ σπέρματα, τῆς δ᾽ Ἑλλάδος αὐτόθεν χώρας μετὰ τὴν πρώτην ὑποδοχὴν πάντα παρεχομένης τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ὕλης τὰ ῥεύματα κάλλιστά τε καὶ ἄφθονα [...].

For the city simply unites the Hellenes, who were the first, and the nobility of the Romans, who at that time ruled over all [peoples] and thus these two are the best nations according to the judgment, writing, and study of all the best writers. One people [is the best] with respect to custom and the other with respect to nature.[35] From these nations, the first combination, that was both lofty in character and noble in nature, was wrought and synthesised, just as the natural philosophers say that out of some form and matter all things are generated. The Roman success itself produced the form-making principle similar to the role that the seeds of the masculine beings have in the genesis of all things, while the Hellenic lands, immediately after first receiving [the Romans], provided all the most beautiful and bounteous flux of matter in nature [...].[36]

35 For the Aristotelian distinction between nature and habit, see Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1179b: γίνεσθαι δ᾽ ἀγαθοὺς οἴονται οἱ μὲν φύσει οἱ δ᾽ ἔθει οἱ δὲ διδαχῇ. τὸ μὲν οὖν τῆς φύσεως δῆλον ὡς οὐκ ἐφ᾽ ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει, ἀλλὰ διά τινας θείας αἰτίας τοῖς ὡς ἀληθῶς εὐτυχέσιν ὑπάρχει· ὁ δὲ λόγος καὶ ἡ διδαχὴ μή ποτ᾽ οὐκ ἐν ἅπασιν ἰσχύει, ἀλλὰ δεῖ προδιειργάσθαι τοῖς ἔθεσι τὴν τοῦ ἀκροατοῦ ψυχὴν πρὸς τὸ καλῶς χαίρειν καὶ μισεῖν, ὥσπερ γῆν τὴν θρέψουσαν τὸ σπέρμα. Translation of H. Rackham (1926): "Now some thinkers hold that virtue is a gift of nature; others think we become good by habit, others that we can be taught to be good. Natural endowment is obviously not under our control; it is bestowed on those who are fortunate, in the true sense, by some divine dispensation. Again, theory and teaching are not, I fear, equally efficacious in all cases: the soil must have been previously tilled if it is to foster the seed, the mind of the pupil must have been prepared by the cultivation of habits, so as to like and dislike aright".

36 Metochites (2003: 88); Metochites (2013: 262–5) This passage relies on Aristotle, *On the Generation of Animals* 732a: ἐπεὶ δὲ τούτων ἀρχὴ τὸ θῆλυ καὶ τὸ ἄρρεν ἕνεκα τῆς γενέσεως ἂν εἴη τὸ θῆλυκαὶ τὸ ἄρρεν ἐν τοῖς <ἔχ>ουσιν. βελτίονος δὲ καὶ θειοτέρας τὴν φύσιν οὔσης τῆς αἰτίας τῆς κινούσης πρώτης—ᾗ ὁ λόγος ὑπάρχει καὶ τὸ εἶδος—τῆς ὕλης, βέλτιον καὶ τὸ κεχωρίσθαι τὸ κρεῖττον τοῦ χείρονος. διὰ τοῦτ᾽ ἐν ὅσοις ἐνδέχεται καὶ καθ᾽ ὅσον ἐνδέχεται κεχώρισται τοῦ θήλεος τὸ ἄρρεν· βέλτιον γὰρ καὶ διὰ τοῦτ᾽ ἐν ὅσοις ἐνδέχεται καὶ καθ᾽ ὅσον ἐνδέχεται κεχώρισται τοῦ θήλεος τὸ ἄρρεν. Translation of D. Balme (1972): "It will surely be for the sake of generation that the male and female are present in the individuals which are male and female. And as the proximate motive cause, to which belong the logos and the form, it is better and more divine in its nature than the matter, it is better also that the superior one should

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

This association between the philosophical concept of *hylomorphism*, the procreation of animals, and the urban synthesis that arose from the Roman expansion in the Hellenised East, is creative. It is also complicated. In accordance with Byzantine tradition, Metochites considered Aristotle to be the authority in natural philosophy,[37] and this passage builds on Aristotelian ideas of the female and male principles. Even George Gemistos Plethon, who instigated the debate about the primacy of Plato over Aristotle in the Renaissance, conceded that the latter was knowledgeable about and wrote extensively concerning seeds, embryos, and oysters but failed to hold a correct view of more sublime and important concepts.[38]

In this passage, Metochites likened the Hellenic lands to the matter that the female animal provides as nourishment for the offspring, an Aristotelian formulation. Thus, the Hellenic lands are the passive component, generous and hospitable, and its union with the Roman generative force resulted in the unique creation of the city. Elsewhere, Metochites wrote that the object of natural science was inherently unstable and matter had no health in contrast to the stability of mathematical objects.[39] Just as in the biological context, it is the seed of the male animal which is the organising principle according to Aristotle, so, in the case of Byzantion, it is Roman power and fortune that builds the city from the raw materials and unstable matter that the land provides. In the following paragraph, Metochites singles out some of this raw material, such as the marble quarries on the island of Proconnesus (Marmara Island).[40] Indeed, Proconnesian marble was extensively used in the Hagia Sophia, for some of the imperial sarcophagi in the Church of the Holy Apostles, and in numerous other structures that Metochites described and could see with his own eyes.[41] In the next section on the walls, the encomiast further comments on the instability of nature and the effects of time that, however, do not affect Byzantion on account of the Christian faith of her inhabitants which

---

be separate from the inferior one. That is why wherever possible and so far as possible the male is separate from the female, since it is something better and more divine in that it is the principle of kinesis for generated things". For an extended study of Aristotle's understanding of the role of the female animal in generation, see Connell (2016).

37 Theodore Metochites (2002: 116–17), translated by Hult: "But to compare them (previous philosophers) in general with Aristotle's contribution (to natural philosophy)—who would be so openly mad as to presume to suggest it? […] But his writings we consider it worth everything to know […]".

38 Plethon (1988), sections 4–5 and section 21.

39 Metochites (2002: 202–03); Metochites (2006: 4–5); Metochites (2017: 202).

40 Metochites (2003: 88–89); Metochites (2013: 264–65).

41 There is extensive literature on the topography of Constantinople, the Church of the Holy Apostles, and the imperial sarcophagi more specifically: Berger (2000); Dagron (1974); Downey (1959b); Epstein (1982); Mango (1990); Müller-Wiener (1977).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

periodically restores the city up to the time of Metochites.[42] In an essay elsewhere on the Greeks, Metochites was explicit in claiming that the contemporary Byzantines were the successors to the ancient Hellenes, being of the same race and sharing the same language.[43] However, Constantinople's superiority to all other cities relies more on Roman rule and Christian religion than ethnicity in *Byzantios*.

5 The Historical Framework for Chrysoloras's *Comparison of Old and New Rome*

In the early fifteenth-century encomiastic compositions, one finds that some Byzantine intellectuals provide a different account of Constantinople's Hellenic identity than Metochites. A close reading of Manuel Chrysoloras's *Comparison of Old and New Rome*, sent as a letter to Manuel II (r. 1391–1425) from Rome in 1411, illustrates that this author ascribed more importance to the Hellenic heritage than Metochites did. Surely, the political situation was drastically different from that of the late thirteenth century and the imperial connotations of being Roman were being reevaluated at this time. In the 1290s, Metochites had praised Andronicus II for courageously applying himself "to the preservation of [his] Hellenes"[44] and had referred to the emperor's fortification of the frontier towns and towers, his two expeditions along the outlet of the Sangarius river into the Euxine, to the limits of Bithynia, along the southern mountain range of Mysia towards Mount Olympus, to Phrygia, stretching to Lydia, and along the north of Ionia towards the Aegean.[45] As Metochites himself would later lament, all this land along with the principal towns of Prousa, Nicaea, and Nicomedia were lost to the Ottomans and

42 Metochites (2003: 89–90); Metochites (2013: 264–67). When Bertrandon de La Broquière travelled to Constantinople in 1432, he noted the strength of the walls which had resisted the Ottoman sultan Bayezid's siege and also commented on the remarkable ruins of the ancient palaces. See La Broquière (1892: 151). During Metochites's time, Michael VIII and Andronicus II had repaired the walls and rebuilt the Blachernae palace after the reconquest from the Latins. See Talbot (1993); Matschke (2001).

43 Metochites (1996: 38–41).

44 Metochites (2007), Oration 2, section 8, line 51. The reference to the inhabitants of these regions as Hellenes rather than Romans may be due to the fact that they were no longer under secure Byzantine rule but were mainly identified according to ethnic, linguistic, and religious criteria.

45 Metochites (2007), Oration 2, section 13, with Laiou (1972: 77–9). See also Angelov (2007: 169–72). For the dating and a discussion of Andronicus II's expedition, now see Korobeinikov (2014: 257–61).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

other Turkic principalities by the middle of the fourteenth century.[46] *Ghazis*, religiously motivated raiders, had secured the strategic Hellespont and had crossed over into Thrace, and successive civil wars among the Byzantines had weakened their ability to respond to military threats. By the end of the fourteenth century, the Ottomans became permanently established in the Balkans, defeating the Serbs in 1389 and the Crusader army at the Battle of Nicopolis in 1396. The Byzantines were given some breathing space, however, when Timur (r. 1370–1405) captured the Ottoman sultan Bayezid I (r. 1389–1402) at the Battle of Ankara in 1402, which led to the Ottoman civil war (1402–1413). Timur's march into Anatolia and military success not only lifted the eight-year-long Ottoman siege of Constantinople,[47] but also allowed the Byzantines to momentarily regain Thessalonike, the second most important city of the empire.[48] The religious framework had also significantly changed. From the latter part of the fourteenth century and starting with the rule of John V Palaeologus (r. 1341–1391), the Byzantines sought western military aid against the Ottomans and made attempts to end the schism in return. However, these attempts were frustrated by popular anti-unionist and anti-Latin sentiment in the capital.[49]

In that political and religious context, Chrysoloras was sent on numerous diplomatic missions to Venice, Milan, Genoa, Paris, London, Salisbury, Barcelona, Bologna, Rome, and Florence in order to garner western aid against the Ottomans. He carried out these missions from the last decade of the fourteenth century until his death in 1415. At the invitation of the Florentine Republic, Chrysoloras also famously taught Greek in Florence from 1397 until 1400. He was one of the first to teach the classical language in the West since the early Middle Ages and was the author of the first textbook of Greek grammar for a Latin audience by a Greek.[50] Chrysoloras's literary output is meager in contrast to his lasting influence on Renaissance humanism as Greek teacher to the likes of Leonardo Bruni, Guarino of Verona, and Pier Paolo Vergerio. Bruni himself had boasted that Chrysoloras introduced Greek letters to Italy after a hiatus of seven hundred years.[51]

Chrysoloras's *Comparison*, an ecphrastic encomium of the two cities,[52] was composed some years after he had converted to Catholicism and declared

46 Metochites (2016: 71–75).
47 Necipoğlu (1995).
48 Dennis (1982); Barker (2003); Necipoğlu (2009: 84–102).
49 Kolbaba (2000).
50 Ciccolella (2008: *passim*).
51 Bruni (1928: 125–28); Wilson (2017: 13).
52 Rollo (1999). Extant correspondence of Guarino and Aragazzi as well as some early manuscript evidence concerning the original title indicate that the composition was not

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

a formal interest in becoming a Catholic priest circa 1406.[53] A strong advocate for Church union, Chrysoloras was attending the Council of Constance (1414–1418) to resolve the schism at the time of his death.[54] His composition is divided into two parts, one on ancient and contemporary Rome and the other on Constantinople. The author presents Constantinople as having been founded on the archetype of Rome, similar to the ways in which a daughter resembles her mother. As such, Constantinople surpasses the metropolis, Rome, in beauty. However, Chrysoloras's presentation of the two cities and the acknowledged superiority of Constantinople subvert established Byzantine notions of the primacy of the reigning city, a stance that should be understood in the context of his conversion and long residence in the West, as well as the intended audience of the text and its purpose. As I will argue below, Chrysoloras elaborated the similarities between the two cities to go beyond the schism between the two Churches and to find common ground between the Latins and the Byzantines in order to defend Constantinople against the Ottomans.

6 The Shared Late Antique Heritage: Hellenes in Rome and in Constantinople

Chrysoloras's well-developed Hellenism in the *Comparison*, as well as in his recently identified encomiastic letter to Manuel II, has rightly attracted scholars' attention.[55] In the *Comparison*, the author makes manifest at the outset his vision for a shared late antique past for both cities. Quoting Libanius and referring to John Chrysostom's praise of Rome in the opening paragraphs, Chrysoloras reorients his readers to view Rome through a Hellenic lens. He emphasises that both Latin and Greek languages were used to describe the city at that earlier time. Importantly, Chrysoloras also links these late antique Hellenic visitors in Rome to the fifteenth-century Byzantines, calling the former "our own".[56] He

designed to be a comparison in the strict sense but rather encomia of the two cities. As such, the juxtaposition of Constantinople and Rome does not call for an overall comparative evaluation of their worth.

53 Thorn-Wickert (2006: 69–71). Similar to Manuel Chrysoloras, the fourteenth-century diplomat-scholar Demetrios Kydones had also converted to Catholicism during his residence in the West. On this, see Barker (2009).

54 Thorn-Wickert (2006: 108).

55 Chrysoloras's recently discovered "Epistolary Discourse" was written as a response to Manuel II's *Funeral Oration on his Brother Theodore*, which the emperor had circulated among his circle. See Chrysoloras (2001).

56 Chrysoloras (2000: 6): Καίτοι εἴρηται μὲν ἀληθῶς μέγιστα περὶ αὐτῆς οὐ μόνον παρὰ τῶν τῇ πατρίῳ φωνῇ τούτων συγγεγραφότων, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων […] ("And truly great

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

elaborates the same motif when discussing Roman appreciation for Hellenic culture and art, writing that many of "our Hellenes" were in great vogue in classical Rome.[57] In later pages, Chrysoloras admires the wealth of sculptural and pictorial representations of ancient Greek heroes and myths in Rome that had been crafted by the most famous classical Greek artists.[58] He also hints that the fifteenth-century Byzantines are familiar with these Greek myths and artists through the literary tradition, while contemporary Rome presents visual, and thus more convincing, evidence of the ancient Hellenic past.

Chrysoloras's representation of Constantinople in the *Comparison* is similarly structured in its discussion of the interrelation between the Romans and the Hellenes. Regarding the foundation of Constantinople, he wrote:

> Δύο γὰρ τὰ δυνατώτατα καὶ φρονιμώτατα ἔθνη, τὸ μὲν τότε ἄρχον, τὸ δὲ εὐθὺς ἄρξαν πρὸ ἐκείνου, καὶ πάσῃ τέχνῃ καὶ φιλοτιμίᾳ καὶ ἁβρότητι κομῶντα, Ῥωμαῖοι τὲ καὶ Ἕλληνες, συνελθόντα ταύτην πεποιήκασι.
>
> The Romans and the Hellenes, the two most powerful and prudent peoples, flourishing in every skill, honour, and splendor, coming together made this [city]. [The Romans] were ruling then, while the other nation [= the Hellenes] ruled immediately before that time.[59]

The contrast with Metochites is striking. In an essay on the ancient Greeks, Metochites had remarked that the ancient Athenians, Spartans, Thebans, the rulers and citizens of other Greek cities were humble people compared to Augustus, Trajan, Constantine, or Theodosius. Their memory had been preserved, he argued, not on account of their might and preeminence but due to the abiding influence of the Greek historians and the Greek language more generally.[60] According to Chrysoloras, on the other hand, the Hellenes are no longer the passive component, providing the raw materials for building Constantinople, nor only a cultural entity but rather one of the two most powerful peoples to have ruled over the world.

---

things were said about Rome not only by those people writing in their native language but also by our own people […]"). Cf. Smith (1992: 199).

57 Chrysoloras (2000: 8); Smith (1992: 201).

58 Chrysoloras (2000: 10); Smith (1992: 202).

59 Chrysoloras (2000: 17). See also Smith (1992: 208).

60 Metochites (1996: 34–41).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

7 Common Motifs in Metochites and Chrysoloras: a Continuous Intellectual Tradition?

In my view, Chrysoloras's reinterpretation is all the more significant because parallel reading of the two encomia indicates that Chrysoloras was familiar with *Byzantios*.[61] Both encomiasts refer to the Hellenes as taking part in the establishment of the capital, in contrast to pre-1204 civic representations. There are also numerous shared topoi in both encomia: the city is situated on both continents, Europe and Asia; it is both an island and mainland; it binds together both continents and both seas like a chain; the city's beauty, great size, and antiquity; the transience of time. Importantly, both compositions share some original motifs.

According to Metochites, Constantinople (and also Rome and Memphis, according to Chrysoloras) relies on itself for building materials, using the decaying and dilapidated remains to build afresh, similar to the ways in which nature is in a continuous process of ceasing and coming to be (Fig. 6.2). Just as in nature, the city feeds on the matter of the dying and is always alive and new.[62] This is similar to the metaphor of procreation in discussing the foundation of the city. In fact, metaphors drawn from philosophy of nature abound in Metochites's thinking on human affairs.[63] Chrysoloras's immediate juxtaposition of the same two motifs in one brief sentence (i.e. that the city is a quarry for itself and that the city both nourishes and consumes itself) strongly suggests his familiarity with Metochites.[64]

Metochites remarked that time ravages and destroys but that one is able to calculate and to measure by comparison the great size of the original

61 This has been previously proposed by Magdalino (2012: 112). I point to some additional motifs that were used in both encomia in support of that argument.

62 Metochites (2003: 105–06); Metochites (2013: 310–15). See also Chrysoloras (2000: 7, 8).

63 Polemis (2008: 241–46). According to Metochites, the city, being continuously regenerated, imitated the perpetual circulation of the waters, another Aristotelian analogy. Metochites (2003: 121); Metochites (2013: 350–53): ὥσπερ τις καρδία τὸ καιριώτατον αὐτοῦ μέρος καὶ πρῶτον καὶ ζωῆς ἀφορμὴ καὶ πρώτη πηγὴ τῷ τε παντὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι μέρεσιν εὖ πεφυκυῖα καὶ προσήκουσα λαμπρῶς […] ("Just as some heart, the Hagia Sophia is the most crucial part of the city, the most important, the origin of life, the chief fount to all, properly begetting all other parts, and brilliantly present […]"). Laskaris (2000: l. 314); Foss (1996: 150–51). Theodore Laskaris had used the metaphor of veins, arteries, heart, and disease to understand the role Nicaea played in the aftermath of 1204.

64 Chrysoloras (2000: 8); Smith (1992: 200). Cf. Downey (1959a: 677). The late antique encomiast Libanius mentions the use of ancient building materials in new constructions. However, the metaphor of nature is missing in his famous encomium on Antioch.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

FIGURE 6.2 Maritime gate built with spolia, Istanbul. The reused materials include sixth-century marble slabs with foliation and frieze with Justinian I's monogram

constructions by examining what remains and their parts.[65] He also reflects on the transience of time and power. These remains indicate the strength of their creation and skill and similar to a ship that survives rough waters, they resist the tyranny of time.[66] According to Metochites, they also resist the malice of the apostate enemies, alluding to the physical destruction of Constantinople

65 Metochites (2003: 94); Metochites (2013: 280–83). Metochites used two proverbs to illustrate his point: "to know the lion by the claws", that is a slight but characteristic mark shows its nature; "the beauty of the clothing is indicated by its hem".

66 Metochites (2003: 95); Metochites (2013: 282–83).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

during the Latin occupation.[67] Chrysoloras, too, refers to the nature of time and human violence, without mentioning the Fourth Crusade and uses a similar method in his discussion of Roman antiquities:

> Κέκμηκε δέ, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἐν πᾶσι· φαίνεται δὲ ὅμως καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἐρρειπίοις καὶ κολωνοῖς, οἵα ἐξαρχῆς γέγονε, καὶ τὸ τῶν οἰκοδομιῶν μέγεθος καὶ κάλλος. Τί γὰρ οὐκ ἦν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ καλόν; Καὶ οὐ μόνον συγκείμενα καὶ συνεστηκότα ἦν ἄρα καλά, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαιρεθέντα καλὰ φαίνεται.
>
> Nonetheless, the original constructions and the size and beauty of the edifices are shown even in these ruins and heaps of stones. For what was not beautiful in Rome? Not only were the composition and construction beautiful, the parts also appear to be beautiful.[68]

Christine Smith has analysed the encomium in the context of the Italian Renaissance. According to Smith, it was not until the 1470s that Chrysoloras's method of deducing the whole from an extant part would begin to be applied in the Western tradition to descriptions of ruins.[69] Chrysoloras's encomium heavily relies on Byzantine tradition, weaving together meaning and aesthetics in describing the physical structures of Rome.[70] Metochites's encomium illustrates that Chrysoloras was deploying the tools of an earlier Byzantine tradition, the rhetorical methods of which gradually blended with the Italian Renaissance.[71]

Metochites's and Chrysoloras's similar comments on the epistemic value of these ruins also show engagement with a thoroughly Byzantine tradition—an interest in inscriptions—within the novel setting of the city encomium.[72] According to Metochites, the monuments in Constantinople (the churches, stoas, roads, statues, stela, and many others) provide knowledge, understanding, and remembrance of ancient peoples (Fig. 6.3). Through inscriptions or merely through the visual representations, one can infer the way things

67 The Byzantine historiographical sources, in particular Niketas Choniates and Nikephoras Gregoras, treat in detail the ways in which Constantinople was looted and damaged during 1204 and its aftermath. For an alternative reading of this period based on the Latin sources, see Jacoby (2001).

68 Chrysoloras (2000: 8). See also Smith (1992: 200–01).

69 Smith (1992: 158).

70 Webb (2012).

71 Hyde (1966). Hyde considers Bruni's "Encomium of Florence" (*c.*1403–1404) to be one of the first examples of a city encomium that was "inspired by the humanist ideals of rhetoric".

72 Lauxtermann (2003); Mango (1951).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

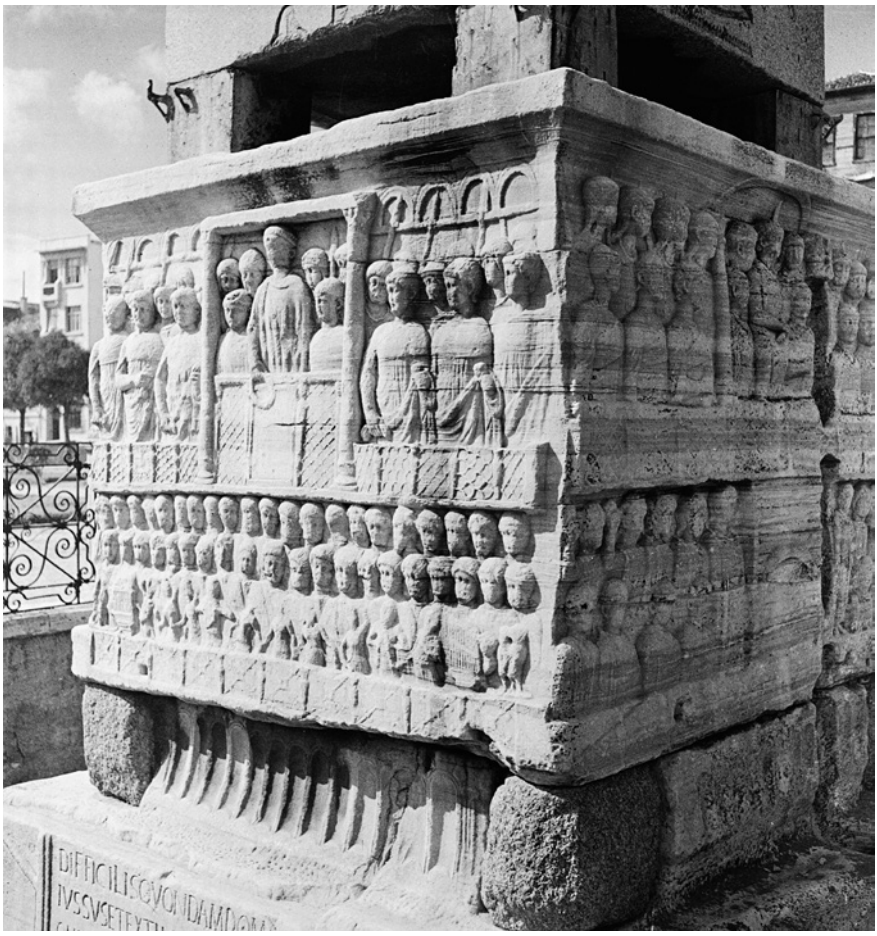


FIGURE 6.3 Marble pedestal of the Obelisk of Theodosius, Istanbul. The fourth-century bas-reliefs depict Theodosius I, courtiers, senators, musicians, dancers, and spectators attending the chariot races in the hippodrome of Constantinople.

were. Seeing these things, albeit much later than when they happened, offers instruction for the mind. They are a treasure of knowledge.[73] Elsewhere, Metochites had remarked that visual artists could acquire immortality through their works, citing "our Eulalios" (12th cent.) alongside ancient sculptors and painters.[74] Chrysoloras elaborates on the same theme in the context of Rome rather than Constantinople. He comments in detail on the ways in which the inscriptions and the visual representations allow the viewer to imagine with

73 Metochites (2003: 121–23); Metochites (2013: 352–57).
74 Ševčenko (1975: 50–51).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

accuracy wars, triumphs, different ethnicities, and the ways in which people dressed, studied, worked, and exercised in the past. They allow us to see with our own eyes all that happened.[75] The evocative nature of image and inscription, their potent ability to impress themselves upon the mind and to bring alive the represented, have been extensively studied by scholars of Byzantine literature.[76] The historical value of visual and verbal representation, the ancient past that is embedded in a radically different present through these depictions, the ways in which the images and inscriptions redirect the contemporary gaze into that past, these are not motifs that one comes across in classical and late antique city encomia.[77] Metochites and Chrysoloras employ these ideas in a genre heavily indebted to that classical tradition.[78] They also share a fascination with the antiquity of physical space and a consciousness of its alterity that only became part of the Byzantine intellectual discourse in the Nicene and Palaeologan periods.[79]

The final piece of evidence that corroborates Chrysoloras's familiarity with *Byzantios* is a peculiar phrase that both authors employ to describe Constantinople's aqueducts, the remains of which are still impressive in the modern city (Fig. 6.4). Metochites and Chrysoloras refer to these structures as "rivers in the sky", borrowing the phrase from Gregory of Nazianzus's fourth-century oration against the Arians.[80] Interestingly, this phrase was concocted not by Gregory himself but by the Arians against whom he was writing.[81] It was

75 Chrysoloras (2000: 9); Smith (1992: 201–02).

76 Mango (1963: 55–75); Nelson (2000); Nelson (2007); Papalexandrou (2001).

77 In Constantine of Rhodes's tenth-century poem, the author briefly mentions that it is possible to narrate the historical details of the monuments in Constantinople but proceeds to praise Justinian's Hagia Sophia by collapsing time. See Constantine of Rhodes (2012: 42–45).

78 Chrysoloras explicitly mentions Libanius's oration of Antioch. Metochites's encomium also shows numerous parallels with that of Libanius. However, even as Libanius accounts for the classical, Hellenistic, and Roman periods of Antioch and makes a distinction between the old and the new city, his approach to the past was not historicising. See Downey (1959a).

79 Mango (1986: 245). Theodore II Laskaris in his letter to George Akropolites concerning Pergamon reveals a similar attitude towards antiquity: "Pergamon is full of monuments, grown old, as it were. And decrepit with age, showing as through a glass their former splendor and the nobility of those who built them. For these things are filled with Hellenic elevation of thought and constitute the image of that wisdom" (transl. by Cyril Mango).

80 Metochites (2003: 98); Metochites (2013: 290–91); Chrysoloras (2000: 19); Smith (1992: 209). Metochites and Chrysoloras use slightly different expressions. Metochites refers to these structures as ποταμοὺς ἀεροδρομοῦντας while Chrysoloras uses the term ἀερίους ποταμούς. Billo remarks that Chrysoloras directly quoted from Gregory of Nazianzus.

81 Gregory of Nazianzus (1985).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

FIGURE 6.4 Aqueduct of Valens, Istanbul

part of an Arian invective against Gregory that he then quoted and preserved in the oration. The Arian invective presents Nazianzus as a country bumpkin while extolling the wonders of Constantinople, among which are the "rivers in the sky".[82]

Further, recent codicological research has uncovered the scholarly links between Metochites and Chrysoloras. It turns out Chrysoloras held in his possession a considerable number of the manuscripts that Metochites had collected

82 Metochites had studied Gregory of Nazianzus in depth, devoting a portion of a poem as well as an oration to the theologian. The oration is also included in the same codex as *Byzantios*. Both works praise the theologian's secular learning alongside his devout faith. See Metochites (2015) and Ševčenko (1996).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

and deposited in the Chora Monastery in Constantinople. Chrysoloras inserted bilingual titles on these manuscripts in Greek and Latin.[83] He also owned a manuscript of Metochites's astronomy text and this is one of only two manuscripts which Chrysoloras identified with a contemporary author: σύνταξις τοῦ μεγάλου λογοθέτου. All other manuscripts have titles that refer to ancient authors, making clear that Chrysoloras held Metochites in high esteem.[84] Although, MS Vindob. Phil. Gr. 95 in the Austrian National Library, the unique codex that contains *Byzantios* and all of Metochites's other orations, was not among the manuscripts that Chrysoloras owned, these findings nevertheless indicate that Chrysoloras must have made extensive use of Metochites's library and was knowledgeable about Metochites's compositions. Given these strong indications that Chrysoloras was familiar with *Byzantios*, the fact that Chrysoloras's representation of Constantinople significantly parts ways with that of Metochites is all the more remarkable.

8 Subverting Byzantine Tradition: Constantinople Desacralised

Chrysoloras's exposition on Constantinople is conspicuous for its omission of Christian motifs. While the author refers to Constantine as the founder of the city, he does not mention Constantine's conversion or the establishment of Constantinople as Christian Roman capital.[85] Chrysoloras writes that the new capital was chosen with a view to future rule by the Romans but he does not acknowledge the religious superiority of the new capital over the old, a well-worn Byzantine theme. Chrysoloras's praise of Constantinople is mainly concerned with the city's geography, Roman identity, and architectural marvels, among which the Hagia Sophia has pride of place. In a brief section, Chrysoloras mentions that the civic monuments were built by god-fearing men for the Saviour only to immediately change course: "But let me leave these alone".[86] Throughout his encomium, Chrysoloras does not substan-

83 Zorzi (2002) and Rollo (2002). Zorzi and Rollo have identified twenty-nine manuscripts that Chrysoloras owned that earlier belonged to the Chora Monastery library. See also Thorn-Wickert (2006: 149–58).

84 Zorzi (2002: 108). While the Greek title refers to Metochites, the Latin title is generic: *Almagesti epitome*. The only other near-contemporary author is Ockham and his work on logic. On this, see Förstel (2011).

85 This significant omission would later be replicated by Bessarion and Laonikos Chalkokondyles. See Akışık (2011: 14–15).

86 Chrysoloras (2000: 18): Καὶ εἰ τοῖς δαιμονίοις παρὰ τῶν ἐκείνοις δουλευόντων δεδόμηται καὶ προσήνεκται τοιαῦτα, τίνα ἔδει τῷ Σωτῆρι χαριστήρια τῆς ἀπ' ἐκείνων ἀπαλλαγῆς προσενεχθῆναι; Ἀλλ' ἐῶ ταῦτα ("And if such great buildings were built and offered to evil

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

tially engage with the Christian beliefs of Constantinople's citizens, past or present.

In contrast, Metochites had devoted more than one fifth of his encomium to themes concerned with piety, true belief, God's providence, the establishment of Christianity in the Roman empire through the founding of Constantinople, and the city's transformative role in the history of Christianity as apostolic see. In one of the earliest sections, Metochites rhetorically asks what one could say about the holy Constantine, who established Christian prosperity, and advance, the freedom to practice Christian dogma, and to whom all Christians owe deep gratitude.[87] Metochites's encomium was partly conceived as an answer to that question at a time when the Constantinian past provided propaganda material against the Latins.

Above all, Chrysoloras almost strips Constantinople of its Christian identity and the metaphysical importance of its founding. His detailed exposition on the founding of the city focuses on the prominence of the site, the plans of its founders for future imperial rule, the abundance of natural resources, the city's beauty, and the ways in which it improved upon the archetype of Rome. In contrast, Metochites writes that while many cities have been founded by men, the site of Constantinople alone was chosen by God, who sent divine signs to the founders at a time when the Roman empire extended from Britannia to Libya to the Euphrates river and to Arabia.

Both Metochites and Chrysoloras single out the Church of Hagia Sophia as the most important Constantinopolitan monument and describe it at length. However, while Chrysoloras briefly declares that the Hagia Sophia is not the work of human wisdom,[88] he focuses on its physical properties such as the building materials, its gates, pavements, and ornaments, the feat of engineering that is displayed in the construction of the dome, and the extraordinary technical skills of the architects.[89] Both authors similarly remark that the monument can only be apprehended in silence, but it is Metochites who devotes a whole section to the ways in which the church is constructed by the hand of God and through divine providence.[90] According to Metochites, "it is the

spirits by the ones who serve those spirits, what sort of thank-offerings should be presented to the Saviour who delivered us from the spirits? But enough of these matters"). Cf. Smith (1992: 208–09).

87 Metochites (2003: 32); Metochites (2013: 114–15): Τί τις ἐνταῦθα λέγειν ἔχοι περὶ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ θείου, ᾧ καὶ τῆς χριστιανικῆς αὐτῆς εὐετηρίας καὶ παῤῥησίας καὶ προκοπῆς καὶ βασιλικῆς.

88 Chrysoloras (2000: 22): ἔστι γὰρ ὄντως οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνης σοφίας ἔργον ("For it is truly not the work of human wisdom"). See also Smith (1992: 212).

89 Chrysoloras (2000: 22–23); Smith (1992: 212).

90 Metochites (2003: 119–210); Metochites (2013: 346–57).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

likeness of heaven on earth, the stage of God, the house of light, and the vehicle of belief in God".[91] Hagia Sophia's cosmological significance had been continuously elaborated since the time of Emperor Justinian (r. 527–565).[92] Further, the most important late-Byzantine ceremonial event, the new emperor's profession of faith and the coronation, took place in the Great Church. Symeon of Thessalonike (d. 1429) argued that the emperor's subsequent anointment by the patriarch in the Hagia Sophia was a reenactment of Christ's own anointment, thus emphasizing that the imperial office derived its authority from Christ.[93]

A comparison of Chrysoloras's presentation of contemporary Rome with his depiction of Constantinople makes it clear that the author was not motivated by antiquarianism in his focus on the past and on secular themes at the expense of Christianity. Chrysoloras's sections on contemporary Rome start out with the observation that the present city is indeed a part of heaven, and much more so than the ancient city. Christian Rome's piety, its vitality, the plethora of shrines and pilgrims from all over the world, and the apostolic succession are elaborated in great detail. According to Chrysoloras, great wealth and power distinguish Christian Rome, while the popes possess ecumenical religious and judicial authority as successors to the apostles.[94] In fact, Chrysoloras transposes Metochites's observations concerning late antique Constantinople to Rome, writing that the Roman empire's ancient greatness paved the way for contemporary Rome's religious dominion over the entire world.[95]

91 Metochites (2003: 121); Metochites (2013: 350–51): οὐράνιον ἐπὶ γῆς εἴκασμα καὶ Θεοῦ σκηνὴ καὶ φωτὸς οἶκος καὶ δόξης ὄχημα θεοῦ.

92 Macrides & Magdalino (1988). It is also noteworthy that both Metochites and Chrysoloras make veiled references to the sixth-century author Paul the Silentiary's works on the Hagia Sophia and Constantinople.

93 Macrides, Munitiz & Angelov (2013: 210–31); Dagron (2003: 240–47); Angelov (2007: 384–92). The anointment was an early medieval western practice that was only introduced into Byzantium after 1204, according to Dagron and Angelov.

94 Chrysoloras (2000: 10–14); Smith (1992: 203–05). Chrysoloras's representation of Rome shows familiarity with the *Mirabilia*-genre and Western medieval traditions of describing relics and pilgrimage sites. See Benson (2009).

95 Chrysoloras (2000: 12): Καὶ ἔγωγε οἶμαι καὶ ἐκεῖνα πάντα, καὶ τὴν τῆς Ῥώμης ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων μοναρχίαν καὶ ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν ὑπακοὴν διὰ ταῦτα γεγονέναι, ἵνα ταῦτα ἀκολουθήσῃ. Smith (1992: 204).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

9 Chrysoloras's Audience: Manuel II and the Italians

Chrysoloras's Hellenism should be evaluated in tandem with his presentation of Constantinople's Roman identity. The general intended audience of this encomium also has important bearing on these issues.[96] While ostensibly addressed to the Byzantine emperor Manuel II,[97] the encomium was immediately circulated among Chrysoloras's Italian colleagues and students, including Palla Strozzi, Guarino of Verona, and Bartolomeo Aragazzi. Francesco Aleardi, who had close ties to Guarino and was possibly his student, translated it into Latin one year after the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans. In the first dedicatory copy, Aleardi urged Francesco Sforza to take up arms against Mehmed II (r. 1444–1446, 1451–1481).[98] Thus Chrysoloras's reticence concerning Byzantine Christianity would have met the expectations of his Italian readers rather than conforming to the profound religiosity of Manuel II.[99] In fact, there is reason to believe that Chrysoloras composed the encomium in support of his diplomatic mission to raise Western aid against the Ottomans by drawing attention to the historical associations between Rome and Constantinople as well as to the classical and late antique literary and philosophical heritage that both cities shared. Chrysoloras's closing remarks to Manuel II, in which he states that he will continue working on behalf of Constantinople and her salvation, point in that direction.[100] The letter that Chrysoloras sent to his student Guarino of Verona in 1412, is also suggestive: the author remarks that Guarino will share

96 Smith (1992: 150–53).

97 Manuel Chrysoloras's vision does not agree with that of Manuel II. The emperor, too, had travelled in the West to raise military aid. Manuel II had emphasised the common bond of Christianity between the two worlds and granted relics from Constantinople to King Martin I of Aragon, King Charles III of Navarre, John I of Portugal, Queen Margaret of Denmark, and to Pope Boniface IX. Dennis notes that Manuel II was also in communication with the Avignon Pope Benedict XIII during his trip to Paris in 1400. See Barker (1969: 407–408, 511–512); Dennis (1982); Mergiali-Sahas (2016). In my opinion, Chrysoloras's brief remarks on the holy remains in the city and their dispersion abroad as if from one common sacred fount, alludes to Manuel II's relic diplomacy. Chrysoloras was himself entrusted with some of these relics during his mission to Spain and thus included this uncharacteristic passage on the city's Christian heritage. Chrysoloras (2000: 24), with Barker (1969: 265).

98 Niutta (2002).

99 Manuel II's early fifteenth-century funeral oration for his brother does not deviate from Metochites's representation of Constantinople: Constantine the Great is moved by God to find the city as Christian Roman capital. Thus, it is testimony for the resilience of this late antique and medieval formulation. Manuel II Palaeologus (1985: 82–83).

100 Chrysoloras (2000: 26); Smith (1992: 214–15).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

the encomium with other like-minded people, reading it aloud, and answering questions as if they were posed to the author himself.[101] In Chrysoloras's encomium, Constantinople's Hellenic identity does not vie with the city's Roman heritage; rather both are part of a classicising discourse designed to appeal to the Hellenising interests of Chrysoloras's Italian colleagues and to support his diplomatic mission.

10 By Way of Conclusion: Isidore of Kiev

For a thousand years Constantinople was perceived as the radiating epicenter of a Christian cultural and political universe. In the Byzantine imagination, its founding played a central role in God's plan for humanity. Chrysoloras's departure from that vision was no doubt influenced by his exposure to the West and his conversion to Catholicism. Isidore's encomium addressed to John VIII in 1429, before his relocation to the West, illustrates that this medieval formula was also being reworked in the close-knit Palaeologan intellectual world—importantly among the intellectuals associated with Plethon's Mistra circle.[102]

Plethon's Hellenism and its teleological implications for early modern Greek nationalism have attracted much scholarly attention.[103] While Plethon mainly focused on the Peloponnese in developing a Hellenic identity based on descent, language, and hereditary education, Isidore weaved together praise of Constantinople, Hellenic, Roman, and Christian themes, contemporary events, with a Peloponnesian strand in the encomium.[104] His extensive narrative on

101 Guarino of Verona (1915–1919: I, 26): ἄλλωσθ᾽ ὅτι γε ἥδειν οὐ σοὶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ χρηστῷ καὶ γενναίῳ Πάλλαντι διὰ τῆς πολυλογίας ταύτης χαριούμενος. ὃν οἶδα ὅτι κοινωνὸν πάντως τῆς τούτων ἀναγνώσεως παραλήψῃ, τοῖς ἴσοις καὶ ὁμοίοις ἀμειβόμενος, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἥδη σὲ τῆς τῶν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἐμὲ ζητημάτων ἄλλων ἐπιλύσεως […] ("Besides I had known I will be obliged not only to you but also to worthy and noble Palla Strozzi on account of this piece of loquacious writing. I know that he will be a companion especially when you will take upon yourself a public reading of these words, answering the questions of equal and like peers just as I would have given the solution to questions that were posed to me by others, you will [give answers] […]") In 1403, Guarino moved to Constantinople to study Greek and stayed in the capital until 1408. Guarino was familiar enough with Manuel II for the emperor to send the Italian his *Funeral Oration* in 1417, asking him to circulate and translate the composition. Chrysoloras's and Manuel II's similar requests reveal that the Byzantines relied on Guarino to champion their case in Italy. See Dennis (1997: 167–69); Wilson (2017: 42–47).

102 Isidore (1926: 132–99).

103 Bargeliotes (1973); Peritore (1977); Vryonis (1991); Shawcross (2013).

104 Isidore blurred the lines between epideictic literature and historiography and between their respective claims on the ideal and truth, by introducing lengthy and specific

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Constantinople, which deviates from the genre of imperial oration, has led Oliver Schmitt to refer to Isidore as the last encomiast of Constantinople.[105]

Isidore commences the encomium with the *patris*, referring to it as not merely any city but "the queen of all the cities of the inhabited world", thus using similar language to Metochites.[106] Isidore devotes great attention to Constantinople's Christian identity, geography, climate, monuments, and compares it to other ancient cities.[107] Regarding the city's foundation, Isidore invokes a distant and mythic past, telling the story of the legendary king Byzas, a Hellenic man descended from the Heraklids who were celebrated for their justice, bravery, and wisdom.[108] Metochites had written that the city's first inhabitants were Dorians.[109] Isidore toys with the same idea:

> Οἰκήτορες αὐτῷ πάντες Ἕλληνες πολλοὶ καὶ καλοὶ καὶ γενναῖοι καὶ τοῦ πρώτου γένους τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Δωριεῖς γὰρ ἀπὸ Δώρου καταγόμενοι τοῦ Ἕλληνος.
>
> The numerous, good, and noble colonists with Byzas were all Hellenes, belonging to the first race of the Hellenes. For the Dorians were descendants from Dorus, son of Hellen.[110]

Developing and amplifying the Hellenic element that was already found in Metochites's encomium and that had been subverted by Chrysoloras, Isidore's evaluation is a harbinger of Laonikos Chalkokondyles. Making no qualitative distinction between the Hellenic and Christian Roman past, Isidore's

---

discussion of contemporary events into the encomium. Drawing attention to Isidore's reworking of the genre, Schmitt has written that the composition in its careful selection of wars, sieges, dates, and the political climate, is one of the most important historical sources for the events discussed. See Schmitt (1998).

105 Schmitt (1998: 220).

106 Isidore (1926: 136): ἡ βασιλὶς τῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης πασῶν μητροπόλεων.

107 The theme of geographical centrality or lack thereof, the extensive discussion of the three seas, the emphasis on the classical Greek historical narratives, and the inclusion of the pre-Christian Roman past in Isidore's composition are similar in tenor to Bessarion's encomium of his native Trebizond, composed *c.*1440. See Bessarion (1984); Akışık (2011); Lamers (2015: 92–132).

108 Isidore (1926: 149): Γέγονε τοίνυν οἰκιστὴς τὸ πρῶτον Βύζας ἐκεῖνος, Ἕλλην ἀνήρ, γένος τῶν ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους μέγα ὄνομα ἐπ' ἀρετῇ κεκοσμημένος τηνικαῦτα τῶν ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ἀνδρίᾳ καὶ σοφίᾳ ὑμνουμένων ("Moreover that Byzas has been the founder for the first time, a Hellenic man, belonging to the race of those descended from Hercules who had a great name for virtue. He was honoured at that time with praises for justice, bravery, and wisdom").

109 Metochites (2003: 78); Metochites (2013: 236–37): Βυζάντιοι, τἀρχαῖα Δωριεῖς γένος […] ("The Byzantines were Dorians, the ancient race").

110 Isidore (1926: 149).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

understanding of historical memory anticipates that of Laonikos. In Isidore, we also find a full blown version of Metochites's lukewarm foray into the city's classical Greek heritage. While Metochites had constructed a new identity for Constantinople after 1261, Isidore's paean on the eve of the city's fall to the Ottomans is a terminus point in its combination of Hellenic, Roman, and Christian themes.

Old ideas acquire new meaning in new settings. Metochites's, Chrysoloras's, Isidore's, and finally Laonikos Chalkokondyles's references to Constantinople's Hellenic identity on the surface bear resemblance and illustrate a continuous intellectual tradition but they also disguise deep structural transformations that occurred in the last phase of the city's existence as Roman capital.

Acknowledgements

The initial research for this paper was undertaken with the support of a Postdoctoral Scholar Grant from the Barakat Trust. I am grateful to Irini Pougounia for allowing me to use her doctoral dissertation, *Theodore Metochites: Byzantios or About the Imperial Megalopolis* (University of Oxford, 2003; see Metochites 2003). This paper would not have been possible without her doctoral work which provided the first edition of this influential and important encomium with extensive commentary. It is also fortunate that the encomium has since been re-edited and translated into modern Greek by Ioannis Polemis (2013). I extend thanks to Elizabeth Jeffreys and James Howard-Johnston for their corrections and valuable suggestions. All translations are mine unless otherwise stated.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

CHAPTER 7

Icons of Narratives: Greek-Venetian Artistic Interchange, Thirteenth–Fifteenth Centuries

Michele Bacci

The present paper aims to raise the question whether, and to what extent, some stylistic features and sets of forms came to be perceived as associated to traditions specific to distinctive linguistic or religious groups within the composite late medieval societies of the Eastern Mediterranean. In this, it lays emphasis on the ways in which those features were regarded as connected with image- or object-types trans-confessionally deemed to be particularly efficacious on devotional grounds. Our focus is on the peculiar dynamics which took place, on the one hand, in Venice, where a distinctive pictorial tradition was worked out in the late thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries in response to both new Italian trends (the Giottoësque "manner" and, later, the Florentine Renaissance) and inspirational sources from other contexts (Byzantine Palaeologan, Northern Gothic, and later Flemish arts). The reception of Byzantine forms in this context will be compared with the artistic exchange characterising icon production in Candia and other Venetian- or Latin-ruled countries, where 'Italianate' motifs were frequently introduced in an intentional and selective way.

In many respects, it is hard to evaluate the extent to which the arts contribute to the construction of a group's identity and its myths. A community is certainly inclined to acknowledge shared symbols and images associated with the religious system it adheres to, but it is debatable whether, and to what degree, "identitarian" meanings may be associated with specific sets of forms and recurrent stylistic solutions employed by artists to evoke either the natural or the supernatural world. Indeed, the idea that styles may be perceived as coherent and ethnic-bound strategies of visual communication is largely a modern construct, which to some extent prevents us from exactly understanding the ways in which forms were perceived in pre-modern periods.[1]

1 The nineteenth-century notion of style as a coherent phenomenon coming out of and corresponding to a homogeneous geographic entity has been questioned in recent years in the frame of the increasingly crucial debate on the Mediterranean as space of cultural and artistic interactions: cf. the excellent survey by Baader & Wolf (2015).

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2020 | DOI:10.1163/9789004402461_009
Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

1 The Emerging 'Greekness' of Icon Paintings

Byzantium is certainly a case in point: when speaking of icons, Byzantine authors hardly provide us with any hints as to the ways in which their style exactly looked like. A passage by the eleventh-century historian and philosopher Michael Psellos makes clear, nevertheless, that icons could be appreciated for their outward appearance, even if they lacked any precious revetment. In his view, it was particularly intriguing to inspect them in order to recognise their author's peculiar way of painting: "But I cling to these faint pictures", he stated, "because they show the art of the painter".[2] It can be assumed that some recurrent visual or compositional elements were viewed as distinctive of icon painting as a whole, such as a preference for standing or half-length frontal figures, the use of a restricted number of gestures and facial expressions, and a certain taste for vivid colours. Certainly, icons were regarded as authoritative inasmuch as they were deemed to be rooted in a pictorial tradition inaugurated by Christ himself, who had made his *acheiropoieton*, and Saint Luke, who was the author of the first images of Jesus and Mary. On account of this apostolic ascendancy, the religious images of the Byzantine Church were attributed the status of true-to-life, reliable visual records of the holy ones' outward appearance, which sharply contrasts with our modern perception of them as abstract and stylised.[3]

In some ways, we are better informed about Western views of Byzantine icon-painting than we are about the perception that the Byzantines had of their most distinctive artistic tradition. First, Latin authors made use of the term *icona* or *iconia* to hint at a morphologic type: an image of rectangular shape, which represented holy figures half-length. Secondly, icons were regarded as reflecting old prototypes established in Christian antiquity.[4] It was only in the fourteenth century that the art of painting as practised in Tuscany before Giotto (1276–1337) came to be characterised as an imitation of Byzantine archetypes whose basic purpose was to "tickle the eyes of the ignorant", as Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375) wrote, given that, allegedly, no attempts were made at realistically rendering the human body and the natural world. This was largely the opinion of a restricted group of Florentine literates, which was

2 Psellos (1941: I, 240–41). Cf. Kazhdan & Epstein (1985: 199); Belting (1990: 296); Oikonomides (1991: 36); Cutler & Browning (1992: 28–29); Drpić (2016: 173).

3 On such issues, see especially Belting (1990: 70–72) and Bacci (1998).

4 The basic reference here is to a passage from a sermon pronounced in Florence in 1305 by the Dominican preacher Giordano da Rivalto (1260–1311): Rivalto (1867: 170–71). On this issue from different viewpoints, cf. Belting (1990: 370); Cutler (1994: 335–54); Cannon (2013: 63–64). See also Bacci (2007: 63–78).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

not necessarily shared by all of their contemporaries.[5] Nonetheless, icons continued to be appreciated in Italy, particularly in Venice, and Byzantine painters are known to have worked in the peninsula during the fourteenth century: some of the works they produced combined Western and Byzantine features, presumably to accommodate the specific devotional needs of their viewers.[6] Starting from the mid-fifteenth century, we have the first clear hints at the Western perception of icons as figurative objects standing out for their distinctive style, acknowledged as ethnic-bound, i.e. specifically "Greek", and indicative of a specific and almost intrinsic holiness, traced back to Saint Luke's authorship of their old prototypes.[7]

This holds true especially of Marian icons. In the second half of the fifteenth century, holy portraits of the Mother of God made in a more or less explicit Byzantine or Byzantine-like appearance were considered to be especially suitable for individual devotion or even for public worship: a great many icons made *alla greca* (in the Greek manner) were produced in the ateliers of Candia and exported throughout the Western world.[8] Many of them were set within domestic tabernacles and were used as visual counterparts in an individual

5 See especially Boccaccio (1992: 738). In general on the passage and its interpretation, cf. Schwarz & Theis (2004–2008: I, 70–76). Similar ideas are shared by Cennini (2004: 63) and, with some distinctions, by Villani (1847: 35). Cf. Baxandall (1971: 70). The argument worked out by these Florentine authors provided a new interpretive frame to the *topos*, already known to Leo Marsicanus in the eleventh century (Marsicanus 1980: 396), according to which the practice of painting had disappeared in Italy after the Fall of the Western Roman Empire. The merit of restoring pictorial practice in Italy, which Marsicanus attributes to Byzantine painters working in Montecassino, is given to Giotto in fourteenth-century sources. In the fifteenth century, the argument was to be further developed by Lorenzo Ghiberti and Giorgio Vasari: cf. especially Bickendorf (2002: 113–25) and Concina (2002: 89–96). In general on the fortune and misfortunes of pre-Giottoësque painting in the Italian discourse of art, see Previtali (1964).

6 Bacci (2013: 203–27) and Bacci (2014: 73–106).

7 Awareness of the stylistic distinction and association of the Byzantine manner with a special devotional efficacy occurs very clearly in a mid-fifteenth-century Venetian booklet about the miracles of Saint Theodosia, Andrea Ingenerio's *Legenda miracolorum Beatae Virginis et Martyris Theodosiae* (Ingenerio 1749: 330–37); cf. Bacci (2013: 208–10). Another important text by the German pilgrim Felix Fabri (1480) indicates that Cretan icons were viewed as reflecting a distinctive and to some extent anachronistic way of painting, based on the archetypal portraits painted by Saint Luke: Fabri (1843–1849: III, 289); cf. Bacci (2014: 85). On the reception of Byzantine and Cretan icons in the late medieval West, see Ainsworth (2004: 543–93), Jurkowlaniec (2009: 71–91), and Woods (2013: 135–55). On the perception of icons, and their Western imitations, as anachronistic, exotic, or old-fashioned, see Belting (1990: 483–96) and Nagel & Wood (2010: 96–122).

8 See, among others, Chatzidaki (1993); Cormack (1997: 167–217); Lymberopoulou (2007: 170–206); Vassilaki (2009); Drandaki (2009: 11–18); Vassilaki (2010); Newall (2013: 101–34).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

or a family group's practice of prayer. Some of them happened to be involved in the shaping of a cult phenomenon centred on the worship of a miraculous image: it is possible that, inasmuch as their forms were perceived as archaic, old-fashioned, or exotic, they came to be regarded as more efficaciously embodying the radical otherness attributed to the divine sphere.

2 Greek Appropriations of "Italianate" Pictorial Features

Nevertheless, not all such icons, meant for both devotional practice and public worship, displayed "purely" Byzantine forms. A number of them stood out for their stylistically mixed character. Indeed, Cretan artists made occasionally use of some Western details, such as Gothicising garments, marble thrones, flowers, and birds. Nonetheless, it is worth stressing that Italianate features could be adopted in a rather selective way, when images were intended to suit their viewers' wish to meditate on religious themes associated with practices and behaviours which had originated in the West and could be also appropriated by Orthodox believers. This is the case with all those compositional and iconographic schemes whose basic aim it was to arouse the spectator's emotionally charged involvement in the drama of sacred history.

Indeed, some Byzantine images were viewed as insufficiently suited to serve as visual supports for the interiorised evocation of the most regret-inspiring events of the Gospels so strongly recommended by many spiritual authors, and especially by members of the Mendicant orders. In the Western late Middle Ages, the scenes of the Passion of Christ were invested with a special pathos, whose basic aim was to suit devotional patterns that interpreted the individual's pious meditation on Christ's sacrifice as a technique of imaginative reenactment of sacred history and the economy of human salvation.[9] Several thirteenth- and fourteenth-century triptychs of small size, intended for domestic piety, already displayed schemes which would have been unlikely for objects used as pieces of church furniture, yet they proved to be evocative of their viewers' devotional orientations, by combining narrative and iconic images, by representing many minor events, and finally also by selecting saints whose only connection with each other was the specific, self-motivated worship paid to them by the viewer himself. As pointed out by several scholars, Italian artworks tended to include such scenes as the *Flagellation* or the *Mockery of Christ*, which were usually absent from the standard narrative cycles displayed

9 Among the most relevant studies on this theme see Marrow (1979); Belting (1981); Macdonald, Ridderbos; Schlusemann (1998).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

in Byzantine icons. Whereas the latter were basically concerned with reminding their viewers of the twelve major feasts of the liturgical year (the so-called *Dodekaorton*), the panels painted in Italy aimed at suiting the devotional wish to mentally follow in the different steps of the Lord's path on earth and feel empathy with his pains in almost physical terms.[10]

As a matter of fact, cycles of Gospel scenes were rarely displayed on Byzantine icons of small size. When used, such compositions were normally meant to reproduce the standard programme of iconostases, as is shown already by some eleventh- and twelfth-century epistylion beams on Mount Sinai where the *Dodekaorton* is combined with a *Deisis*.[11] Sometimes associated with iconic themes—namely the Virgin and Child—narrative images of the liturgical feasts could be gathered together in diptychs or polyptychs, or displayed on the side wings of a triptych displaying the Virgin Mary as its central panel. Scenes in the centre are also occasionally found, as is most clearly shown by a late fourteenth- or early-fifteenth-century example, also on Mount Sinai.[12]

Cycles of the Passion were much less common in icon-painting. An early, unparalleled case is represented by a panel painted around 1320 in Thessalonike, now in the Museum of Vlatadon Monastery, and displaying the *Last Supper*, the *Washing of the Feet*, the *Sermon in the Garden*, the *Capture*, the *Flagellation*, and the *Way of the Cross* (Fig. 7.1). It can be inferred that the narrative sequence went ahead on the now lost right half with such scenes as the *Crucifixion*, the *Anastasis*, the *Incredulity of Thomas*, the *Pentecost*, the *Ascension*, and the *Dormition of the Virgin*. Given its small dimensions (51 × 41 cm), it was probably meant for private use. The peculiar stylistic qualities, which betray connections with miniature painting, encouraged scholars to think of book illumination as a possible source also for its compositional solution, even if parallels can be hardly encountered in that artistic medium. Indeed, this explanation seems to neglect the fact that analogous cycles, displayed on diptychs, already circulated in the Byzantine sphere, even if they were not objects produced in Byzantine ateliers.[13]

10 See especially Derbes (1996).

11 For a general survey, see Vokotopoulos (2002: 109–49, esp. 134–35).

12 Georgios and Maria Sotiriou (1956–1958: I, Fig. 220; II, 193–94) and Collins (2006: 94–119, esp. 115).

13 Tourta (1982: 154–79); Bacci (1985: 83); Vokotopoulos (1995: 193); Vokotopoulos (2004: 182); Tourta (2019). A later witness to the spread of this object-type in the Orthodox world is provided by a Russian icon in the State Museum in Novgorod, dating from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century and displaying 25 scenes from the Gospel narratives: cf. Ignashina and Komarova (2008: 24–25). I am obliged to Tatyana Tsarevskaya for pointing out this work to me.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

FIGURE 7.1 Anonymous Byzantine artist, six Gospel scenes (*Last Supper, Washing of the Feet, Sermon in the Garden, Capture of Christ, Flagellation, and Way of the Cross*), icon, *c.*1320. Thessalonike, Vlatadon Monastery

3 "Greek" Iconic and "Latin" Narrative Traditions in Venetian Art

Venice was much celebrated, in the second half of the thirteenth century, for the production of luxury objects embellished with gold filigree ornaments, precious gems, and figurative elements made in the form of both miniatures covered with rock crystal and *verre églomisé* images.[14] Many of such objects were made in the form of diptychs, often used as reliquaries and standing out for their elaborate programme. These included both iconic images of saints,

14 On such objects see Hahnloser (1956: 157–65); Hahnloser & Brugger-Koch (1985); Furlan (2012: 177–69, esp. 181–82).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

FIGURE 7.2 Anonymous Venetian artist, diptych of Andrew III of Hungary, *c.*1290, from the Benedictine monastery of Königsfelden. Historisches Museum, Bern

mostly displayed on the borders, and coherent cycles of Gospel, and more specifically the Passion, scenes which worked as visual foci of the composition. As the vicissitudes of each preserved example clearly indicates, they were much appreciated by royal courts and aristocratic elites throughout Europe, who often used them as precious gifts for monasteries and other pious institutions. One such object from the late thirteenth century, now in the Historisches Museum in Bern, was chosen, sometime after 1317 by the widow of King Andrew III of Hungary (d. 1301) as an offering for the Benedictine monastery of Königsfelden: the programme emphasised the mystery of Christ's incarnation by displaying a selection of Gospel scenes from the Annunciation until the Entombment on the right half and synthetically evoked the economy of Salvation by representing the episodes of the Lord's Resurrection (*Incredulity*, *Ascension*, *Pentecost*, and *Dormition*) on the left (Fig. 7.2).[15]

Such objects circulated widely in the Eastern Mediterranean. Two examples have been preserved on Mount Athos, where they probably arrived as prestigious gifts of eminent political leaders. The one in Agiou Pavlou displays a rich selection of diminutive scenes framing two couples of larger narratives: the *Adoration of the Magi* and the *Presentation to the Temple* on the right

15 Huber (1973: 147–48) and Hahnloser and Brugger-Koch (1985: 85–86, no. 23).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

and the *Crucifixion* with the *Anastasis* on the left.[16] Even more analytic is the cycle used for the diptych preserved in Chilandar Monastery, which is said to have come to Athos as a gift of King Milutin of Serbia (1282–1321): the full Gospel narrative is distributed in twenty-four scenes from the *Annunciation* through the *Pentecost* and the *Apparition to the Apostles.*[17] A definitely diminutive variant is encountered in a small diptych (24,2 × 26,3 cm) from ca. 1320 in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, whose programme focuses exclusively on the Passion drama by displaying the *Derision, Flagellation, Deposition*, and *Entombment.*[18]

Extensive cycles of Gospel scenes are known in Venetian arts also from other artistic media. The early-fourteenth-century triptych from Alba Fucens, now in the Museum of Celano in the Abruzzi, displays twenty scenes within three-foiled arches on its side wings. The central panel, decorated with a low-relief image of the Virgin Mary partly embellished with filigree ornaments and framed by twenty-eight half-figure saints, seems to simulate intentionally the appearance of a Venetian luxury object such as those mentioned above, though by means of less expensive materials.[19] The combination of painted images of the Virgin Mary with narrative scenes rendered in relief or in the *verre églomisé* technique was also widespread enough: a very interesting case is represented by the mid-fourteenth century icon of the *Glykophilousa* Virgin in the Benaki Museum in Athens, whose outer frame includes a set of wooden relief plaques giving shape to a Christological cycle.[20] Even if this is most probably the work of a Byzantine artist, it is so manifestly indebted to Venetian image-types that it can be assumed to have been made in Venice—or in the Venetian *stato da mar*—for a Latin donor.

The habit of grouping narrative scenes on either side of a central image was current for liturgical panels meant for a setting on the altar tables of Italian churches. Albeit rare, a number of panels of reduced size aimed at imitating the general appearance of these objects in a smaller format.[21] Less common were the panels displaying full or partial Christological cycles in the very centre. An extensive cycle of Gospel narratives could be seen on the rear of

16 Huber (1973: 119–20, 187–88); Hahnloser & Brugger-Koch (1985: 85, no. 21); Loverdou-Tsigarida (1997: 326–27).

17 Huber (1973: 137–38, 190); Hahnloser & Brugger-Koch (1985: 85, no. 22); Loverdou-Tsigarida (1997: 323–26).

18 Hahnloser & Brugger-Koch (1985: 87, no. 27).

19 Hahnloser & Brugger-Koch (1985: 87–88, no. 29).

20 Vassilaki (2000: 448–49, no. 73); Vassilaki (2002: 201–07); Vassilaki & Cormack (2008: 444, no. 251); Papastavrou (2000: 161–77).

21 Schmidt (2005: 281–328).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Duccio's *Maestà* in Siena Cathedral: probably inaccessible to the lay people, it was arguably used as a visual support for prayers by the regular canons who sat in the choir.[22] Copies of it were made for the Cathedral of Massa Marittima and, very likely, for one of the chapels within the Hospital of Santa Maria della Scala.[23] A Venetian example is the large triptych from ca. 1330 formerly in the convent of Santa Chiara and now in the Musei Civici in Trieste, whose central panel displays thirty-four Gospel scenes and two episodes from Saint Francis and Saint Clare's lives rendered in a Byzantine style with Palaeologan elements.[24] Diminutive versions of such objects are only occasionally encountered in Tuscan painting (a case in point being a now partly dispersed triptych by the Florentine Master of San Gaggio).[25] They enjoyed, however, a widespread use in Venice and other Adriatic contexts, such as Rimini, in the form of both painted diptychs, small portable polyptychs and horizontal panels of rectangular shape.[26]

The latter category includes images which stand out for their distinctive compositional and iconographic features. An early-fourteenth-century panel of unknown whereabouts, sold at Christie's in 1995, displays a number of both Christological and hagiographical scenes around a central Crucifixion, in a way that might remind pious viewers of Byzantine *Vita*-icons (Fig. 7.3).[27] A slightly different arrangement occurs in a contemporary image preserved in Berlin, where the *Crucifixion* and an icon-like *Virgin and Child*, displayed along the same vertical axis, are shown flanked by sixteen Gospel scenes (Fig. 7.4).[28] An analogous arrangement has been proposed also for the cycle of ten Passion scenes formerly preserved in the church of Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs in Paris and attributed to a Venetian artist.[29] The occurrence of similar compositions

22 Among the most relevant contributions on this much debated issue are Stubblebine (1977: 430–36); Stubblebine (1979: I, 52–54); Struchholz (1995: 17–33); Seiler (2002: 251–77); Ragionieri (2003: 212–53); Schmidt (2003: 531–69, esp. 557–59); De Marchi (2007: 573–85, esp. 578–80). In general on Gospel imagery in the Medieval arts of Siena, see Bacci (2009).

23 Schmidt (2003: 559–60).

24 Walcher Casotti (1961); Pallucchini (1964: 67–68); Travi (1992: 81–96); Flores d'Arcais (2009: 353–77).

25 Bagemihl (1999: 413–26, esp. 417–18); Schmidt (2005: 32).

26 Seiler (2002: 258–60); Schmidt (2005: 224–25, 302–03).

27 Sandberg Vavalà (1932: 27–32); Langton-Douglas (1947: 19–30, esp. 27); Garrison (1976: 147, no. 385); Coor-Achenbach (1957: 5–15, esp. 11); Berenson (1957: I, 205); Rosenfeld (1976: 384–91, esp. 384); *Important and Fine Old Master Pictures* (1995: 104–05); Pallucchini (1964: 66, Fig. 215); McTavish (1981: 24); Meschede (1994: 103–07).

28 Coor-Achenbach (1957: 11); Fiocco (1956: 232–36); Pallucchini (1964: 69); Meschede (1994: 108–09).

29 Coor-Achenbach (1957: *passim*); Meschede (1994: 107–08).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

FIGURE 7.3 Venetian artist, *Crucifixion* and other Gospel and hagiographical scenes, early 14th century. Whereabouts unknown

in a number of devotional paintings made in Cologne in the early fifteenth century may indirectly bear witness to the wide European circulation of visual formulas and image-types originally associated with Venice.[30]

Some clues indicate that the Mendicant orders and the lay people associated with convents may have played a key role in the emergence of this kind of painted panels. An early-fourteenth-century painting preserved in Palma de Mallorca differs from the previously quoted examples in its lack of any emphasis on a particular image: instead, it displays three registers of Gospel scenes, represented under three-foiled arches, plus one row where the *Noli me tangere* is associated, in a way similar to that seen in the Christie's panel, with hagiographic scenes and representations of Franciscan saints. Even if the work has been associated with an Umbrian or Central Italian painter, details such as bodily proportions, the architectural frames, the representation of the Jerusalem walls in the *Crucifixion* scene, the trapezoidal shape of crowns, and more generally the emphasis on Byzantine-like forms seem to hint at a Venetian connection. In any case, it can be supposed that the work was made

30 Meschede (1994: 97–20).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

FIGURE 7.4 Venetian artist, *Crucifixion, Virgin Mary*, and sixteen Gospel scenes, early 14th century. Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für byzantinische Kunst

according to the model of Venetian narrative panels for a Franciscan convent in Mallorca.[31]

In their aim to meet the devotional needs of contemporary viewers wishing to feel empathy with the key events of Christ's passage on earth, such objects may have been perceived as pictorial counterparts to French and German ivory diptychs and polyptychs displaying Passion scenes, which started circulating more or less in the same period.[32] In any case, the painterly medium implied the establishment of a visual dialogue with both luxury objects, such as the Venetian panels with miniatures under rock crystal, and Byzantine icon-painting. As a matter of fact, the adoption of narrative cycles made according to conventions widespread in contemporary Italian imagery was

31 Llompart (1977–1980: I, 195–96); Llompart (1987: 17 and pl. 12); Alcoy i Pedros (1998–1999: 122–30); Desfilís (2004: 31–46, esp. 32).

32 For a general survey, see Stahl (1997: 94–114).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

FIGURE 7.5 Venetian artist, diptych with Gospel scenes, early 14th century. Richmond (Virginia), Museum of Fine Arts

combined with an unambiguous evocation of the repertory of forms associated with Byzantine tradition.

A case in point is a diptych now preserved in the Museum of Fine Arts in Richmond, Virginia (Fig. 7.5). From both a morphological and stylistic viewpoint, the work looks very Byzantine-like, even if it displays a selection of images giving expression to basically Western devotional patterns: out of seven scenes, five belong to the Passion cycle, whereas one—the Nativity—visually summarises the dogma of Incarnation and another one, the seventh scene, evokes the soteriological perspective of the Final Judgment.[33] In this way, viewers were efficaciously reminded of the redemption from sin made possible by the death and resurrection of the Son of God: the final image, representing Francis and Clare praying before the enthroned Virgin and Child, invited them to supplicate their privileged intercessors in order to escape damnation.

At least at a first glance, viewers could easily guess that the work was not at odds with the venerable conventions associated with religious painting and the latter's definite Byzantine roots. The diptych form and the pictorial

33 Cheek (1966: 10); Kermer (1967: no. 81); Cook (1999: 179); Schmidt (2005: 225, 268, 302).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

medium could easily remind them of Eastern icons meant for private devotion, whereas the chromatic palette and the rendering of such details as rocks, bodily proportions, and the folds of garments could be quickly understood as *alla greca*-elements. On the other hand, much more in keeping with Italian religious sensibility were the architectural frames, which enabled beholders to better set the sacred events in their spatial setting, and the overall tendency to invest the scenes with a special dramatic power: emphasis is on the strongly bent pose of Christ's dead body on the cross, the animated crowds in the *Arrest in the Garden* and the *Crucifixion*, and the hyperbolic gestures of despair in all of the Passion scenes.

The sense of drama, which had been so characteristic of Western piety since the thirteenth century and suited the practice of mental evocation of sacred history, encouraged painters and their patrons to alter the traditional schemes of religious imagery that, in keeping with Byzantine tradition, refrained from representing the protagonists of the Gospel narratives with poses and gestures which were too emphatic. In many respects, the success enjoyed by the new compositions worked out by Giotto and his followers was made possible by widespread expectations for religious narrative images that may more efficaciously harmonise with the new meditational and devotional practices diffused by the Mendicant orders and especially developed among the lay people. This specific interest for the empathy-inspiring qualities of Italianate solutions did not exclude combinations with Byzantine forms. It can be assumed that the composite character of Venetian narrative panels, displaying dramatic events *all'italiana* mixed or juxtaposed with more conventional religious images, may have made easier its diffusion into the Eastern Mediterranean and its appropriation by non-Latin believers as well.

Actually, in the course of the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries and beyond, some artworks combining elements of both traditions in a selective way circulated in the Venetian *stato da mar* and in the Serenissima's wider network of Mediterranean connections. Many of the artworks that scholars of Cretan and Cypriot arts identify as "Italianate" prove to be narrative scenes which stand out for their strongly dramatic rendering of the Passion events. The combination of both narrative and iconic elements, which is so typical of Italian devotional panels, also appears in a number of artworks made either by Byzantine artists for Latin donors in Venice or in the ateliers of Candia, which are known to have worked for both Venetian and Greek lay people and to have been occasionally run by Italian and Greek painters in a sort of joint venture.[34]

34 On mixed ateliers, see Constantoudaki-Kitromilides (1982: 265–72); Constantoudaki-Kitromilides (2001: 291–99); Constantoudaki-Kitromilides (2009: 709–23, esp. 716–19).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

FIGURE 7.6 Cypriot artist, diptych with Gospel scenes, late 14th or early 15th century. Nicosia, Byzantine Museum

A painted work of mixed character, originally preserved in the Cypriot village of Lefkoniko and now in the Byzantine Museum in Nicosia (Fig. 7.6), may be indicative of the widespread use of narrative diptychs for private devotion made according to Venetian conventions.[35] The use of Greek inscriptions, the use of late Palaeologan forms in the modelling of faces and the rendering of bodily proportions and folds seems to indicate that the painter may have been a Greek or somebody trained in a Byzantine context. At first glance, the programme seems to be reminiscent of *Dodekaorton*-icons in its selection of scenes. A close inspection indicates, however, that one episode—the *Resurrection of Lazarus*—has been omitted and that the final scene of the Dormition has been expanded with an iconographical *hapax*: an image modeled on the *Ascension*, yet representing the *Assumption of the Virgin* with her body brought to Heaven in a mandorla of light. The fact that three more episodes from the Infancy

35 Papageorghiou & Eliades (2008: 72–4); Eliades (2017: 36); Eliades (2019).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

of Mary—the *Announcement to Anne and Joachim*, the *Nativity of the Virgin*, and the *Presentation of the Virgin to the Temple*—have been placed before the Christological cycle indicates that the original owner, who paid his or her devotions before this image, was especially interested in manifesting his or her piety before the Mother of God and to meditate on her deeds, rather than on the Passion.

Who, then, was the person for whom this odd image was originally intended? Even if Marian piety was shared by both Orthodox and Latin believers, the representation of the *Assumption* is unprecedented in Byzantine art and most probably indicates an association with a Frankish donor. The latter requested an artist working *alla greca* to paint a narrative diptych like those made in the lagoon. The choice to substitute the *Anastasis* with a scene which combined the *Pious Women* and the *Resurrected Christ coming out of the Sepulchre*, a definitely Italianate theme, goes further in this same direction and indicates that the painter was acquainted with contemporary Venetian artworks. Finally, in order to stress this association, he provided many of the scenes with architectural frames which, in their perspective view, and distinctive forms with colonnettes, balconies, covered roof-terraces, lancet windows, and ribbed vaults rendered in fanciful and soft colour shades (including red, green, and violet), seem to be directly inspired by the work of Lorenzo Veneziano (fl. 1356–1372) and indicate therefore a dating in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century.[36]

4 Conclusion

Such works as the Lefkoniko panel make clear that Italianate and Byzantine forms were not perceived as mutually exclusive, or at least they were much so less than in fifteenth-century Italy, where the *maniera greca* came gradually to be regarded as distinctive from contemporary religious painting, though deemed to be of higher sacral authority. As we can infer from the examples quoted above, the basic motivation for the appropriation of forms associated with Italian arts was the icon-painter's intent to suit the viewers' wish to feel more deeply involved in the sacred drama of the Gospel events. Believers, both Levantine Latins and Greeks, were ready to accept the intrusion of Italian forms into icons and did not judge it as inappropriate, given that they found

36 On such hallmarks of Paolo's and Lorenzo's distinctive style, see esp. Flores d'Arcais (1992: 17–87, esp. 38) and Brucher (2007: 135).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

them more efficacious on devotional grounds. On the other hand, those icons which were thought to correspond perfectly to traditional, yet still effective patterns of individual and public piety—which seems to have been the case with many Marian images—did not undergo any process of harmonisation with contemporary Western painting and continued to be regarded, in the Eastern as well as in the Western Mediterranean, as reflections of the most authoritative visual records of the holy ones' terrestrial appearance.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

CHAPTER 8

Barbaric and Assimilated Hellenes: Textual and Visual Images of Greek Scholars between Lapo da Castiglionchio (*c.*1405–1438) and Paolo Giovio (1483–1552)

Peter Bell

> Utique maius, ut equidem arbitror, nullum est felicitatis specimen quam semper omnes scire cupere, qualis fuerit aliquis.
>
> PLINY THE ELDER on portrait galleries, *Natural History* 35.2.10[1]

The migration of Greek scholars in the Quattrocento who found refuge in Western Europe—and especially the Italian peninsula—is an important chapter in the history of Renaissance philology and philosophy, and Renaissance studies in general.[2] In order to give a lively impression of the physical appearance of the scholars, publications sometimes feature portraits of the prominent protagonists of the early Greek diaspora. The popular online encyclopaedia Wikipedia, for instance, uses the alleged portraits of Manuel Chrysoloras, George of Trebizond, and Marcus Musurus, tacitly taken from reproductions of Paolo Giovio's famous sixteenth-century portrait collection, but it does so without reflecting on their provenance. The common practice of using slide show presentations at conferences and in teaching has moreover fuelled the almost "casual" and unreflective usage and dissemination of these portraits. Combined with brief biographies and character sketches, these portraits have co-shaped the image of the immigrant Greek scholars who are so central to the cultural and intellectual history of fifteenth-century Italy and, by extension, Europe. Whereas these images have their own pictorial history, the cultural as well as ideological connotations they bore in the time of their production have thus far not found proper treatment in the scholarship.

1 "At any rate in my view at all events there is no greater kind of happiness than that all people for all time should desire to know what kind of a man a person was" (transl. by H. Rackham).

2 Geanakoplos (1976); Geanakoplos (1989); Harris (1995); Monfasani (2004).

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2020 | DOI:10.1163/9789004402461_010

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

In this chapter, I will analyse the woodcuts of the Swiss artist Tobias Stimmer (1539–1584), which were direct reproductions of Paolo Giovio's portrait collection, often regarded as one of the first "museums".[3] Giovio was a well-known humanist and historian at the papal Curia and the Medici court, obsessed with the idea of collecting portraits of every important person in history.[4] Apart from the frequent use of the reproductions of these images, the most important impact of Giovio's project was the fact that it was the impulse behind Giorgio Vasari's (1511–1574) *Lives of the Most Eminent Artists*.[5] Both Vasari and Giovio were part of the Medici circle and, after the former had shown his in-depth knowledge of art and history of the local artists, the latter warmly encouraged his friend to write about the lives of his colleagues and forerunners.

In order to understand the cultural and ideological implications of the portraits of the Greek scholars, they have to be compared with the representation of Greeks in fifteenth-century visual culture generally. My discussion starts with texts and images in the context of the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438/1439) and ends with the representations of the Cinquecento, which are still, even today, frequently copied on various occasions. The main aim of this paper is to show something of the contexts in which these images were shaped, and I will pay particular attention to the differences between images and the texts that often accompanied them. A comparison between text and image will show that whereas the text generally retains negative stereotypes about the Greeks, the portraits, by contrast, tell the story of a process of visual assimilation.

It is important to remember that the portraits under study here only reflect the cultural high-end of the early Greek diaspora: minor translators, scribes, printers, teachers, and migrants working in other fields such as navigation, military, or trade were, so to speak, "visually forgotten". A vast part of the process of cultural transfer and assimilation that took place in early modern Europe left no traces in art. My focus on the high-profile Greeks, necessitated by the nature of the source material, should not make us forget "the role of the army of obscure Greek scribes and printers who did so much to bring about the multiplication of the necessary texts, and [we should not] forget that the

3 When Stimmer went to Como in his early twenties on behalf of the Basel publisher Pietro Perna, he was already a successful portraitist and façade painter in Basel. Later, he moved to Strasbourg and became court artist of the margrave of Baden in 1576. The *Elogia* is seen as his most important graphic work, and Meier identifies him as the only sixteenth-century German artist who intensively worked on reproduction graphic (Meier 1995: 464).

4 Klinger (1991: 107): "Portrait collections […] ultimately became the means to depict the web of individuals to whom one was, or wished to be linked".

5 Zimmermann (1995: 214–15).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

scholars were part of a wider influx of refugees, many of whom were involved in no literary activity whatsoever".[6] Independent of their individual character, reputation, or social ranking, however, most migrants seem to have been in a precarious position, as they always ran the risk of being excluded from society.[7]

1 Quattrocento Representations of Greeks

For some decades of the Quattrocento, the exotic vesture of the Greeks was a common motif in Italian art, which was strongly connected with the visibility of Greek authorities during the Council of Ferrara and Florence (1438/1439).[8] Historically, the council is commonly regarded as a turning point in the relationship between Italians and Greeks, as it intensified the cultural exchange between them.[9] Before the council only a few attempts, by single scholars and small groups, were made to understand the language and culture of "the other side" and to establish closer contact. To recall the words of Robert Browning, only "in the last generations of the Byzantine Empire ideas and individuals moved freely in both directions between Constantinople and Italy".[10] Important milestones in the period before the council were the short stay of Manuel Chrysoloras as invited lecturer at Florence (1397–1400), as well as the Greek studies of Francesco Filelfo (1398–1481) in Constantinople.[11] Chrysoloras's stay produced a small circle of scholars who were potential dialogue partners at the council, and yet the contact between these scholars and the Greek guests cannot be reconstructed sufficiently.[12]

Notwithstanding the intensifying contact, negative attitudes between Latins and Greeks prevailed. Ancient stereotypes and distrust, catalysed by a long-lasting religious and political conflict, helped to establish a "monstrous" image of the hostile, heretical, and less civilised "other" on both sides.[13] Following the

6 Harris (2002). See also Harris (1995).

7 Binner (1981: 19): "Außer Bessarion und Isidor von Kiev konnte keiner dieser Emigranten ein Leben ohne materielle Not führen. Das in Humanistenzirkeln geläufige Wort von den 'graeculi esurientes' kennzeichnet ihre Situation".

8 Bell (2015).

9 Gill (1959); Wohlmuth & Alberigo (2000).

10 Browning (1989b: 23).

11 Cf. Resta (1986: 1–6). See also Voigt (1960: 1, 50). The travels of the antiquarian Cyriac of Ancona (Chatzidakis 2017) and the Latinity and cultural exchange of Demetrios Kydones (Likoudis 1983) should also be mentioned.

12 Cf. Thorn-Wickert (2006: 39–54).

13 Bell (2015: 15–19). Lamers (2015: 93) underlines that the humanists were aware of the historic semantic of the Greek term *barbarian* and therefore would normally not use it for

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Virgilian phrase *accipe nunc Danaum insidias et crimine ab uno / disce omnis*, the Latin tradition used exempla of individual vices to label and disqualify the Greeks generally.[14] Garrulity, falseness, and luxury were common stereotypical vices attributed to the Greek nation.

The council created the opportunity for Italians to see the customs, dress, and rites of the Byzantine Greek aristocracy with their own eyes.[15] More than 650 Byzantines populated the cities of Ferrara and, later, Florence for one and a half years.[16] The Medici in particular celebrated the council as a personal success and promoted it as an urban spectacle.[17] If only for this reason, the event was recorded in many chronicles and diaries of the time. It also inspired artwork and fashion, so that we may think about it in terms of a kind of "cult" phenomenon. It is astonishing to observe that, from all these accounts, modern scholarship about the council has paid disproportionate attention, and has given disproportionate credence, to a very late report of the events, namely that of Vespasiano da Bisticci (1421–1498).[18] Bisticci, a Florentine antiquarian and bookseller, was an eyewitness to the events in his city in 1439. However, he was in his late teens when the council took place, and it was only as an old man that he penned down his account. Because of the time gap alone, his report should not be taken at face value. Moreover, his close relations with the Medici and the philhellenic circle of Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499) probably coloured his depiction of the Greeks. In his short biography of Pope Eugene IV (r. 1431–1447), Vespasiano compared them favourably to their ancestors:

> Non passerò che io non dica qui una singulare loda de' Greci. I Greci, in anni mille cinquecento o più, non hanno mai mutato abito, quello

---

the Byzantines. Nevertheless, the idea that Byzantine culture was degenerated and immoral in a barbaric way is mentioned frequently in humanist literature and its historiography, for example by Rocholl (1904: X): "Das Rhomäer-Reich war eben auf wildem Boden unter Barbaren gepflanzt, die es nie assimilierte, unter denen die mitgebrachte Kultur dagegen leiden mußte", whereas Gregorovius (1988: III, 261) describes the migrants as full of Byzantine arrogance ("voll byzantinischen Dünkels").

14 Virgil, *Aeneid* 2.65–66 ("Hear now the treachery of the Greeks and from a single crime learn the wickedness of all", transl. by H. R. Fairclough). Cf. Stahl (1999: 257).

15 The occasion aroused a remarkable reception in diaries and chronicles: Pardi (1933); Corazza (1991: 36–37, 80–82); Antoninus of Florence (1587: 529–31), and Cambi (1785/1786); Machiavelli (1834: 335–36); Guicciardini (1945: 233, 237, 261, 263, 266).

16 Gill (1959: 103).

17 The economic interest of the Medici was trade privileges between Florence and Constantinople: McManus (2008: 8–10, 10).

18 Introduced by Gill (1959: 293) almost literally quoting Vespasiano's account.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

> medesimo abito avevano eglino in quello tempo, ch' eglino avevano avuto nel tempo detto, come si vede ancora in Grecia nel luogo si chiama i campi Filippi, dove sono molte storie di marmo, drentovi uomini vestiti a la greca, nel modo erano alora.
>
> I will not pass on without a word of special praise of the Greeks. For the last fifteen hundred years and more they have not altered the style of their dress; their clothes are of the same fashion now as they were in the time indicated.[19]

Vespasiano tried to prove this characterisation by pointing out ancient Greek stone reliefs showing similar vesture. Although this hypothesis, which was perhaps spread by Cyriac of Ancona,[20] is unverifiable and even implausible, it shows that the Italian humanists considered the Byzantines as upholders of antiquity.

The Italian fascination with the ancient customs and costumes allegedly preserved in the Eastern empire stimulated the use of Byzantine figures in Italian art. To illustrate antiquity, artists such as Piero della Francesca (*c.*1416/1417–1492) or Apollonio di Giovanni (*c.*1416–1465) inserted Greek vesture into their paintings.[21] In this historical construction, the Byzantines were represented as ancient Hellenes, while the Turks were featured as Trojans. This can be seen, for example, in Apollonio's illumination cycle for the *Virgilio Riccardiano*.[22] Vespasiano, just quoted, was strongly impressed by the illustrious figure of Emperor John VIII Palaeologus (1392–1448),[23] who is represented on Pisanello's famous medallion (Fig. 8.1) and various surviving preparatory sketches.[24] The emperor's appearance would later serve as a model for the depiction of ancient rulers, such as Piero della Francesca's Constantine and his Pilatus.[25]

Although Vespasiano describes the visit of the Greeks in a very positive way,[26] there were other perceptions which drew the Byzantine habitus in

19 Bisticci (1970: 19).

20 Chatzidakis (2017: 24).

21 For Piero della Francesca, see Rehm (2008: 169–98), with extensive bibliography. For Apollonio di Giovanni, see Gombrich (1955: 16–34); Callmann (1974); Bell (2009: 73–81).

22 Bell (2014: 105–18); cf. Harper (2005: 151–79). For the representation of the Turks in other contexts, see also Dourou's chapter in this volume.

23 As a very detailed study about the emperor and his strategy at the Council of Ferrara-Florence see Kolditz (2013).

24 Weiss (1966).

25 Bell (2016). As a doubtable but still impressive narration see also Ginzburg (1981).

26 Bisticci (1970) in his biography of Pope Eugene IV.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

FIGURE 8.1
Pisanello, medal of John VIII Palaeologus, *c.*1438–1443. Obverse. National Gallery, Washington D.C.

less favourable or flattering ways. The exotic delegation of high-ranking and distinguished Byzantines apparently fascinated the citizens of Florence and seems to have inspired carnival-like and imaginative representations of antiquity.[27] In fact, the advent of the Greek delegation took place on Shrove Sunday, the climax of carnival celebrations. This coincidence seems to have stimulated the visual blending of their arrival with carnivalesque scenes.[28] The fact that the Italians enjoyed Greek costumes as a spectacle that evoked associations with carnival is not only shown in Lapo's eyewitness report (to which I will return below) but also in a contemporary woodcut showing Lorenzo de Medici with a carnival choir whose garments and masks are strongly suggestive of the Greeks' appearance (Fig. 8.2).

Apart from many short contemporary notes on the council found in chronicles and diaries, Lapo da Castilgionchio the Younger's *De curia commodis* is a particularly rich first-hand source of information about the events surrounding the council.[29] Written in the first year of the council as a dialogue between

27 Olschki (1944: 95–106, 98) already distinguished between "imaginary types" ("fantastic exoticism") and "authentic portraits" ("which occur in contemporary compositions of a higher artistic level"). In his logic, the Greeks belong to the "familiar types of the Mediterranean commonwealth of peoples", which he sees as contrasting with the exoticism of their representations.

28 Bell (2015: 144–49). The *terminus ante quem* of their arrival is Lent, which would have made the welcoming banquets sparse.

29 Castiglionchio (1999).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

FIGURE 8.2
Anonymous, carnival choir with Lorenzo de' Medici, *c.*1485–1494

the author and his friend Angelo in Ferrara, the text reflects the impressions the Greeks made on their Italian hosts. Like Vespasiano, Lapo, too, sees a strong connection between the Byzantines and the ancients:

> Quorum tamen sunt quidam eorum regem sequuti ita eruditi homines, ita suis disciplinis omnibus ornati ut cum maioribus suis mea quidem sententia conferendi sint. Horum ego sermonibus cum intersum, quod saepissime contingit, in Academia illa veteri ac Lycio versari videor.
>
> [C]ertain of them who have followed their king here are men of such learning and are so well versed in their respective academic disciplines that—at least in my judgement—they must be compared with their ancient forebears. When I am present at one of their talks, which happens quite often, I seem to dwell in that ancient Academy or in the Lyceum.[30]

However, Lapo's account of the Byzantines' behaviour and appearance is not unmitigatedly positive. For him, the Byzantine Greeks are not just the modern equivalents of the ancient Hellenes. He also considers them to be exotic

30 Castiglionchio (1999: 152–53).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

and grotesque, and therefore laughable. Lapo's attitude can be illuminated by quoting part of his exchange with Angelo from *De curia commodis*:

> [Lapo:] The variety of their language, their character, their adornment, their dress, their bearing, and, finally, their bodies themselves lead not only to delight but also to laughter and wonderment.
>
> [Angelo:] It is so. I mean, I never look at men of that sort without laughing. I see some of them with a beard that goes down to their chest, thick hair, and curly, wild, and disordered hairstyles. We understand this was common practice among the Spartans due to the laws of Lycurgus so that they would look all the more terrifying in confrontations with the enemy. Some have their beard just about shorn off and a half-shaved head; others have painted eyebrows. Some of the latter wear felt caps—which are notably different from one another—while others wear headbands topped with feathers of birds. Or they wear some kind of golden band and long-sleeved tunics, just as the poet said about the Phrygians: "Their tunics have long sleeves and their turbans have been bound with ribbons" [Virgil, *Aeneid* 9.616].[31]

Lapo thus describes the Greeks as a community unlike the Italians and reiterates a set of clearly Oriental stereotypes. So, for instance, his reference to Byzantines painting their eyebrows suggests that at least some of them were effeminate. To substantiate his observation he quotes the authority of Virgil and connects the Greeks with the poet's description of the Phrygians, i.e. the Trojans. It is important to bear in mind, however, that this passage from the *Aeneid* is not a descriptive account of Trojan dressing habits but a provocative insult to the Trojans:

> Vobis picta croco et fulgenti murice vestis,
> desidiae cordi, iuvat indulgere choreis,
> et tunicae manicas et habent redimicula mitrae.
> o vere Phrygiae, neque enim Phryges, ite per alta Dindyma,

31 Castiglionchio (1999: 170): [...] *quorum varietas linguae, morum, cultus, habitus, incessus, corporum denique ipsorum non delectationi modo, sed etiam risui, admirationi sunt.* [...] *Est ita profecto. Nam ego huiusmodi homines numquam sine risu aspicio. Etenim video alios prolixa ad pectus barba, densa coma, capillo crispo, horrido et inculto, cuiusmodi Spartiatas Lycurgi legibus fuisse accepimus, quo terribiliores essent, si quando manus cum hoste consererent; alios detonsa parumper barba, semiraso capite; picto alios supercilio, horum partim pilleis et iis quidem dissimilibus, partim mithris erectis in summo avium pinnis aut aureo aliquo redimiculo, manicatisque tunicis utuntur, ut de Phrygibus poeta inquit: "Et tunicae manicas et habent redimicula mithrae"* (7.7).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

ubi adsuetis biforem dat tibia cantum.
tympana vos buxusque vocat Berecyntia Matris
Idaeae; sinite arma viris et cedite ferro

You people dress in yellow and glowing red,
You live for sloth, and you go in for dancing,
Sleeves to your tunics, ribbons to your caps.
Phrygian women, in truth, not Phrygian men!
Climb Mount Dindyma where the double pipes
Make song for the effete, where the small drums
And the Idaean Mother's Berecynthian
Boxwood flute are always wheedling you!
Leave war to fighting men, give up the sword.[32]

The Greeks' feminine garments have a comic effect on Lapo, and throughout the passage the laughter rises to a climax. Lapo in his dialogue thus depicts the council as a humorous and exotic parade. His account oscillates between respect for the knowledge of ancient Greek culture and what was, in his view, the Greeks' alien and grotesque appearance.

Similar conflicting attitudes are reflected in the visual arts. On his famous bronze doors of St Peter's in Rome, for example, Filarete (1400–1469) also seems to ridicule the Greeks.[33] The doors are divided into six large fields that depict scenes from holy history, and a rich framework with themes derived from mythology and pagan history.[34] The smaller panels between the larger relief fields show events from the pontificate of Eugene IV, who was Filarete's patron. Two panels depict Emperor John VIII Palaeologus and Patriarch Joseph II (1360–1439) at the Council of Ferrara-Florence (arrival on the upper left, union and departure on the upper right); another shows the coronation of Sigismund of Luxembourg (lower left); and yet another depicts the union with the Copts with the pilgrimage of the Coptic delegation to Rome (lower right).

In the last scene of the upper right panel, showing the triumphantly departing Greeks, three men are depicted close to the pier (Fig. 8.3). If we look

32 Virgil, *Aeneid* 9.614–20, transl. by R. Fitzgerald.

33 Bell (2012: 94–101) and Bell (2018).

34 The bronze doors of St Peter's, created by Filarete for Pope Eugene IV between 1433 and 1445, were reused as the central portal when the basilica was rebuilt in the seventeenth century—the only element of the earlier facade that was retained. The doors are divided into six large panels, showing—from the upper left to the lower right—Christ as teacher; the enthroned Mary representing the Church; the apostles Paul and Peter standing, with Eugene IV kneeling to the right of Peter and receiving the keys; and the apostles' martyrdoms beneath. On the door, see also Bell (2018).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

FIGURE 8.3
Antonio Averlino (Filarete), embarkment of Emperor John VIII Palaeologus, detail of bronze door of St. Peter, 1445, Vatican

closely, we notice that the Greek man in the middle is depicted touching the man before him under that man's garment. The latter is represented with an unnatural torsion of his body: he is gazing back to the person grabbing him under his garment and simultaneously spreading his leg to the right. He thus pushes the emperor up to the gangplank, which seems to be an awkward pose, unworthy of an emperor. As such, this scene creates a surprisingly comic effect in an otherwise dignified panel. The awkward gesture of the man in the middle is highlighted by the crinkles in the vesture of the man before him. The homoerotic context is moreover underlined by the bow being carried by the man behind him, which points towards the Greek's grasping hand. In Renaissance iconography, the bow generally symbolises Amor and love, and here it seems to have a phallic connotation as well. In any case, the phalluses of the satyrs at the margins of the door have a remarkably similar shape, and thus invite the beholder to make the connection between bow and phallus. The beholder's interpretation of the gesture is further guided by the prominent Phrygian cap in the background. Since antiquity, this piece of headwear has been associated with Oriental, barbaric, degraded customs.[35] Through such visual associative clues, in this highly allusive image, the movement of the Greek's hand is suggested to be obscene. Filarete thus represented the Greeks not only as having an exotic appearance that features enormous headgear, extensive dresses, and long hair and beards, but he also visually played on long-standing prejudices about their sexually deviant habits.

Notwithstanding Filarete's subtle mockery of the Greeks, the overall conception of the door's iconography represents the inclusion of Greeks and other Christian communities in the Roman Church, which was the council's desired

35 Harper (2005: 151–79).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

outcome. Thus, the panel's final scene depicts the Greek entourage boarding a ship carrying the papal, Byzantine, and Venetian coats of arms.[36] It is difficult to decide whether ridiculing the Greeks was part of the marginalisation of the orthodox authorities, as attempted by Eugene IV, or rather an entertaining invention of the individual artist. In any case, like Lapo da Castiglionchio, Filarete is playing with the ambiguity of representation and leaves it to his audience to decide whether the Greek figures represent ancient philosophers or "barbarians" from the East.[37]

Whilst most artworks of the Quattrocento display either a positive or a negative view of the Greeks, the view presented by Lapo, Filarete, and other artists, in comparison, conveys ambivalent perceptions. On the one hand, the Greeks are portrayed as schismatic enemies exhibiting deviant behaviour. On the other, they are represented as noble and wise transmitters of ancient Greek culture with an exotic, Oriental appearance. This dual stance towards the Greeks was often expressed in subtle ways. Overall, the fifteenth-century representations of the Byzantine Greeks relied on few motifs: (1) a small number of individual portraits (mainly of John VIII Palaeologus, Bessarion, and the patriarch), and (2) impersonal "types and patterns",[38] i.e. stereotypical Byzantine figures with a few requisite characteristic, which were partly derived from the portraits, partly from Oriental stereotypes. Typical motifs are the tall *kalimavkion* (καλυμμαύχιον: a stiff, cylindrical head covering worn by clerics), long garments with hanging sleeves, beards and plaits, and gesturing discussion groups. All in all, these features are the basic ingredients of any representation of exotic company which could be included in ancient Greek, Roman, or biblical settings. This construction of the Byzantine habitus is largely impersonal and a simple mixture of details, whereas authentic portraits of Greeks are rare, as said.

Apart from perpetuating stereotypes, the clichéd and impersonal representation of the Byzantine Greeks in Quattrocento art also reflect something of their status as cultural transmitters. As teachers of Greek and translators of Greek classics, as Greek scholars, scribes, and editors of the heritage of ancient Greece, Byzantine intellectuals were mostly regarded as transmitters of

36 This galley was supplied by the Venetians on behalf of the pope to transport the emperor back to Constantinople, so that not only symbolically but also technically these coats of arms are reasonable.

37 The term "barbarians", however, is used literally to denote non-Greeks, while it is used ironically for Germans and French and programmatically for the Ottomans, cf. Bishaha (2004: 43–93).

38 Gombrich (1955: 19) uses this term to characterise the early Quattrocento art (especially Apollonio di Giovanni) as a collage of types and patterns instead of "real life".

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

ancient Greek culture; their social and cultural meaning and function were thus reduced to that of handing down and passing on ancient literature. In this context, the individual personality of each Greek was of little interest to their Italian hosts and was therefore hardly represented in the artworks of the Quattrocento. This changed, however, with the beginning of the Cinquecento: the rising interest in Greek studies in literature and philosophy—mainly in the last decades of the fifteenth century—slowly modified the perception of these scholars and made them *uomini illustri* of the Cinquecento.

2 Cinquecento Representations of Greeks: Paolo Giovio and Beyond

Not all Greek scholars have received the same scholarly attention as Cardinal Bessarion has enjoyed.[39] But even with scarce biographical information and few authentic portraits, these men have been honoured in the Renaissance hall of fame. One reason for their mostly posthumous inclusion into Western humanism, besides their own work, may have been their prominent appearance in Paolo Giovio's *Elogia doctorum Virorum* (1551/1577). Their imminent role for Renaissance humanism was mainly supported by this treatise and its widespread copies.[40]

The woodcuts of the *Elogia* were based on Giovio's personal portrait gallery, based in Como. Paolo Giovio, humanist and collector of portraits, medallions, and emblems, worked hard to find contemporary painted portraits of illustrious scholars.[41] As a favourite of several popes and princes, he was familiar with and was counted among the literary stars of Italy during the first half of the century.[42] This position, as well as his network, sustained his collection. "Clearly", Susan Linda Klinger justly reminds us, "the greater the distance from family, neighbourhood, or city, and the temporal boundaries defined by a lifespan, the less was the likelihood of finding an identifiable and certifiable record

39 Cf. again Harris (2002): "An exclusive emphasis on Bessarion and the other high-profile scholars like Chrysoloras and Argyropoulos would be to ignore the vast number of lesser-known individuals who made a significant contribution to the spread of a knowledge of classical Greek in Italy".

40 The results in Marburg Digital Portrait Index (<portraitindex.de>) shows not only the variety of copies, but also their dissemination as single engravings or single ripped-out pages.

41 As Jacob Burckhardt (1930: 463–64) declared: "in sehr vielen Fällen aber sind diese Holzschnitte entweder geradezu die einzigen authentischen Aussagen über die Physiognomie der Betreffenden oder doch unabhängig von anderen erhaltenen Porträts".

42 Maxson (2014).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

of a man's appearance".[43] If only for this reason, the authenticity of the likeness found in portraits of Quattrocento Greeks, in particular, is doubtable at best.

The importance of Giovio's Como gallery resides in the fact that it presented, for the first time, a public museum of "authentic" portraits of illustrious men. The popularity of some of the individual pieces in his collection is shown by the fact that they were copied repeatedly.[44] The collection is now lost, but most of the originals were reconstructed via the copies in a systematic study by Klinger.[45] Klinger suggests "that during the Renaissance the portrait had its own kind of exoticism: individuals did not have visual access to a great many persons, so that an image said to preserve one's appearance was esteemed like any commodity that was hard to come by",[46] and she remarks that

> Giovio's collection locates us, then, at an especially critical juncture in the history of portraiture [...] [as] the psychological and sociological dimensions of that construct ["likeness"] are what gave the portrait an exceptionally valued status as an image that granted coherence to all manner of relations, the means by which one might envisage one's own identity and place in the world.[47]

For us, then, Giovio's collection is especially interesting because, via the woodcuts in the *Elogia*, they shaped and disseminated a specific image of the Greek scholars which in fact still impacts our view of their physical appearance.

As Giovio himself explains, not only the images but also the texts of his *Elogia* found their origin in the immediate context of his portrait gallery: the texts had originally been intended as subscriptions, explaining the portrait. In Giovio's treatise, the Byzantine scholars are represented posthumously together with other Renaissance scholars, and this is in itself significant to our understanding of the images: from the margins of visual culture they are now, so to speak, admitted to the gallery of grand scholars and humanists. Their short biographies, sometimes accompanied by epigrams, are arranged in chronological order: Manuel Chrysoloras (*c.*1350–1415), Bessarion (*c.*1403–1472), George of Trebizond (1395–1472 or 1473), Theodore Gaza (*c.*1398–1475), John Argyropoulos (*c.*1415–1487), Michael Marullus Tarchaniota (*c.*1452–1500), Demetrius Chalcondyles (1424–1511), Marcus Musurus (*c.*1470–1517), and

43 Klinger (1991: 167).
44 Zimmermann (1995: 159).
45 Klinger (1991).
46 Klinger (1991: 241).
47 Klinger (1991: 242–43).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Janus Lascaris (1445–1535). They all feature in this hall of scholarly fame, and each biography is illustrated with a woodcut portrait of the scholar under discussion.[48]

Paolo Giovio and the illustrator of the *Elogia*'s first edition, Tobias Stimmer, reconstructed the individual portraits in a standardised form of frameworks, and forms of appearance. The publisher Pietro Perna (1522–1582) sent the Swiss artist to Giovio's museum in Como to copy the portrait collection.[49] Stimmer's illustrations were reprinted frequently in the Cinquecento and still have an impact on the image of the Byzantine scholars.

The *Elogia* printed by Pietro Perna in 1577 includes portraits of all nine Greek émigrés in this humanist hall of fame (Fig. 8.4).[50] This is astonishing, as popular Western (or "Latin") humanists were generally not illustrated so frequently.[51] It seems that there was a greater interest in having portraits of this group included in the collection. Interestingly, Giovio's text emphasises the Greeks' foreignness and alterity. The staggering characterisations are full of Latin stereotypes of the Greeks. Gaza and Argyropoulos, for instance, are said to be immoderate—the first with money, the second with food.[52] Lascaris combines these vices with laziness, whereas Chalcondyles, who is praised as being more virtuous than most Greeks, is said to have had depraved sons.[53] At first glance these negative traits are not represented in the portraits, which by contrast show the typical attributes of Western scholars and clergymen. If we take a closer look, however, we observe that only three younger Byzantine scholars are depicted shaven. As shaving seems to have been customary among the great majority of their Western colleagues, the fact that they are shaven

48 The illustrious Gemistos Plethon is missing in the Greek section, and there are three possible reasons for this: that he was almost forgotten, that his impression on Italian humanists was very selective, or that it was impossible to find an authentic portrait. A recent attempt to solve this problem is Seitter (2005).

49 Tanner (1984: 223–39, 235–36). Cf. George (1948).

50 Giovio (1577) (the book can be consulted online: <www.uni-mannheim.de/mateo/camenaref/giovio1.html>. The earlier editions (Antwerp 1557 and Basel 1571) did not have illustrations for the text.

51 Before the Greek emigrants only a good half of the scholars are illustrated. After the Greeks only about a third are illustrated. Although it is common for books to have more illustrations at the beginning than at the end, we see a tendency here because of the completeness of the Greek group.

52 Giovio (1577: 32, 35).

53 Giovio (1577: 37, 40). The stereotypic descriptions of the Greeks had such a strong impact that Georg Voigt used them nearly literally. See, for instance, Voigt (1960: 1, 369): "Aber dabei war [Argyropoulos] ein echter Byzantiner: launisch, prahlerisch, unzuverlässig, unerträglich, ein als Fresser und Säufer berüchtigter Dickbauch. Bissig und anmaßend wie die meisten seiner Landsleute […]".

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

FIGURE 8.4
Tobias Stimmer's portraits of nine Greek Émigrés in Paolo Giovio's *Elogia virorum illustrium* (Basel: Petri Pernae Typographi, 1577). From top left to right: Manuel Chrysoloras, Cardinal Bessarion, George of Trebizond, Theodore Gaza, John Argyropoulos, Michael Marullus Tarchaniota, Demetrius Chalcondyles, Marcus Musurus, Janus Lascaris.

as well suggests that they are included among the "Western" or "Latin" scholars. Throughout the fifteenth century, beards were clear markers of foreign ethnic groups, and especially Greeks. This changed, however, in sixteenth-century Italy, when beards became more popular generally. The beard of Pope Julius II in 1510, in particular, legitimates this change of style.[54] Giovio also had himself portrayed with a beard.[55]

Whereas most Greek scholars are also represented in comparable Quattrocento originals or in comparable coeval copies from Giovio's collection, two of them—Manuel Chrysoloras and Marcus Musurus—have no portraits corresponding to Stimmer's woodcuts.[56] Portraits of Chrysoloras in particular are rare and of dubious likeness: the famous Parisian profile drawing of Chrysoloras (Fig. 8.5),[57] stemming from the period he spent in Italy, is

54 Cf. Lehmann (2009: 79–98).

55 In fact, there are two different portrait types of Giovio: a beardless en face portrait, and printed profile portraits with beards referring to a medallion. Stimmer's illustration seems to be a combination of both, Giovio (1577: 148).

56 Klinger (1991: cat. no. 96; 251).

57 Degenhart & Schmitt (1968: I, 268, cat. no. 167); Belting (1970); Thorn-Wickert (2006); Bell (2015: 34–35).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

FIGURE 8.5 Portrait of Manuel Chrysoloras, attributed to the Florentine artist Paolo Uccello (1397–1475). Musée du Louvre (Paris)

completely different from Giovio's woodcarving (Fig. 8.6). Although the truthfulness of the Parisian drawing is debatable at best, its unexciting simplicity may be an indication of its authenticity all the same. As there are no other known portraits from the lifetime of Chrysoloras, his portrait in the *Elogia* is likely to be fictional. Although Giovio in many cases did make an effort to find authentic portraits, the fictional origin of this particular one shines through in its composition: the scrubby-bearded scholar with curly hair is wearing an exotic hat.[58] Moreover, his mouth is slightly open, showing his teeth, his pupils are distorted, and his collar is only turned up on one side. These details,

58 The hat is comparable to the one of Argyropoulos as depicted in the Vocation of the Apostles fresco by Domenico Ghirlandaio (1481) in the Sistine Chapel, Rome.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

28 ELOGIA
LATOMI.
Campani ad tumulū ſedet, & facundia muta eſt: | Aut ſi quid loquitur, triſte eſt, & flebile, linguam
Quo cum nempe viro tota propè interiit. | Contenta in cladem expediſſe ſuas.
Emanuel Chryſoloras.
EMANVELIS Chryſoloræ qui primus Græcas literas varijs Barbarorum irruptionibus expulſas, poſt ſeptingentos annos in Italiam reportauit, tanta fuit in docendo liberalis ingenij humanitas, vt eius præclara facies, prima inter Græcorum imagines illuſtri merito collocanda videatur: quanquam nulla extent, præter artis grammaticæ regulas, grauioris doctrinæ monumenta. In docendo enim nunquam feſſus, facilè in ſcribendo deſidioſus videri poterat, quum altera pars laudis exoptata noſtris vtili profeſſione peteretur. Is Byzantio emiſſus à Ioanne Imperatore, vt totius Europæ reges adeundo, percunti Græciæ maturam opem imploraret, officium quidem laborioſa peregrinatione ita impleuit, vt in Italia ſubſiſteret, Græcia ſcilicet præſenti metu liberata: cum Tamerlanes terror Orientis, Baiazetum Othomannum à terribili celeritate fulguris cognomen adeptum,

FIGURE 8.6 Tobias Stimmer's portrait of Chrysoloras in Paolo Giovio's *Elogia virorum illustrium* (Basel: Petri Pernae, 1577)

combined with the inconsistent use of light and shadow on his face, give a rather "wild" and "chaotic" impression. This impression is strengthened by the scholar's temperamental gaze. When compared to the Italian scholars and his younger compatriots, Chrysoloras is represented in an almost "barbaric" fashion. The scholar's disconcerting visual representation sharply contrasts with the laudatory description of the scholar in the text.

In Giovio's *Elogia*, this type of portrait seems to be the exception rather than the rule. The other portraits of Greek scholars are more clearly assimilated to "Western standards". This is probably due to the different models Giovio used for them. In Rome, it would not have been difficult to find models for portraits

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

of Bessarion[59] or Argyropoulos, who stayed there and were represented in frescoes, illuminations, and sculptures. However, models for Greek scholars of the first half of the fifteenth century, such as Chrysoloras, were much harder to find. Additionally, we have no evidence as to just how faithfully Stimmer copied his models. If we compare the originals we have or other copies with Stimmer's reproductions, his caricature style is obvious almost immediately. In the portrait of Michael Marullus, for example, the "translation" process from Quattrocento into Cinquecento, from Southern to Northern Europe, from oil into print, and from Sandro Botticelli to Stimmer, is clearly traceable: the earnest, elongated face is transformed into a compact head, whereas the focused eyes with heavy lids turn into oblique, bleary eyes, and the pointed nose turns up (compare Fig. 8.7 with Fig. 8.8).

In order to visualise the variety of copies following Giovio's portrait gallery and Tobias Stimmer's woodcuts, Björn Ommer and I used a computer vision algorithm which enabled us to detect similar images out of the printed portraits of the *Elogia* and their various reproductions.[60] For this purpose, we set up a data set of copies with mainly Greek portraits and some comparable portraits of Latin scholars, like Filelfo, Aretino, and Petrarch, as well as portraits from other books by Giovio illustrated by Stimmer.[61] After preparing the data set for automatic retrieval by machine learning algorithms, users can frame parts of any image to search for similar parts by making bounding boxes.

The Heidelberg group and I initiated the search with a section of Stimmer's Chrysoloras portrait.[62] The algorithm enabled us not only to detect identical or very similar image sections, but also to find variations. The results were then sorted according to their degree of similarity, with more similar results appearing before the less similar ones. The requested image section appears on the top left of the page and is often followed by photographs of the same artwork

59 Various portraits of Bessarion are gathered in Ginzburg (1981) (although not every attribution is canonical).

60 I have to thank Björn Ommer and the Computer Vision Group of Heidelberg University for their cooperation in this endeavour. The method is described in Takami, Bell & Ommer (2014: 377–84) and Bell & Ommer (2015: 414–20).

61 The database consists of 923 images, mainly copied from the Marburg Digital Portrait Index (<portraitindex.de>), the *Elogia*, and Giovio (1596). The retrieval with this image amount is a prototypical test case. Further work could be an automatic comparison of all 102,000 scholars or the whole portrait index (282,000 persons) to see clusters of similarities and several misattributions.

62 We used only a section to isolate specific details, like the ornamental framework of the print, in order to only compare the different physiognomies of the portraits.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

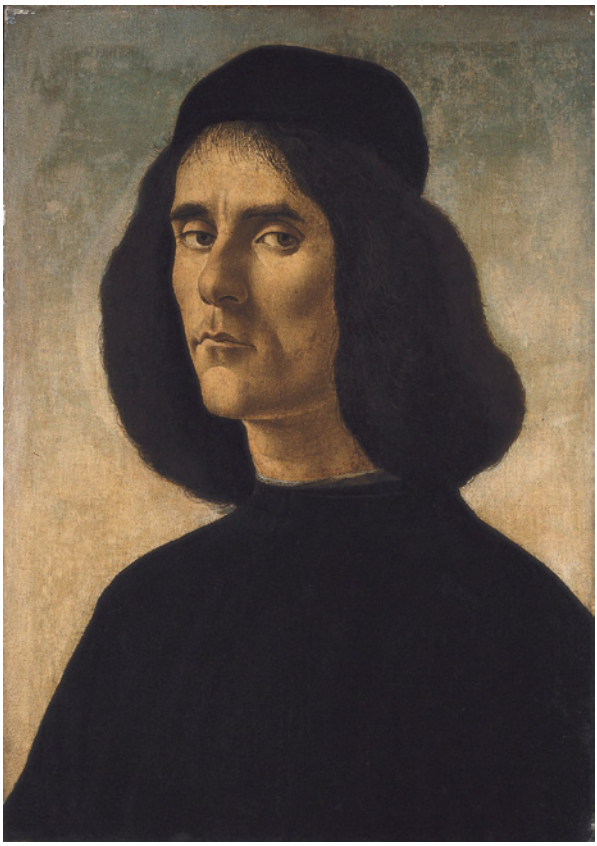


FIGURE 8.7 Sandro Botticelli's portrait of Michael Marullus, *c.*1497. Colección Guardans Cambó/The Guardans Cambó Family, Barcelona

(Fig. 8.9). In this case, for example, the first very similar images are, predictably, corresponding sections from different print runs of the same plate. After these results, showing varying degrees of similarity, the less similar variations of the image section appear as do visually related portraits. The user can therefore retrace the search process and make his or her own selection of relevant comparisons. In the example of Stimmer's Chrysoloras portrait, the scholar's face was used as a search image. Therefore, the first five results generated were different versions of this plate, printed or digitally reproduced with slight differences. The following six Chrysoloras portraits stem from other editions of the book, where the scholar appears in a more "civilised" fashion. The line of results, showing ever-decreasing similarities with Stimmer's original portrait

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

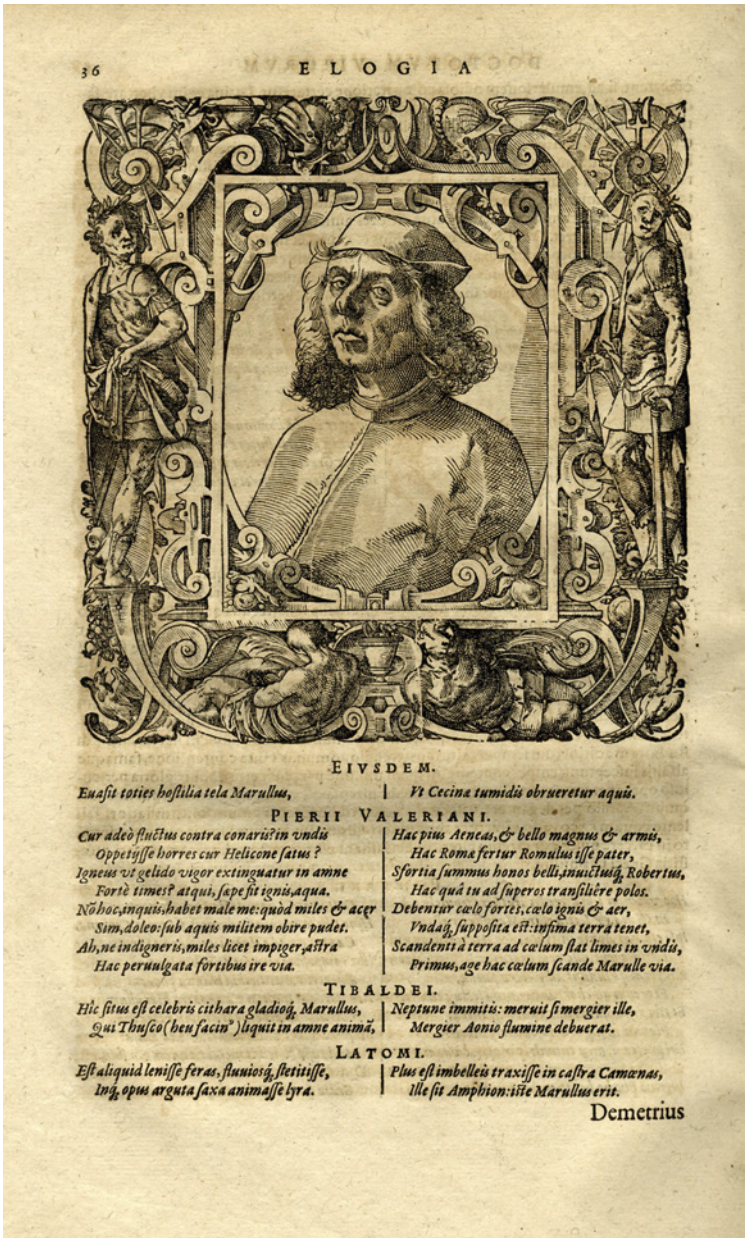

36 ELOGIA
EIVSDEM.
Euasit toties hostilia tela Marullus, | Vt Cecina tumidis obrueretur aquis.
PIERII VALERIANI.
Cur adeò fluctus contra conaris in vndis | Hac pius Aeneas, & bello magnus & armis,
Oppetyisse horres cur Helicone satus? | Hac Roma fertur Romulus isse pater,
Igneus vt gelido vigor extinguatur in amne | Sfortia summus honos belli, inuictuq; Robertus,
Fortè times? atqui, sæpe fit ignis, aqua. | Hac quâ tu ad superos transilière polos.
Nõ hoc, inquis, habet male me: quòd miles & acer | Debentur cœlo fortes, cœlo ignis & aer,
Sim, doleo: sub aquis militem obire pudet. | Vndaq; supposita est: infima terra tenet,
Ah, ne indigneris, miles licet impiger, altra | Scandentis à terra ad cœlum stat limes in vndis,
Hac perrulgata fortibus ire via. | Primus, age hac cœlum scande Marulle via.
TIBALDEI.
Hìc situs est celebris cithara gladioq; Marullus, | Neptune immitis: meruit si mergier ille,
Qui Thusco (heu facin*) liquit in amne animã, | Mergier Aonio flumine debuerat.
LATOMI.
Est aliquid leniisse feras, fluuioq; stetitisse, | Plus est imbelleis traxisse in castra Camœnas,
Inq; opus arguta saxa animasse lyra. | Ille sit Amphion: iste Marullus erit.
Demetrius

FIGURE 8.8 Tobias Stimmer's portrait of Michael Marullus in Paolo Giovio's *Elogia virorum illustrium* (Basel: Petri Pernae, 1577)

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

FIGURE 8.9 Different portraits (mostly of Manuel Chrysoloras) ranked by similarity from left to right. Web Interface by Takami, Bell, and Ommer

of Chrysoloras, ends with a portrait of another scholar: in this case, Lascaris. In the following rows the similarity rapidly decreases. However, another version of Chrysoloras shows up between oriental princes,[63] German humanists, and two portraits of Gaza. Apparently, there is some affinity between the images of the strangers the algorithm can catch. It has to be emphasised that only the visual content (i.e., the "shape" of the images) is taken into account, whereas metadata are omitted from the analysis.

What can this experiment teach us about the representation of Byzantine scholars in this period? Apart from the variety and richness of the corpus, it also demonstrates that the style of the portraits hardly changed throughout the tradition, even though there seems to be a tendency to transform the often comical and slightly grotesque physiognomies of Stimmer's woodcuts into more respectable portraits.[64] This appears, for example, from the fact that, in the course of reproduction, the hair and the beards get straighter, while the scholars appear ever more "calm" and "noble". This transformation process can be identified not only for the copies of nearly every single portrait, but also in the chronological series of the scholars in the *Elogia*, portrait by portrait. Thus, the transformation of individual scholars runs parallel to the ways in which the representation of all scholars, collectively, evolves. Representations of Chrysoloras and Lascaris, for instance, are transformed in similar ways: from

63 Giovio (1596): i.e., *Baiazetes II. Turca. Imp.* and *Basilius Moscoviae*.

64 For Chrysoloras, compare: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Inv.-No. A 3735.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

a barbaric appearance they evolved towards an acceptable habitus. As a result, the algorithm detects Lascaris as the nearest neighbour of the more decent Chrysoloras portraits. Chrysoloras's scrubby beard is trimmed, and Lascaris's hat has lost its wide brim. Chrysoloras's mouth is closed, and his vesture is elegant and without the exotic buttons the scholar wears. Physiognomy and lighting are more balanced, so that Lascaris looks dignified. The portraits of George of Trebizond and Argyropoulos are at the halfway point in the transformation between Chrysoloras and Lascaris, whereas the others follow a slightly different scheme. In particular, Bessarion and Musurus differ from the rest because they are depicted wearing their clerical habits. Like Chalcondyles, both are given in profile. In addition to the correspondence between Chrysoloras and Lascaris, there seems to be a second connection, to wit between Campanus and Musurus, both depicted in a monk's habit. The correspondence between the Occidental and Oriental scholars may be accidental, and yet it shows that there is no visual difference between the assimilated Greek scholar and the Italian citizen. As a papal legate Bessarion holds a letter, whereas others hold books to distinguish them as men of letters. Even the gestures of how the books are held and the books' formats change. The inkstand (Gaza) and the presentation of a book have been common attributes in author portraits since antiquity. However, these humanists may also be shown in their profession as teachers and translators: Chrysoloras, for example, is pointing to a text passage.

An especially remarkable detail is the row of buttons on Chrysoloras's cloak. The spherical coat buttons arguably emphasise the scholar's Greek habitus and are also represented on Pisanello's medallion of John VIII Palaeologus (Fig. 8.1). Giovio studied the medal of Palaeologus in great detail and seems to adopt this feature in the first Greek portrait. Compared with the broad collar, and the slashed shirt like the garment of a German *Landsknecht*, the peculiar hat of Chrysoloras has the most exotic appearance of all the Greeks represented in the gallery. Only George of Trebizond and two other scholars wear buttons as well. In a period when dress codes were key features of social distinction, details such as buttons or Gaza's fur trimmings are all important. In the case of the Greek scholars, the dress code has various dimensions: the buttons and trimmings, for instance, indicate their status within the scholarly world,[65] their status within their Italian host societies (often in close relationship with princes), and their being foreigners with a strange or assimilated appearance.[66]

65 Compare Hülsen-Esch (2006).

66 Dress codes also work with details like the earrings Jewish women were forced to wear: Hughes (1986: 3–59).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

There are mainly three notable aspects in the appearance of the Greek scholars which work on different levels: (a) first, the books represent the authorship[67] of the scholars, and details like fur show their social status, while (b) very few details, like the buttons and the beards, may be interpreted as marking a foreign appearance. Finally (c), the scholars' assimilation to Western norms of dress is shown by the cardinal's head and the Western tonsure. Compared with the early fifteenth-century representations of Greeks, discussed in the previous section, the portraits of Giovio and Stimmer show more or less assimilated, respectable scholars. Only Chrysoloras seems more comparable with the Oriental section of the *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium* (Basel, 1596), which in fact also matches the results of the automatic analysis, as discussed above. With his "barbaric" appearance, Chrysoloras represents the beginning of a spectrum which increasingly approximates the habitus of a Western scholar.

3 Giovio's Text and Image

A slightly different image of the Greek scholars emerges from Giovio's text. The gradual visual assimilation of the Greek scholars to a Western appearance, which I outlined above with respect to the images, is not reflected in the text. The short biographical sketches link the scholars to colleagues, schools, and traditions. They organise the context, a network of associations, in which the individuals portrayed have a prominent position. In the section on the Greek scholars, their Greek origin plays an important role.

First of all, the text identifies the scholars as foreigners by noting their birthplace and sometimes explaining the circumstances which brought them to Italy. Giovio emphasised the fact they were *Graeci*, and their Greek identity is part of a transcultural discourse. This is shown, for example, in Janus Lascaris's epigram on Argyropoulos. Lascaris writes that his fellow scholar is unsure of his teacher's true fatherland: [*N*]*escio quae potior huic fuerit patria*.[68] The epigram evokes the successful inclusion of the Greek scholar rather than the problem of finding a new cultural identity. Although the "nationality" of other scholars is often included in their name,[69] their biographies rarely discuss characteristics associated with "national" stereotypes. Giovio's text

67 It is a common iconography to present authors with a book mainly as author portraits at the beginning of manuscripts.

68 Giovio (1577: 35).

69 Cf. Giovio (1577: 35): "Ioannes Reuclin Germ. Regiomontanus" (140); "Ion. de Monte Regio Germ" (141).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

presents his view of the international Republic of Letters, and in the preface he even asks for foreign help to complete his portrait collection. Nevertheless, he evokes a competition between the different nations, for instance when he writes that he is ashamed by the philological achievements north of the Alps.[70] This competition between the scholars' "nations" culminates in the Greek section. More than others, the Greeks directly competed with the Italian humanists. With the exception of Chrysoloras, the Greeks are migrants, looking for a new life inside the Italian intellectual world. Their competence in Greek enables them to enter highly competitive positions, for example at the Curia and Italian courts.[71] In the Quattrocento, they dominated Greek studies as teachers and translators. Accordingly, Giovio admits that Poliziano taught Greek only because there were simply no Greeks to do so.[72]

As my discussion of Vespasiano and Lapo has shown, the Greeks were regarded as partaking in a cultural identity that they shared with the ancient Greeks. However, Greek eloquence and heritage alone seem not to be enough to convince Giovio of the respectability of the Greek scholars. The bilingual scholars who are fluent in both Greek and Latin are granted the highest rank.[73] For Giovio, the Greeks' attitude towards Cicero seems to be a test of cultural integrity and respectability: thus, Gaza must be praised because he translated Cicero eloquently into Greek, while Argyropoulos receives blame because he rejected Cicero's Greek knowledge.[74] Marullus especially is praised for his Latinity, although his early migration suggests that he grew up bilingual. Because of that and the inexistent Greek opus of Marullus, Karl Enenkel states that Giovio devises the (literate) Greekness also to put him in the illustrious group of Greek authors.[75] Whereas the visual appearance changes within the group, the estimation of the group's identity and integration seems to make no difference between the generations and situations.

Giovo's biographies are full of anecdotes about the Greeks, such as the description about Argyropoulos's appetite and ambition.[76] However, such

70 It is hard to decide whether this praise of German humanists was meant as a challenge to the countrymen or how much it was meant as an ironic note, cf. the very positive eulogia of Jacob Ziegler, and the dispraise towards Robert Gaguin in Giovio (1577: 138).

71 Cf. Celenza (2009).

72 Giovio (1577: 58) also mentions Poliziano's hate towards the Greeks.

73 For his Latin and bilingual abilities, Theodore Gaza is considered as outclassing his countryman (Giovio 1577: 55).

74 Giovio (1577: 55–57). This idea was spread by Poliziano, for which see Lamers (2015: 204).

75 Enenkel (2008: 425–28). On Marullus's own understanding and representation of Greekness, see also Lamers (2015: 200–232) and Siniossoglou's chapter in this volume.

76 Giovio (1577: 34–35).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

anecdotes, which sometimes spill over into gossip, cannot always be interpreted as stereotyping against the "Greeklings": the author often treats Italian scholars in the same manner. His merciless, unflattering descriptions can perhaps be understood as the result of his ambition as a historian to also document the shady side of historical characters.[77] All the same, the Greeks are more often the victims of Giovio's mockery. The difference between the Italians and the Greeks is that the text always relates them to their own countrymen. Gaza is "the most modest of the Greeks",[78] Chalcondyles is "superior in character to most Greeks",[79] and Lascaris was "almost the noblest and most learned of all"[80] the Greek refugees. All their individual qualities are essentially related to the group to which they belong. The Greek scholars can embody both negative stereotypes (i.e., decadence, garrulity) and positive ones (i.e., Greek eloquence), or they can overcome them, but in Giovio's text and the quoted epigram, they are strongly bound to their collective identity. Thus, they are caught between the stereotypes of being brilliant teachers and social outcasts.[81] This does not correspond to the evolution of the portraits of the scholars, which I discussed in the previous section and which showed the increasing assimilation of their portraits into the Italian humanist type.

4 Conclusion

The comparative study of the Byzantine scholars in art and literature shows an early attempt to integrate foreigners into the intellectual and cultural establishment of Italian humanism. More than the Greek guests of the council, who inspired art by way of an "exotic intermezzo", the Greeks of the second part of the Quattrocento stayed in Italian communities, and some of them did so exceptionally, even in high positions, especially Bessarion and Lascaris. The assumption that Byzantine scholars adopted the Italian habitus underlines the cultural transfer from East to West, in the sense of *do ut des*: the Byzantine scholars passed over their literary and linguistic heritage to the Italians and exchanged it for a "Latin" habitus, which would enable them to acquire positions in their host societies. This is reflected in a process of changing representation, starting with the "barbaric Chrysoloras" and ending with his cultivated visual

77 Völkel (1999: 30), analysing the complexity of Giovio's style and historical agenda.
78 Giovio (1577: 35).
79 Giovio (1577: 37).
80 Giovio (1577: 39).
81 Lamers (2015: 104).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

alter ego Lascaris. Although in the Cinquecento Paolo Giovio could honour the important role of the Greeks played in the Renaissance, he still had an ambivalent attitude toward them: Greeks remained at once cultural benefactors and deviant foreigners. Thus, strikingly, the process of assimilation suggested in the visual evidence does not correspond to what we find in the accompanying texts, and even contradicts it, starting with the noble Chrysoloras and ending with vicious Lascaris. The complex use of images, texts, historical facts, and stereotypes in Giovio's *Elogia* shows how carefully "illustrations" and their relation with text must be analysed before they are used, loosely and unreflectively, by way of illustrations of complex historical events and characters.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

CHAPTER 9

Maximos Margounios (*c*.1549–1602), his Anacreontic Hymns, and the Byzantine Revival in Early Modern Germany

Federica Ciccolella

While the contribution of Greek émigrés to the Western Renaissance in the fifteenth century has been the object of many outstanding studies, so far little attention has been paid to the ways in which the second and third generations of Greek scholars living in the West perceived and experienced Renaissance culture. As George Karamanolis put it in a thought-provoking 2003 article, the Greek scholars who lived in Western countries between the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries not only acted as ambassadors of Greco-Byzantine culture, but also actively participated in and significantly contributed to the consolidation and development of the Renaissance in the areas where they were living.[1] The work of the scholar, theologian, and poet Maximos Margounios (*c*.1549–1602) confirms Karamanolis's assumption. In particular, an analysis of Margounios's most important poetic work, his Anacreontic hymns, sheds light on the links between Margounios's poetry and the Byzantine tradition, his attention to the demands and tastes of his late Renaissance readers, and his contribution to the Byzantine revival in late-sixteenth century Germany.

Born in Venetian Crete in about 1549, Manuel Margounios probably received his first education at the monastery of St Catherine in Candia. In addition to learning classical Greek, he was taught Latin by Gaspare Viviani (d. 1605), the Catholic bishop of Sitia.[2] From about 1568, Margounios studied philosophy and medicine at the University of Padua, where he developed an interest in Aristotle's logic.[3] However, his refusal to give the profession of Catholic faith required of all students of law and the arts prevented him from obtaining his doctorate.[4] On his return to Crete, Margounios was ordained priest of the Orthodox Church with the name of Maximos. In 1578, Patriarch Jeremiah II of

1 Karamanolis (2003: 21–22).

2 For a reconstruction of Margounios's early education, see Fedalto (1961: 2–3); Geanakoplos (1966a: 166); Schirò (1967: 176); and Karamanolis (2003: 31).

3 See Fabris (1942: 132).

4 See Fedalto (1967b: 88–89). The *Bolla* (*bulla*) *In sacrosancta*, issued by Pope Pius IV on 13 November 1564 and published in Padua on 4 March 1565, caused harsh reactions among the students from Central Europe, England, and Greece attending the University of Padua.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2020 | DOI:10.1163/9789004402461_011
Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Constantinople (*c.*1530–1595) appointed him bishop of the Venetian colony of Cerigo (i.e., Cythera), but he never reached his diocese.[5] After a stay in Crete, he moved to Venice and became a teacher of Greek with an annual salary fixed by a Senate's decree.[6] While in Crete, Margounios wrote the first draft of his most important work, a treatise on the procession of the Holy Spirit, published in 1583 and dedicated to Patriarch Jeremiah II. One year later, he issued a second version dedicated to Prince Petru Cercel of Wallachia (*c.*1545–1590).[7] A third version was elaborated in Venice in 1587 but was published only in 1591 with the title *Enkeiridion*, in Frankfurt, by Margounios's friend and editor David Hoeschel (1556–1617).[8] In 1588, Margounios published his *Elucidatio librorum Augustini de Trinitate*, another work on the Trinitarian doctrine based on a close examination of texts by St Augustine and other Greek and Latin Church Fathers,[9] where he condemned the continuous fighting between Christians in spite of their common beliefs.

5 The Venetian government did not favour the presence of high-rank Orthodox clergy in the colonies. For example, a dispatch of 4 September 1585 to Venice indicated Greek priests as responsible for riots in Candia. Fifteen years earlier, in Cythera, a very large number of Orthodox priests were ordained, in order to take capable young men away from service to the Venetian Republic. See Geanakoplos (1966a: 167) and Fedalto (1967b: 100–01).

6 Margounios's movements between 1577 and 1584 have been reconstructed in various ways. According to Legrand (*BH XV–XVI*: II, XXXI), Margounios left Padua in December 1577 and moved to the Monastery of St Catherine in Candia, where he spent five years. Conversely, Schirò (1967: 180) supposed that Margounios moved to Venice as early as 1574. In any case, Margounios was still at Padua in March 1577. Moreover, the dedication letter of the first version of his treatise on the Holy Spirit to Patriarch Jeremiah II, dating from 16 August 1583, shows that at that time Margounios was in Crete. See Fedalto (1961: 6), Fedalto (1963: 303), and Fedalto (1967a: 95).

7 Jeremiah II (Jeremias Tranos) became patriarch of Constantinople in 1572. He was deposed and excommunicated in 1579, reinstated in 1580, deposed again in 1584, and finally re-elected patriarch in 1587. Jeremiah, who is known for establishing the Russian Patriarchate (1589), had intense relations with both the Catholic Church and the Protestant Reformers. In 1576, he rejected the Augsburg Confession (*Confessio Augustana*), which he read in a Greek translation by Jacob Andreae (1528–1590) and Martin Crusius (1526–1607), and reiterated his objections in 1579; see, e.g., Wenz (2010). Petru Cercel (i.e., "Earring Peter") was Voivode of Wallachia from 1583 to 1585. Cercel, a humanist and a polyglot, adopted the lifestyle of the Renaissance courts he had visited while travelling through Europe. After his ascent to the throne, he tried to introduce economic and political reforms in his country, but the opposition of the local nobility and dynastic conflicts eventually cost him the throne and his life; see Ţighiliu (1993).

8 See *BH XV–XVI*: II, XLV–XLVI; Fedalto (1963: 303); Schirò (1967: 170–71).

9 See Fedalto (1967a: 202) and Fedalto (1967b: 104). The Greek translations of Augustine's *De Trinitate* by Maximus Planudes and of Boethius's *De Trinitate* by Manuel Kalekas witness the importance of Latin works on the Trinity in the theological debate in Byzantium; see, e.g., Podskalsky (1977: 173–80); and Bianconi (2004: 557–8, 567–68).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Margounios's works were inspired by his relentless efforts to find an agreement between the Catholic and Orthodox positions on the crucial issues of the Procession of the Holy Spirit and the *Filioque*. Margounios maintained that there were two processions of the godhead, one eternal and one temporal, and the *Filioque* formula was legitimate when applied to the latter.[10] This conciliatory attitude angered both the Orthodox and the Catholic Churches. On the Orthodox side, Margounios had to face the attacks of Gabriel Severos (1541–1616), a former fellow student at Padua; reconciliation followed only in 1593. On the Catholic side, the Inquisition investigated Margounios's case but the Venetian government refused to extradite him to Rome.[11] Margounios spent his last years in Venice, where he died in 1602.[12]

Margounios, who was a very prolific author of theological and philosophical prose works, devoted particular attention to poetry in the last years of his life.[13] In 1592, he published a collection of elegiac poems consisting of lamentations, interpretations or paraphrases of Psalms, and epitaphs.[14] Style and metrics reveal an effort to compete with ancient classical poetry: Margounios expressed Christian concepts using the words of Homer and other poets.

In 1599, he completed a second poetic collection containing nine hymns in Anacreontic verse. This collection, published in Augsburg in 1601,[15] raises two important issues. The first concerns Margounios's use of the Anacreontic genre and the relationship of his hymns to the Byzantine poetic tradition, as well as the revival of Anacreontic poetry prompted by Estienne's publication of the *Carmina Anacreontea* in 1554.[16] The second issue involves the printed volume itself, which, in addition to Margounios's hymns, contains poems produced by a circle of German humanists that flourished in Augsburg between the end

10 On Margounios's theological thought, in addition to Podskalsky (1988: 135–51), see, e.g., Fedalto (1963: 304–46) and Fedalto (1967a: 94–114). For an analysis of the origins and developments of the *Filioque* controversy, see Coetzee (2014); on Margounios's position, see Siecienski (2010: 180–81).

11 The Venetian Senators, who in 1593 had handed over Giordano Bruno to the Roman Inquisition, did not do the same to Margounios because extradition was not prescribed for Venetian citizens. They also feared that such a decision might anger Venice's Greek subjects, as well as the Greeks under the Turks, with serious consequences for Christendom. See Fedalto (1967b: 109).

12 On the fate of Margounios's library after his death, see Geanakoplos's extensive studies (1966a: 165–93; and 1968).

13 A list and a description of Margounios's works can be found in Fedalto (1961: 35–60).

14 Margounios (1592).

15 Margounios (1601). For an analysis of the collection, see Ciccolella (forthcoming). Hymns 1, 6, and 9 were published in *PG*: XCI, cols. 1417–24 under the name of Maximus the Confessor; Margounios's authorship has been established by Mercati (1934).

16 *Anacreontea* (1554). See also below, p. 222.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century. An analysis of the reception of Anacreontic poetry within this cultural environment provides significant elements to assess the value of Margounios's work in the context of German humanism, as well as the vitality of the Byzantine tradition in Europe one and a half centuries after the fall of Constantinople.

1 Margounios and Anacreontic Poetry

Anacreontic poetry flourished through the entire Byzantine millennium. Its origin dates back to between the sixth and the fifth centuries BC, when Anacreon of Teos celebrated the pleasures of wine, love, and youth using two kinds of short verse: seven-syllable hemiambs and eight-syllable *anaclomenoi*, i.e., anaclastic ionic dimeters *a minore*. During the Hellenistic and imperial ages, Anacreon's poetry was imitated in the so-called *Carmina Anacreontea*.[17] After the fourth century, Anacreontic metres were also employed for poems dealing with serious topics. Byzantine poets used hemiambs and *anaclomenoi* to express the most diverse contents: from religion to personal feelings, from praises of rulers or leaders to parodies and critiques, etc.[18] Anacreontics continued to be written when the Greek language had abandoned prosody in favour of the tonic accent. The use of accentual instead of quantitative metrics favoured the association of non-prosodic Anacreontics in seven- or eight-syllable verse with hymnography: as happens with religious hymns, the titles of some of these poems bear the indication of the musical ἦχος adopted for their performances.[19]

The Augsburg edition of Margounios's Anacreontics contains nine compositions of various length. Although each is entitled ὕμνος, most probably these poems were not meant for any kind of performance or liturgical use. Each hymn bears a second title specifying its contents.[20] All hymns are in seven-syllable verse; although Margounios made a consistent effort to respect

17 *Anacreontea* (1993). See Müller (2010), Zotou (2014), the essays collected in Baumbach & Dümmler (2014), and the bibliography quoted therein. On the metres of Anacreontic poetry and their relationship, see Ciccolella (1993).

18 For an overview of Byzantine Anacreontic poetry, see Nissen (1940); Ciccolella (2000: XXI–XXVIII) (prosodic Anacreontics); and Ciccolella (1995: 249–50) (accentual Anacreontics).

19 For an analysis of the relationship between Anacreontic poetry and hymnography, see, e.g., Ciccolella (1995: 250–55) and Lauxtermann (1999: 45–51).

20 For example, the long first hymn is defined as εὐχαριστήριος καὶ ἱκετήριος πρὸς θεόν, "thanksgiving and supplication to God". The third is a παραινετικὸς ὕμνος a "hortatory hymn", and contains Margounios's exhortation to his soul. The sixth is an ἱκετήριος εἰς Χριστὸν ἐν εἴδει ἐξομολογήσεως a "supplication to Christ in the form of a confession"; etc.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

ancient prosody, at least visually, he did not avoid hiatuses between consecutive words. Also, the positions of the word accents within the lines are variable, but the fourth and the sixth syllables are preferably stressed. The language echoes that of authors and works of the best Greek and Byzantine poetic traditions. Margounios's models range from Homer to the Bible and Byzantine hymnography: he displays both a thorough knowledge of theology and a solid background in ancient Greek poetry. At the same time, Margounios often reproduced the word plays, formulas, anaphors, antitheses, acrostics and all the other typical devices of the Anacreontic style.[21]

Although Margounios certainly knew the poems of Sophronius of Jerusalem (*c.*560–638), the best representative of Byzantine religious Anacreontic poetry,[22] he did not take inspiration from Sophronius's carefully structured compositions, which were deeply influenced by religious hymnography and resembled poetic homilies or liturgical dialogues between a singer and a chorus or a congregation. Conversely, Margounios's poems are monologues and, as such, follow the late antique models of Gregory of Nazianzus (329–390) and Synesius of Cyrene (320–413).[23] Three of Gregory's poems can be defined as Anacreontics: *Carm.* 1.1.30 ("Ὕμνος πρὸς Θεόν"), in *anaclomenoi* alternating with pure ionic dimeters; 1.2.7 ("περὶ ἀγνείας"), in *anaclomenoi*; and 2.1.88 ("εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχήν"), in hemiambs.[24] The repetition of two lines from Gregory's third Anacreontic in Margounios's third hymn shows that Margounios was intentionally imitating his poetry.[25] Synesius of Cyrene used the *anaclomenos* for two of his hymns, the fifth and the ninth.[26]

21 A complete analysis of the style and metrics of Margounios's Anacreontic hymns, which lies outside the purpose of the present paper, will be included in my forthcoming critical edition of these hymns.

22 Sophronius of Jerusalem is mentioned, for example, on the title page of Margounios's edition of the *Triodion*, published in Venice in 1600. The page, probably designed by Margounios himself, contains thirty roundels bearing the names of hymnographers of the Byzantine church; see Hetherington (1973).

23 On the hymns of Gregory of Nazianzus and Synesius of Cyrene and their theological significance, see, e.g., McGuckin (2008: 647–49).

24 *PG*: XXXVII, cols. 508–10, 648, and 1435–42. On Gregory of Nazianzus's Anacreontics, in addition to my remarks in Ciccolella (2000: XXIV), see Nissen (1940: 6–9), and especially Crimi (1996).

25 Gregory of Nazianzus, *Carmina* 2.1.88.1–2 (*PG*: XXXVII, col. 1435) = Maximos Margounios, *Hymns* 3.115–16: τί σοι θέλεις γενέσθαι; / ψυχὴν ἐμὴν ἐρωτῶ. Gregory's poem also may have inspired Margounios's use of the hemiamb instead of the *anaclomenos*, which was most commonly used in Anacreontic poetry, while there are no known examples of Anacreontics in hemiambs after the tenth century.

26 I follow the numbering of Synesius (2003). On the transmission and fate of Synesius's hymns, see Baldi (2012a) and Baldi (2012b).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Gregory of Nazianzus's poetry and prose works enjoyed great favour in Byzantium[27] as well as among German humanists.[28] Margounios may have had a keen interest in the Christological and Trinitarian doctrines that Gregory, "one of the chief architects of the doctrine of the consubstantiality of the divine Spirit",[29] expressed in his orations and, particularly, his *Poemata Arcana*, where Christian didactic poetry was combined with pagan hexameter hymns.[30] Issues related to Christ and the Trinity were also central in some of Synesius's hymns, which had been widely read during the lively theological debates of the last stage of the Byzantine Empire. For example, George Scholarios (*c*.1400–*c*.1473), whose work was one of the sources of Margounios's treatise on the Trinity,[31] produced a prose paraphrase of and a commentary on Synesius's third hymn.[32] In fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Europe, Synesius's works continued to be studied and appreciated; Margounios also wrote scholia on Synesius's treatise on divine Providence.[33]

In 1567 and 1568, two editions of Synesius's hymns, both equipped with a Latin translation, were issued by the Dutch Willem Canter (1542–1575) and the

27 See Gregory of Nazianzus (2009: 57–69) in Simelidis's edition, and the passages and bibliography quoted therein.

28 For example, David Hoeschel published three editions of Gregory's works: see Spring (1993: 111, 117) and below, n. 30.

29 McGuckin (2008: 648). On Gregory of Nazianzus's theology, see, e.g., Beeley (2008); Beeley (2010); Harrison (2012).

30 In 1591, Hoeschel published six of Gregory's eight hexameter *Poemata Arcana*. These poems (Ἀπόρρητα = *Poemata dogmatica* 1–5 and 7–9, in *PG*: XXXVII, cols. 397A–429A and 438A–464A; modern edition with English translation and commentary: Gregory of Nazianzus (1997) deal with several theological issues, including the doctrine of the person and the works of Christ; see in particular Meinel (2009) (with extensive bibliography) and Daley (2012). Faulkner (2010) has detected and analysed echoes from the Homeric hymns and, especially, Callimachus's hymns in the style of the *Poemata*.

31 A note in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Barocci 92, fol. III^{v}, by the hand of the Cretan-Venetian humanist and mathematician Francesco Barocci (1537–1604) shows that, on 10 March 1577, while in Venice or Padua, Margounios borrowed this volume, which contains George Scholarios's treatise on the procession of the Holy Spirit and a homily on the Transfiguration. On Scholarios's life and work, see, e.g., Blanchet's 2008 study.

32 On Synesius's Hymn 3, written in 402, see Bregman (1982: 78–88). The Neoplatonic roots of Synesius's Trinitarian doctrine have been analysed, in particular, by Wollenweider (2012). Scholarios claimed to have sacrificed his night sleep to read Synesius's hymns; the result of his work can be read in the autograph manuscript BnF, MS Gr. 1289, which contains the text, paraphrase, and commentary on Hymn 3 (edited in Scholarios 1928–1936: I, 14–21); see Lacombrade in Synesius (2003: XLVIII) and Roques (2012: 310–11).

33 See Roques (2012: 312, 318–44).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Cretan Frankiskos Portos (Francesco Porto, 1511–1581), respectively.[34] Canter's edition contains, as appendix, one ode by Gregory of Nazianzus. Portos included at the end of his edition two of Gregory's Anacreontics (*Carmina* 1.1.30 and 2.1.88), as well as *Carmina* 1.1.32, 1–28 and 2.1.30, 1–16. Although the reasons for Portos's choice are not entirely clear,[35] the publication of Gregory of Nazianzus's Anacreontics together with Synesius's hymns established a link between the two first representatives of Christian Anacreontic poetry and, consequently, reinforced the association between the two poets in terms of both literary style and theology.[36]

The use of the hymn to expound theological and philosophical doctrines had a long history from antiquity to the Renaissance;[37] Margounios may have found the hymn form particularly appropriate to express his philosophical ideas and theological doctrine, as well as his poetic inspiration. Although his hymns often deal with personal issues, there are not many references to his actual life. No indication of an absolute or relative chronology results from these poems, which he may have composed at different times of his life. Hymn 8 is the only one that is related to a precise occasion: in a rather joyful tone, Margounios addresses his disciple and friend, deacon Nathanael Emboros, who had promised to join him but was not honouring his promise. This poem has the tone of the scoptic Anacreontics produced in the fourteenth century.[38]

In some hymns, Margounios expresses his position on the Trinitarian doctrine. For example, in the short Hymn 9, he remarks that the Holy Spirit is

34 Synesius (1567) and Synesius (1568). On Synesius's hymns, their editions, and translations, see Smolak (2012: 427–35). On the life and works of Frankiskos Portos, see Geanakoplos (1966a: 158–60); Tavonatti (2010: 11–161) and the bibliography quoted therein.

35 Crimi (1996: 124) maintains that Gregory's poems "costituiscono una sorta di campionario di metri di uso non proprio frequente nella Tarda Antichità […] adatti ad accompagnare, quasi ad illustrarne le ragioni, la polimetria di quegli inni sinesiani […]". Baldi (2012b: 148–50) supposes that Portos found Gregory's poems in the same manuscript from which he took the text of Synesius's hymns.

36 For an analysis of the relationships between Gregory's and Synesius's Christology, see Wagner (2016).

37 As Dihle has put it (1994: 457), "the choice of such poetic form goes back to a very old motif of Greek piety, sublimated in philosophy. The hymns talk again and again of the splendour, the sublime nature, and the beauty of the divine and the created order, as well as the aesthetic pleasure enjoyed by the person who approaches it by rational cognition". On the use of hymns by late antique Neoplatonists, see, e.g., Van den Berg (2001) and Wollenweider (2012). For the Renaissance, see in particular Klitenic Wear (2011) and Allen (2015: 181–82 and n. 26).

38 For style and metrics of fourteenth-century Byzantine scoptic Anacreontics, see Ciccolella (1995: 264–68). For an English translation and a commentary on this poem, see Ciccolella (forthcoming).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

ἴσον γόνῳ καὶ ἀρχῇ, "equal to the Son and the Father" (line 4): this is probably a reference to the accusation of subordinating the Holy Spirit to the other two Persons of the Trinity, which Greek Orthodox addressed to Westerners in the *Filioque* controversy. However, the best examples of Margounios's poetry may be found in the expression of his weaknesses and inability to face temptations and sins, where beautiful natural images alternate with detailed descriptions of punishments, torments, and disasters.

Along with the influence of Gregory of Nazianzus's and Synesius's models and the flexibility of the hymn as a poetic genre, a third factor may explain Margounios's Anacreontic poetry. In 1554, Henri Estienne (1528–1598) published the *editio princeps* of the *Carmina Anacreontea*;[39] these poems, which were thought to be works of the real Anacreon, were soon translated and imitated all over Europe, giving rise to a production of odes on wine, love, and youth in short verse.[40] The same verse became popular especially among Jesuits for a parallel production of Christian Anacreontics, whereas in German-speaking countries this "Christian Anacreon" was particularly connected to Protestant circles.[41] Consequently, Margounios's hymns represent recovery of a Byzantine tradition under the impulse of the rediscovery of a classical author in ways that matched his own religious commitment and, most of all, suited the tastes and demands of his intended audience, Augsburg's cultural circle.

2 The Latin Translation and the Augsburg Intellectuals

The Augsburg edition of 1601 presents Margounios's nine Anacreontic hymns in Greek with a Latin translation by Conrad Rittershausen (1560–1613) on the front pages. Although Margounios had a perfect knowledge of Latin,[42] he may have chosen to entrust the translation to a skilled Western literate in order

39 *Anacreontea* (1554).

40 The bibliography on European "Anacreontism" is vast; see, e.g., Zeman (1972: 16–56); O'Brien (1995); Lambin (2002); Rosenmeyer (2002); and Tilg in Baumbach & Dümmler (2014: 163–97). As pointed out by Zeman (1972: 8–9), three of the *Anacreontea* included in the Planudean Anthology were known to humanists before Estienne's editions and at least since Janus Lascaris's publication of the collection (Florence, 1494). Additionally, one poem could be read in Aulus Gellius's *Attic Nights* (9.19.4).

41 See Zeman (1972: 31–32).

42 Margounios's letters show that, in addition to Greek, he mastered Latin and Italian. For a list of the 288 letters edited so far (Enepekides 1951; Enepekides 1961; and Enepekides 1970: 215–426), see Litsas (2009).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

to allow his readers to better appreciate his poetry.[43] Rittershausen was a professor of law at the Academy (later University) of Altdorf, as well as a theologian, a philosopher, and an editor of ancient texts.[44]

The titlepage specifies that the book was published by Johannes Praetorius, a printer who worked for the publishing house called *Ad insigne pinus*, founded in 1594 by David Hoeschel and Marcus Welser (1558–1614) and specialising in Greek and Latin texts. This press, which was active until 1619, produced about seventy editions of classical and post-classical texts.[45] Hoeschel, a pupil of Hieronymus Wolf (1516–1580), was a professor and a librarian in Augsburg. Welser, born of a powerful banking family in Augsburg, studied the humanities with Wolf and law in Padua with Antonius Muretus (1526–1565). Welser became a politician, a patron of humanist studies, and a scholar, and established contacts with the most important men of culture of his time.[46]

The volume opens with Rittershausen's dedication letter, in Greek, to David Hoeschel, where Marcus Welser (Μάρκος ὁ Βελσῆρος) is also mentioned.[47] In a very elaborate style, Rittershausen says that he has undertaken the task of

43 Similarly, Frankiskos Portos asked Joseph Scaliger to translate his Greek epigrams into Latin. As noted by Karamanolis (2003: 29–30), such Latin translations were useful to European readers, who were generally more familiar with Latin than with Greek; also, they dispelled the suspicion of an inability to compose such versions at a time when several humanists (e.g., Poliziano, Musurus, Crusius, Casaubon, etc.) were able to write in both languages.

44 In the title of one of the poems celebrating his translation, he is called *vir clarissimus celeberrimae Academiae Altorfianae antecessor*. Conrad Rittershausen of Braunschweig, a jurist and a philologist, became a professor of law at Altdorf and legal consultant in Nuremberg. On his life and works, see Canfora (2001: 154–5), *NDB*: XXI, *s.v.* "Rittershausen, Conrad" (670–71), and *EH*: 368–69. Rittershausen's first wife was Helena Staudner, the daughter of the Evangelical theologian Georg Staudner. The digital edition of Margounios's hymns that I have consulted (a copy at Göttingen State and University Library) bears, on the frontispiece, Ritterhausen's handwritten dedication to his father-in-law, who had died in 1580: *Domino Georgio Staudnero Affini suo honorando Cunradus Rittershusius donum dedit*.

45 See Bellot (1978).

46 On Marcus (also spelled "Markus") Welser and his engagement with culture, see the articles by Künast, Kuhoff & Keil in Häberlein and Burkhardt (2002) and Schmidt (2010: 430).

47 Fols. 2^{r}–4^{v}: Κορράδος ὁ Ῥιττερσούσιος Δαβίδῃ τῷ Ἐσχελίῳ εὖ πράττειν, κ.τ.λ. David Hoeschel studied with Hieronymus Wolf in Augsburg and completed his education in Leipzig and Wittenberg. In 1581, after Wolf's death, Hoeschel took over Wolf's position at the St Anna Gymnasium, which he kept until the end of his life. In 1593, Hoeschel became rector and city librarian at Augsburg. His Protestantism did not prevent him from establishing close relationships with Welser and other Catholic intellectuals. See *ADB*: XIII, *s.v.* "Hoeschel, David"; *EH*: 237; Spring (1993); Walter (2004); Ferber (2010: 410–17), and the bibliography quoted therein.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

translating Margounios's hymns into Latin at Hoeschel's request and with the implicit consensus of the author himself.[48] In spite of his efforts to respect the metrics and style of the original Greek, he is afraid that his translation will fall short of Hoeschel's expectations because of Margounios's inimitable style and the differences between the Greek and Latin languages.[49] In any case, Rittershausen is confident that he has respected the sense of the original. He also indicates the literary models with which Margounios's poems compete: Clement of Alexandria (150–215), Gregory of Nazianzus, and Synesius of Cyrene.[50]

Two letters by Margounios to Rittershausen follow, with the second preceding the first chronologically. This letter, written in Venice on 30 August 1599, documents Margounios's relationship with Rittershausen, Hoeschel, and Welser.[51] The presence of the Greek Margounios in this circle of German scholars pursuing the objective of publishing Greek texts suggests that, in Augsburg, they were trying to re-create Aldus Manutius's Academy and related publishing house: it is possible that they intended to make Augsburg a second Venice, a centre of classical studies across the Alps. Indeed, Augsburg, the ancient *Augusta Vindelicorum* founded by the Romans, had intense commercial and cultural relationships with Italy and particularly with Venice.[52] Most of the Augsburg scholars had studied in Italy, especially in Bologna and Padua, as was typical for German élites.[53] Thanks to Hieronymus Wolf and his pupil

48 Fols. 2^{v}–3^{r}: λέγω δηλονότι τοὺς τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου καὶ ἐλλογιμωτάτου ἐπισκόπου Μαξίμου τοῦ Μαργουνίου ἀνακρεοντείους ἱερωτάτους ὕμνους, οἷς με ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ τινὶ συνθήματι ἐδωρήσω, ὥστε ῥωμαϊστὶ μεταφρασθέντας τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ σπουδῇ ἐκτυπῶσαί τε καὶ ἐκδοῦναι. αὐτὸ γὰρ τοῦτο οὐκ ἄκοντος ἔφης γενήσεσθαι τοῦ ξυγγραφέως, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ περιχαρῶς προσδεξόμενον τὸν ἡμετέρον περὶ ταῦτα πόνον, τήν τε φιλόθεον σπουδὴν φιλικῶς ἀσπασόμενον.

49 Fols. 3^{r}–3^{v}: ἵνα γὰρ μὴ εἴπω τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ θεοπρεπὲς καὶ κόσμιον τῆς λέξεως, ᾗ κεχρῆσθαι σύνηθες τῷ Μαργουνίῳ, ἀνδρὶ τῶν νῦν ἑλλήνων, ὧν οἴδαμεν, σοφωτάτῳ […], τίς οὐκ οἶδεν ὅσον μεταξὺ τῶν γλωσσῶν ἑλληνικῆς τε καὶ ῥωμαϊκῆς καὶ ὡς ταύτῃ ἀνεφικτός ἐστιν ἐκείνης ἡ δεξιότης τό τε πολυστρεφὲς καὶ πολύμορφον;

50 On Gregory of Nazianzus and Synesius, see above. In *Stromata* 6.14.7, Clement of Alexandria quoted part of an Anacreontic of the Palatine collection, attributing it to Anacreon. Rittershausen was probably referring to the longer *Hymn to Christ the Saviour*, attributed to Clement, which, however, is not in Anacreontic metre.

51 Fols. 6^{r}–6^{v}. On Margounios and Hoeschel, see Sode (2001).

52 On the commercial and cultural relationships between Venice and Augsburg, see, e.g., Fedalto (1980: 514–17); Roeck (1995); Cavalieri (2010).

53 Augsburg was home to the *Sodalitas litteraria Augustana,* founded in 1503 and centered on the personality of Konrad Peutinger (1465–1547). Peutinger, a pupil of Pomponio Leto (1428–1498), may have been inspired by Leto's Roman Academy and its focus on ancient history, coins, and inscriptions. See Müller (1997), Worstbrock (2000), and Gier (2010: 224, 234–35, 238). For the meanings and uses of the terms *Academia* and *Sodalitas* in the Renaissance, see the articles by Hankins and Bianca in Pade (2011); on Leto's Academy, see

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

David Hoeschel, Greek studies were flourishing in the city,[54] although the climate arising from the Reformation stimulated interest in antiquarianism, history, and religion, rather than in the whole "pagan" Greek culture. Religious controversies apparently were left outside of the circle, where Catholics, Protestants, and Orthodox were able to pursue the same cultural projects. The letters Margounios exchanged with Hoeschel between 1590 and 1601 clarify that Margounios contributed significantly to the activity of the publishing house by sending Greek manuscripts from Venice and other Italian cities to Augsburg.[55]

Several Latin poems in praise of Rittershausen's translation are included at the beginning of the book: an elegy by Gregor Bersmann (1538–1611), an Anacreontic in seven-syllable verse by Georg Remus (1561/62–1625), a poem in iambic trimeters (*iambi tragici*) by Michael Virdung (1575–1637), and a single distich by Ulrich Buchner (1560–1602). All these poets were jurists, professors, theologians, physicians, and scholars related to Augsburg and, particularly, the Altdorf Academy; Virdung and Buchner were poets laureate.[56] Some of these poems compare Rittershausen's translation to Margounios's Greek text. For example, Bersmann juxtaposes the restricted use of the Greek language to the worldwide understanding of Latin,[57] while Remus, after defining Margounios as the heir to Anacreon, praises Rittershausen for being "the very learned Latin-German poet (lines 17–18: *cultissimi poëtae* / *Latino-Teutonis*) that had been missing until the present".[58]

---

in particular De Beer (2008). Sixteenth-century German *Sodalitates* have been analysed by Schirrmeister (2003: 170–94).

54 See Spring (1993: 85).

55 See Enepekides (1961: 101–31).

56 On Gregor Bersmann, a professor of poetry and the classical languages at Leipzig, see *EH*: 65. Georg Rem or Remus, a jurist (*I.C.* = *iuris consultus*) and a poet, was chancellor at Altdorf: see *EH*: 363; and Canfora (2001: 155). Michael Virdung and Ulrich Buchner are defined as *Francus PC* (i.e., *Poeta Caesareus* or *Poeta Coronatus*) and "*PL*" (*Poeta Laureatus*), respectively. Virdung, who wrote poems as well as tragedies, studied at Strasbourg and Jena and became professor of eloquence, politics, and history at the University of Altdorf. He received the laurel crown on 15 January 1597 from the Jena jurist and humanist Nicolaus Reusner (1545–1602), Count Palatine, who also crowned Buchner in 1596. After studying philosophy, Buchner pursued a military career and eventually became cantor at Wertheim. See Flood (2006: IV, 2167–69) (on Virdung) and Flood (2006: I, 258–60) (on Buchner). On the role and functions of *poetae laureati* within the context of German humanism, see Schirrmeister (2003).

57 Fol. A7^{r} (unnumbered): [...] *Graiae commercia linguae / angustiore quod premantur limite, / Ausoniae totum communio permeet orbem, / quo lumen usque publicum Sol porrigit*.

58 Remus's poem can be read on fol. A7^{v} (unnumbered). Line 15 (*siquidem rediret omnem*) has eight syllables instead of seven.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Indeed, Rittershausen's translation reveals an effort to compete with the original text. He renders Margounios's hemiambs with Latin heptasyllables with an iambic rhythm and sometimes mixed with octosyllables. Although generally striving for faithfulness, he often elaborates on the text: while trying not to omit any detail of Margounios's condensed style, he sometimes adds words that are absent from the original poems. Much more telling are the changes that Rittershausen, a Protestant, introduced in the text to make Margounios's hymns compatible with his own faith and the beliefs of his audience. For example, in the first hymn, when talking about Christ's Incarnation as achieving salvation for humankind, Margounios says that Christ was born as a man from Mary "who knew no marriage" (lines 32–3: λαβὼν ἀπειρολέκτρου / γέννησιν ἐκ Μαρίης), which Rittershausen translates *hominumque more nasci* / *dignatus est puella*, "and he deemed it worthy to be born of a girl, in the manner of men", omitting the name of Mary and using the generic *puella* instead of *virgo* or any related term. Rittershausen's translation can be read as a concession to his audience's aversion for the cult of the Virgin Mary, or perhaps as an attempt not to raise such a delicate issue.

Margounios's knowledge of Latin certainly made him able to realise that Rittershausen's translation was "interpretive" rather than literal. The first of his letters included at the beginning of the volume is dated Venice, 5 March 1600; at that time, Margounios had probably received the proofs of the volume. Margounios responds to Rittershausen's words to Hoeschel rejecting his profession of humility: he praises the Latin translation lavishly for its faithful rendering of the contents, as well as its eloquent and appropriate style. Then, however, Margounios adds that readers may consider Ritterhausen's work not as a μετάφρασις, a translation, but as an αὐτουργία, an independent work.[59] The term αὐτουργία contains both a praise and a critique: while appreciating the literary value of the translation, Margounios may have not liked the freedom Rittershausen allowed himself in order to make his poems compatible with the tastes and ideas of his readers.

A poetic anthology follows Margounios's hymns and their translation. It shows that the Augsburg scholars, in addition to carrying out their academic, administrative, and priestly activities, engaged in the writing of poetry in Latin and occasionally in Greek, following ancient models and often competing with each other. Some of these poems are in Anacreontic verse. A first example is an *Oratio dominica* in quatrains of hemiambs, written in Greek by Rittershausen's

59 Fol. A5^{v}: οὕτω παρομαρτεῖς κατ᾽ἴχνος τοῖς οἷς ἐγὼ ἐν ἐκείνοις διανενόημαι, καὶ τοιαύτῃ τῶν λέξεων εὐφραδίᾳ ἅμα καὶ οἰκειότητι, ὡς μικροῦ κινδυνεύειν δόξαι τισὶ μὴ μετάφρασιν, ἀλλ᾽αὐτουργίαν τινά, ἵν᾽οὕτως εἴπω, γενέσθαι τὰ σά.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

maternal uncle Matthias Bergius (1536–1592)[60] and translated into Latin by Rittershausen in seven- and eight-syllable verse; the division into quatrains suggests a close imitation of the *Carmina Anacreontea*. Another Anacreontic poem is a Greek paraphrase of Psalm 23 by Thomas Gölner, in *anaclomenoi*, which Rittershausen translated quite freely into Latin octosyllables; the translation is dedicated to the Augsburg physician and naturalist Adolph Occo (III) (1524–1606).[61] It is followed by a paraphrase of the same Psalm in elegiac couplets by the jurist Melchior Kochen, who donated this poem to Rittershausen in exchange for his hospitality. Another "poetic competition" is established between Giovanni Pico della Mirandola's elegy entitled *Deprecatoria ad Deum*,[62] whose complete text (62 lines) is reproduced, and a *Deprecatio sive exomologesis* by Georg Remus in rhythmical prose imitating dactylic hexameters.

Four Latin poems by Conrad Rittershausen conclude the collection and the volume. The first is a hymn written "without metre" (ἄμετρον) and imitating the anapaestic rhythm of early Christian Latin hymnography, which the author claims to have transcribed from a manuscript in August 1599 at the home of Marcus Welser.[63] The second is a supplication to God in stanzas of five heptasyllables. The third and the fourth poems are both in quatrains of heptasyllables and octosyllables: the former is a hymn celebrating divine Providence and the latter a supplication for the growth of crops based on Psalms 64 and 104.

60 Matthias Bergius or Berg of Braunschweig was a theologian, a moral philosopher, and a poet. After serving as rector of the Katharineum, a school in his native city, he became professor of moral philosophy at Altdorf in 1585. In addition to *EH*: 64, see Deufert's 2011 extensive study.

61 Adolph Occo III, defined as *V.CL.D. = Vir Clarissimus Doctor* in the poem's title, wrote about medicine, numismatics, and philosophy. His grandfather Adolph Occo I (1447–1503), who had studied medicine in Ferrara, played an important role in the establishment of the *Sodalitas litteraria Augustana* in 1503; see Nübel (1973) and Gier (2010: 226). Adolph Occo II (1494–1572) is depicted on this volume's cover (see also the Preface).

62 The *Deprecatoria* was published shortly after Pico's death by his nephew Giovanni Francesco (Venice 1498) and was later included in Pico's collective works; see, e.g., Kristeller (1975: 186–87, 199). On the presence of the works by Pico and other Italian humanists in the libraries of Augsburg scholars, see Gier (2010: 227–28). Pico's works were appreciated, for example, by Konrad Peutinger, who had met him in Bologna, and the Dominican Johannes Faber of Heilbronn (1504–1558), who spent in Augsburg the last years of his life. Faber expressed his admiration for the style and thought of Pico and Marsilio Ficino in a letter to Willibald Pirckheimer (1470–1530): see Gier (2010: 234–35).

63 Fol. I2^{v}: *Hymnum hunc* ἄμετρον *ex membranis describebat C*(*onradus*) *R*(*ittershusius*) *Augustae Vind*(*elicorum*) *apud Nobiliss*(*imum*) *D*(*ominum*) *Marcum Velserum ibidem duumvirum, mense Augusto, anno 1599*. The Latin title *duumvir* was attributed to the two heads of the town council ("Stadtpfleger") of Augsburg. Marcus Welser held that office from 1600 to 1614, the year of his death: see Kuhoff (2002: 586).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

It appears, therefore, that whoever conceived the edition of Margounios's hymns—Hoeschel, Welser or perhaps Rittershausen himself—included these poems to show the production of Christian poetry in the circle of Augsburg and, most of all, highlight the successful imitation of and competition with classical and Christian models achieved by these German Neo-Latin poets. While pursuing an ideal revival of Aldus Manutius's publishing house and Academy, they cultivated their interest in the classics together with a deep engagement in the theological and philosophical issues being debated in German universities and academies.

3 Byzantine Poetry in German Humanism: Some Considerations

By the sixteenth century, Greek studies had become firmly rooted in Central Europe.[64] In the second half of the century, the learned circles of the Reformed countries developed a growing interest in Byzantine culture under the stimulus of the religious conflicts of that time; this interest led, for example, to the publication of editions and translations of several Byzantine texts.[65] The circle of Augsburg played an important role in this context: the presence of Protestants such as Wolf and Hoeschel, as well as of Catholics such as Welser, demonstrates that the editorial activity of the publishing house *Ad insigne pinus* was not inspired by mere religious propaganda. Byzantine literature certainly appealed to Protestants, who considered Byzantine Christianity and Orthodoxy much closer to the roots of authentic Christianity than Catholicism. However, the availability of manuscripts and, most of all, the historical and antiquarian interests of the Augsburg cultural environment also determined the inclusion of Byzantine literary works in the publishing agenda of *Ad insigne pinus*. After Wolf, who conceived the project of the *Corpus historiae Byzantinae*, David Hoeschel published several editions of Byzantine texts, including four *editiones principes*; his cooperation with Maximos Margounios led, in particular, to the important *editio princeps* of Photius's *Bibliotheca* of 1601.[66]

Although poetry was widely read and composed by German humanists, Byzantine poetry did not receive the same attention as prose.[67] This phenomenon probably reflects the subordination of poetry to prose in the late Byzantine

64 On Greek culture in the Reformed Holy Roman Empire and France, see Ben-Tov (2009: esp. 1–3 and 14–23). On the developments and characteristics of humanism in German-speaking countries, see, e.g., Brann (1988) and Geanakoplos (1994).

65 See, in particular, Ben-Tov (2009: 83–131) and Völkel (2010). See also the chapters by Päll and Weise in this volume.

66 See Reinsch (2010: 438–40). On the edition of Photius's *Bibliotheca*, see Canfora (2001).

67 On the attitude to poetry by German humanists, see Brann (1988: 141–42).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

school curriculum, which the first Greek teachers had imported to the West.[68] Nevertheless, Margounios, who, like his fellow Cretan Frankiskos Portos, was aware of the importance of religious poetry in Byzantine culture, may have tried to revive one of its most prestigious genres, the hymn, in order to give his Western readers access to an important part of the Byzantine poetic tradition. As has been often emphasised, Crete, Portos's and Margounios's birthplace, was a meeting point between Byzantium and the West during the Renaissance and beyond.[69] At the same time, however, the position of Crete as outpost of Greek culture at the crossroad between the West and the Turks made Cretan intellectuals particularly conscious of their Byzantine heritage and stimulated their efforts to preserve it. From this point of view, there is little difference between the editorial projects of Margounios, Portos and other sixteenth-century Cretans and, for example, the publishing activity of the Cretan Marcus Musurus, Zacharias Calliergis, and Nicholas Vlastos in the fifteenth century.

While adopting the style and verse of Gregory of Nazianzus and Synesius of Cyrene, Margounios also took into account both the tradition of Byzantine religious hymnography and the humanists' interest in Neoplatonic hymns. At the same time, his use of the hemiamb, one of the meters of Anacreontic poetry, for his serious theological compositions represents a conscious break with the mostly frivolous poems produced by contemporary European Anacreontism.

Conrad Rittershausen's Latin translation, in spite of all its limits, undoubtedly made Margounios's complex Anacreontic hymns more easily understandable to Western readers, who, in this way, were able to access an aspect of Byzantine culture that usually lay outside the focus of Western humanists. The efforts of the Augsburg humanists to imitate and compete with Greek poetic models prove that they perceived the aesthetic and spiritual values conveyed by Greek and Byzantine poetry as still important and, especially, alive.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank the organisers of and the participants in the workshop "Greece, Greek, and Greeks in the Renaissance" (Nicosia, 13 December 2015), whose comments have allowed me to widen and improve my research. I am also grateful to the Department of History and Human Sciences (DiSSUF) of the University of Sassari (Italy) for making their space and resources available to me in the fall of 2015, while I was writing the first draft of this paper.

68 See Dain's still fundamental article (1956).

69 The role of Venetian Crete in the preservation of Byzantine cultural heritage would deserve a systematic study; see, e.g., Geanakoplos (1966a: 139–64).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Perspectives on Greek Migrants in the West

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

CHAPTER 10

Love and Exile in Michael Marullus Tarchaniota: Geographical Exile, Spiritual Homelessness

Niketas Siniossoglou

Michael Marullus Tarchaniota (*c.*1452–1500) is known to the scholarly world as an important Renaissance Neo-Latin poet. Marullus's birth around 1452 coincided with Byzantium—his native land—falling apart.[1] He was thus born into a state of exile and alienation. Marullus became a mercenary soldier in Italy and fought in quasi-mythical and remote regions such as Scythia, as well as in Italy; but he also achieved notoriety in the intellectual and artistic circles of Florence and Naples as a poet daringly experimenting with ancient Greek sources.

In what follows, I argue that Marullus also stands for a turn in the intellectual history of Hellenism immediately caused by the fall of Byzantium. Often inspired by the life of the *stradioti*, that is, vagabond mercenaries (*soldati vaganti / vagabondi*), Marullus's Hellenism is instigated by an intense individual experience of geographical as well as linguistic homelessness. Marullus declares himself a Greek exile in the Latin West. He sees himself as a person violently separated from his fatherland and mother tongue. Whereas Gemistos Plethon (d. *c.*1454) had launched his quest for Hellenic identity in the well-fortified Greek city of Mistra and in Attic Greek,[2] Marullus embarks on a similar journey reversing those presuppositions: his Hellenism is formulated in a foreign tongue, himself traversing a shifting and fluid geopolitical space. Marullus's "Greekness is without Greece", therefore leading to a highly personal experimentation with pagan ideas and imagery that was impossible even in the late Byzantine context.[3]

In this chapter, I focus on Marullus's *exilium* as depicted in his autobiographical poems and pagan hymns, that is, as an experience of strangeness and *Heimatlosigkeit* bordering on abjection. Drawing on Denis de Rougemont's thesis concerning the pagan aspect of unrequited or courtly love, I argue that this experience of nostalgic loss and the relapse into pagan hymnography is

1 For Marullus's biography, see now Guillot in Marullus (2011: 105–62).

2 Siniossoglou (2011: 327–92).

3 Lamers (2015: 200–32).

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2020 | DOI:10.1163/9789004402461_012

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

intrinsically connected to a third significant motif in Marullus's poetry: unrequited love, or *heroic eros*, a type of "love-melancholy" lodged in the body that is apparently the "opposite" of Platonic love (as Marsilio Ficino put it).[4] Marullus's poetry corresponds to much more than a poetical or rhetorical trope, and its existential value consists in a profound experience of disquietude, liminality, and transition between Christianity and paganism, Byzantium and the Renaissance. It is a unique testimony to the typically modern turn towards a profoundly individual sense of belonging and relating to one's self—as opposed to the Platonic ideal of political community endorsed by Plethon.[5] In this paper, I also intend to compare Marullus's conception of Hellenic identity to those of two notable Greek *émigrés* in Italy: Janus Lascaris (1445–1535) and Maximos Graikos (1470–1556), who walked along very different paths. This juxtaposition shows that conceptualisations of Greek identity, as well as attitudes to displacement and territorial space, ranged widely according to conflicting modes of being or ways of existence available to Greek *émigrés* at that time: these were the way of the soldier-poet (Marullus), the way of the Renaissance scholar (Lascaris), and the way of religious Orthodoxy (Maximos).

For his part, Marullus is preoccupied with three recurring and intertwined motifs of displacement: exile, unfulfilled love, and the evocation—but also silence—of pagan divinities. All three account for sentiments of loss, discontinuity, and distance. The displacement is geographical, social, intellectual, as well as spiritual and emotional. Marullus is nostalgic for his fatherland (*patria*) and race (*genus*), Greek language (*lingua*), and pagan religiosity (*religio*),[6] while suffering from the affliction of the notorious *amor hereos*: on the one hand, he is a self-styled "patrician from Constantinople",[7] maintaining the vision of liberating his occupied homeland; and he appears attached to an intellectual world for ever lost in the tides of history, the world of pagan theology. On the other hand, his feeling of spiritual orphanage is complemented by the unresponsiveness of his Loved One, the mysterious Neaera.[8] Only poetry struggles to somehow amend this triple sentiment of displacement, though poetry also becomes the proper vehicle of its expression and reiteration. Eventually, Marullus's triple displacement paradoxically seems to exhaust

4 Cf. Wells (2007: 19–59), Peri (1999), and the discussion below.

5 For Plethon's call for a political community "acting with one soul", see his *Memorandum to Theodore II* (*c.*1416): Plethon (1930: 129 l. 12–130 l. 5). Cf. Siniossoglou (2011: 328–30).

6 See for example the evocations to Pan (*Hymns to Nature* 2.1.77–8) and to various deities in the second book of the *Hymns*.

7 *Constantinopolitanus vir patricius*, is how Marullus refers to himself in his works; see here Fantazzi (2012: VII).

8 *Epigrams* 1.61.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

all emotional resources at the same time that it draws him into a state of unprecedented acuity, creativity, and self-reflection.

Homeland, antiquity, and unrequited love guide Marullus from his exile into a self-examination that generates new possibilities for conceptualizing Greekness in exile as an intellectual homeland and worldview. Marullus seeks more than to persuade the Westerners to recapture Constantinople. He claims to have uncovered channels that purportedly enable his return to a superior yet anterior mode of existence that he calls an *ars vivendi* and *vera ratio* (true doctrine). *Volens nolens*, Marullus develops a notion of Hellenism that does not presuppose the territorial space commonly associated with Greece, but falls back on the Neoplatonic resonances and psychological meaning of *epistrophe*: a return to true Being and *ratio*.[9]

1 Exile

One Italian poet described Marullus as *Graeculus* entering *in alienam provinciam*.[10] To be sure, Marullus's fascination with the demise of Hellenism and his intense feeling of homelessness appeared odd in the Italian context.[11] But Marullus's Hellenism is equally alien when viewed from a Byzantine angle, even if it was the separation from the Greek East that ostensibly causes Marullus's nostalgia: there is absolutely nothing Byzantine in Marullus's Hellenism, nor anything Orthodox. He never mentions Orthodox theology and very rarely alludes to the Byzantine past. At once a foreigner among the Italians as well as among Byzantine culture and religious spirit, Marullus emerges as a go-between, an alien body in both the Italian and the Eastern Orthodox intellectual universe.

As a result, Marullus's poetry relates to both his place of origin (Orthodox Byzantium) and the host countries he lived in (the Italian city-states) in strained ways: as he is nowhere really at home, he becomes intellectually and psychologically untimely. This highly idiosyncratic self-positioning allows Marullus to oscillate between fantasy and history, antiquity and nascent modernity, caught as he is between a painful sojourn in the West and an illusory memory of the East.

9 Compare Marullus's *The Education of a Prince* 1.336–44; *Hymns to Nature* 2.1.60–75, 2.2.11–16; *Epigrams* 2.32.137–9.72, with Proclus, *Elements of Theology* 7.15–18. Quotations from Marullus's works are from Charles Fantazzi's edition with translation: Marullus (2012).

10 As cited by Croce (1938: 116).

11 Enenkel (2008: 411).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Yet the more the pressure of displacement rises, the deeper he advances into an extended autobiographical exercise that utilises non-Christian points of reference in novel ways. This might appear a primarily literary endeavour, yet its political repercussions are not to be underestimated. For autobiography ushers in one of the earliest attempts at conceptualising a peculiarly modern Greek identity.

In his search for novel ways to relate to a community that he had forever lost, the displaced Marullus inadvertently moves towards a community that does not yet exist. After all, with the exception of Plethon the consistent call for an independent Greek state surfaces only in the eighteenth century in the context of the Enlightenment. Insofar as Marullus assigns to the Latin words *genus* and *patria* connotations anticipating the modern notion of nationhood, he anticipates a modern community to come in Greek soil and thus "becomes the first poet to self-define himself as a Neohellene or *Graecus*".[12] That this self-definition occurs in exile and in Latin, rather than in Greece and in Greek, authorises Marullus to experiment freely with unprecedented associations of the word *Graecus*.

A first move in this new direction occurs in the autobiographical poem *De exilio suo*, which, inspired by the life of the mercenary, ends with a dual death wish. On the one hand, says Marullus, death is preferable to the life of that mercenary who falls into the hands of his enemies. On the other hand, there is much hypocrisy in how the world treats a warrior of noble origin. As long as his place of origin remains illustrious, the mercenary is most welcome—but as soon as his birthplace declines and collapses, the attractive guest is turned into an exile and *émigré*: his noble birth is no longer significant. The fate of a vagabond aristocrat from a declining place of origin is pitiful to such an extent that death is not the worse option. Consequently, says Marullus, one should ideally envisage his glorious death at the exact moment his fatherland enjoys its maximum power. Death at one's zenith or burning point: we shall encounter this motif again when addressing Marullus's love poetry.[13]

Patriotism with reference to a lost *patria* was new to Marullus's Italian contemporaries. Italians fought for money, honour, or familial and local interests. As a rule, they did not sacrifice themselves for *patris* or fatherland in itself; rather, war was an art and profession.[14] Part of the beauty of Marullus's autobiographical epigrams stems from this combination, unusual for the Renaissance, of the career of a professional mercenary with an emerging patriotism.

12 Vagenas (2011: 17).

13 *Epigrams* 3.37.15–22.

14 Enenkel (2008: 411).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

A mercenary in arms as well as in words, I believe that Marullus's poetry documents a major historical shift, the passage from the medieval Italian notions of land as well as from the Orthodox *ecumene* to the individualised modern and nostalgic idea of homeland.

According to his poems, Marullus appears to have wandered in Scythia and Crimea, in Moldavia and by the Sea of Azov. Some of his more cryptic descriptions of places and people recall the heroic fantasy of a Robert E. Howard. Carol Kidwell read Marullus's military epigrams as more or less authentic historical testimonies describing adventures in lands lost between East and West, where Hungarians and Romanian warlords clashed with Tatars and local tyrants.[15] From a deconstructionist point of view, Kidwell failed to separate Marullus's poetical mask from his real historical personage, the *poseur* poet who competes with the Italians from a "historical" Marullus.[16] Seen in this light, Marullus's military campaigns are to a large extent fictitious, just as his paganism and passionate love verses may be little more than excellent examples of a creative literary experiment with intra-textual references to the *Aeneid* and Horace.

Still, it seems to me that it is only by reading Marullus in good faith, that is, take his poems at face value that we may advance beyond the superficial level of his literary competition with contemporary Italian poets. Seen this way, exile, paganism, and unrequited love may well be much more than literary exercises or ornaments: they are channels enabling Marullus to part from the historical circumstances and embark on something that really mattered to him, his self-definition as a *Graecus* after the Fall.

For example, in a hymn to the "great Zeus", the loss of the homeland and the fall from the realm of Platonic ideas mark a unified experience of spiritual corrosion.[17] Passions alienate one's self from the "ancient fatherland" as well as from an inner homeland of "true reason" (*vera ratio*). We have fallen into the dark prison that is our body, writes Marullus hinting at Plato's σῶμα σῆμα,[18] and we have drunk the deadly sleep of the Styx, our intellect having lost its original ability immediately to access truth. Instead of what really is, we only see running shadows.[19] Here, the exile poet cannot but Platonise and the Platonist cannot but feel like an exile in alien lands, as deeply lost within Plato's cave as Marullus was banished in the West.

15 Kidwell (1989).
16 Enenkel (2008: 372).
17 *Hymns to Nature* 1.1.25–35.
18 Plato, *Cratylus* 400b9–c9 and *Gorgias* 493a1–3.
19 *Hymns to Nature* 1.1.29–41.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

By falling back on Plato, Marullus experiences the hidden aspect of displacement in its maximum intensity. His inner desire to return to an authentic state of Being coincides with the explicit wish for a re-connection with ancestral memory, and self-knowledge presupposes his urgent coming to terms with *heimarmene* (εἱμαρμένη).[20]

Occasionally one encounters men who even in exile convey the impression that they can be happy; but even in that case, the chances are that a peculiar type of melancholy is at work, which was aptly captured by Juvenal: these persons are not content for they live *aliena quadra* (*Satires* 5.2), or, in Robert Burton's translation, "at another man's table and command".[21] This was Marullus's case. While in Naples, he enjoyed the decadence of the local Academy, and appears to have been fully integrated into the social life of major Italian cities, such as Rome and Florence.[22] Still, the comparison between Marullus and other Greek exiles such as Janus Lascaris and Maximos Graikos, sheds a somewhat different light on his exile than does his relationship with illustrious Italian contemporaries. Although sharing the same experience of displacement, these two men represent worldviews radically different.

Marullus opted for the life of the poet and soldier, and Lascaris for that of the scholar. The latter passed his time studying ancient manuscripts (including Proclus's commentary on Plato's *Republic*),[23] and around 1494 he edited the first version of Planudes's anthology, the epigrams of which inspired Marullus.[24] In the company of the Muses and isolation, says Marullus, Lascaris is the only man who succeeded at leading a happy life away from the fatherland.[25] Perhaps this admirable Stoic lifestyle of Lascaris encouraged Marullus to confess to his friend certain intriguing philosophical thoughts that culminate in a very daring criticism of the human condition as such.

There is no beast savage enough, writes Marullus to Lascaris, that is not surpassed by man in his inclination towards evil. For beasts obey a natural evil (*naturale malum*) when looking for prey to satisfy their hunger; but only man hates his own kind, only we, men, bring chaos into the natural order regulating our species.[26] According to Marullus, knowledge of this insatiable inclination towards evil generates an anxiety that accompanies us to the end of time, regardless of whether we are at home or in exile. Unconsciously, we suffer the

20 *Hymns to Nature* 2.3.25–29.
21 Burton (2001: 1, 285).
22 For Marullus's sojourns in major Italian cities, see Guillot in Marullus (2011: 105–60).
23 Wilson (2017: 109).
24 Guillot in Marullus (2011: 66–67).
25 *Epigrams* 4.6.1–16.
26 *Epigrams* 4.6.15–21.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

punishments awaiting at the furthest points of Styx those who committed the most horrible crimes. We lead our lives like Ixion, king of the Lapiths, whom Zeus punished by fastening him on to a perpetually turning wheel in the underworld; all we do is seek in vain water in amphorae without a bottom, which is ever empty like the jugs carried by the Danaids as their punishment. This is the hidden meaning of Prometheus's torment, the message of his liver daily being eaten by an eagle, or of that rock ever pushed by Sisyphus, as well as of the unquenchable thirst of Tantalus—the ancients allegorically pointed to our deeper mode of life, enslaved as we are in the accumulation of wealth and ambitiously climbing the social ladder, until we are redeemed by one or the other enemy sword.[27]

Marullus utilises Greek myth in order to approach exile as a primarily ontological and spiritual experience. The Orthodox theologians of Byzantium might readily agree, but the *therapeia* of the soul that they recommend is radically different from the heroic melancholy of Marullus or Lascaris's scholarly life. In fact, it is that Orthodox remedy for exile which was chosen by yet another enigmatic Greek exile: Maximos Graikos, whose starting-point was similar to that of Marullus, yet his quest ended in the exactly opposite relation to Hellenism and history.

Around 1492, Michael Trivoles (*c.*1475–1556), the man who would become known as Maximos Graikos, arrived in Florence and became a pupil of Lascaris, at around the same time that the Dominican friar Savonarola (1452–1498) gained power. Maximos studied at the famous Academy of Florence. He was minimally fascinated by the regenerated Neoplatonism and love for antiquity typical of Renaissance humanism.[28] His *tropos* or mode of existence was closer to Savonarola's theocratic visions and militant preaching. In that ascetic preacher, Maximos may have seen a version of Christianity closer to the ideal. He also was close to Giovanni Francesco Pico della Mirandola (1470–1533), an admirer of Savonarola and nephew of Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494).

A few years later, Michael Trivoles left the security of flourishing Renaissance Italy and returned to Ottoman-occupied Greece, a decision that was probably perceived as nonsensical from the view of other Greek exiles. There, he renounced the world and became a monk on Athos. Unlike Marullus, Lascaris, and the other Greek émigrés in Italy, Maximos rejected the Greek wisdom "outside of the Christian gates" and turned for spiritual guidance to the tradition of Palamism and Hesychasm that survived in the Athonite environment virtually

27 *Epigrams* 4.6.22–57.

28 On Maximos, see Podskalsky (2008: 133ff.).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

unaffected by the tumultuous tides of history.[29] Around 1515, Maximos went to Russia, where he was to become the main exponent of Byzantine monasticism for 42 years.[30] The different choices of Marullus and Maximos account for competitive notions of what it means to be Greek after the Fall, which, significantly, imply distinct political consequences. By relating his self-definition to the Orthodox and Byzantine tradition preserved on Athos, Maximos seemingly returns to Greece, his occupied homeland. Yet upon closer scrutiny, Maximos was furthest away from Greek soil precisely when returning to the geographical realm of Greece: for in doing so, he recognises the Orthodox *ecumene* as his real fatherland, a de-territorialised home beyond History and God's creation. By contrast, Marullus can only think of his fatherland as worldly and defined by history, time, and space.

Here then is a conundrum and a reversal of roles: Marullus passionately desired to return to his birthplace, albeit remaining in exile all his life; whereas Maximos, who disconnected homeland from this world and all earthly matters, was to be the person who actually returned to the Ottoman-occupied Greek territory.

There was a third option available to Greek émigrés, of course, besides the paths walked by Marullus, Lascaris and Maximos: conversion to Catholicism, in effect a sensible move given the circumstances, exemplified by Cardinal Bessarion, Plethon's most illustrious student. But Marullus appears to have remained completely indifferent to Catholicism, just as he was indifferent to Byzantine Orthodoxy. It seems that Marullus consciously distanced himself from both Eastern and Western Christianity. Instead, he wrote hymns to the pagan gods, as well as equally idiosyncratic and paganising, as I will show, love poems.

2 "Apnea"

Marullus's autobiographical poems are preoccupied with geographical and metaphysical exile, but also with a self-consuming "love melancholy". The latter poems fall within the genre, popular at that time, of *disperata*, poems of unrequited love, and exerted considerable influence upon important poets such as Ronsard, Janus Secundus, and Antoine de Baïf. There is no plot in these epigrams; only a vicious circle in which love occasionally degenerates into hatred, and in which the enamoured person sinks in hopelessness on the

29 Podskalsky (2008: 135, 141).
30 Tachiaos (2008: 34).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

verge of de-personalisation, without ever reaching that point. Lacan labelled this condition *hainamoration*, a psychological state where selfhood is compromised owing to a sinister infatuation with the Loved One. In Marullus's case, the loved one is called Neaera:

> Rogas quae mea vita sit, Neaera.
> Qualem scilicet ipsa das amanti, est.
> Infelix, misera, inquies, molesta
> Aut si triste magis potest quid esse.
> Haec est, quam mihi das, Neaera, vitam.
> Qui—dicis—comites? Dolor, Querelae,
> Lamentatio, Lacrimae perennes,
> Langor, Anxietas, Amaritudo,
> Aut si triste magis potest quid esse.
> Hos tu das comites, Neaera, vitae.
>
> You ask me, Neaera, what kind of life I lead; none other than the kind you give to one who loves you: unhappy, miserable, restless, troubled, or whatever more dismal fate you could imagine. This is the life you give me, Neaera. "Who are your companions?" you ask. Sorrow, Complaints, Lamentation, everlasting Tears, Languor, Anxiety, Bitter Anguish, or whatever more depressing state you could imagine. These are the life-companions you give me, Neaera.[31]

This is an apt description of *amor hereos*: the lovesickness that throughout the medieval period was associated with melancholy, owing to the commonality of symptoms (disquietude, indolence, torpor, sadness, death drive), which, however, in the case of *amor hereos*, were attributed to a disequilibrium of the imagination or the intellect, rather than to a biological imbalance or *dyscrasia* of the four human humours (phlegm, blood, yellow and black bile).

In fact, in the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Robert Burton (1577–1640) noted the connection between that type of "melancholy without black bile" and the chivalric ideal and courtly love (*amor nobilis*). Significantly, Burton observed that *amor nobilis* energises an undisciplined and raw potential, which was deeply hidden within human nature. This potential defies social conventions, such as marriage, leading to *aphobia*, a lack of restrictions, and fear when confronted with God as well as human beings.[32] Long before Denis de Rougemont's *Love*

31 *Epigrams* 1.28. The translation is by Charles Fantazzi (Marullus 2012: 21).

32 Burton (2001: II, 57–58, 186).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

in the Western World (1939), Robert Burton became one of the first to juxtapose the Bacchic and anarchic affliction of love with the Christian notion of marriage, a contrast that provides the key for interpreting the poetry of *amor hereos*.

Love of this sort, observed Burton, is *wandering* and *extravagant*, destructive, out of balance, and beyond measure.[33] These qualities inescapably lead to the conflict between Christian marriage and pagan passion—the former associated with social and religious responsibility, the latter with anarchic, unappeasable love, as celebrated by the troubadours of medieval Provence. Ungratified and unrestrained love pushes the lover deeper within an unknown spiritual territory, as he is progressively delivered to supra-rational and supra-moral forces. At that point, the melancholic lover becomes heroic, struggling as he is to maintain a minimal self. Equally *heroic* is the melancholy of the banished warrior, and it is precisely the similarity between the words ἔρως and ἥρως that led Plato to a notorious *paretymology* (*Cratylus* 398c–e), which preserves the ancient belief in an intrinsic connection between lovesickness and the mental aberration of the hero.[34]

Amor hereos in Marullus fully recaptures these exuberant associations of the words. The enamoured Marullus plays with death no less than does Marullus the mercenary when caught in battle. For the mutual narcissism of the lover and his object of desire sidesteps the whole world only at great cost: his life now rests upon a thin line about to break any time now. In one of Marullus's best epigrams, a single kiss causes a suspension of life functions as the lover enters a state of *apnea*, barely alive:

Suaviolum invitae rapio dum, casta Neaera,
  Imprudens vestris liqui animam in labiis,
Exanimusque diu, cum nec per se ipsa rediret
  Et mora lethalis quantulacunque foret,
Misi cor quaesitum animam; sed cor quoque blandis
  Captum oculis nunquam deinde mihi rediit.
Quod nisi suaviolo flammam quoque, casta Neaera,
  Hausissem, quae me sustinet exanimum,
Ille dies misero, mihi crede, supremus amanti
  Luxisset, rapui cum tibi suaviolum.

33 Burton (2001: II, 54).

34 Perri (1999: 17–45).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

> As I was snatching a kiss from you against your will, O chaste Neaera, unwittingly I left my soul upon your lips and I remained long unconscious. When it did not return on its own and even the slightest delay might prove fatal, I sent my heart in search of my soul; but my heart too, captured by your sweet glances, has never returned to me since. If I had not also absorbed with that kiss the flame that sustains my lifeless body, chaste Neaera, that day, believe me, when I snatched that kiss from you, would have been the last to shine upon this hapless lover.[35]

Neaera's kiss of death is also a kiss of life, enabling a prolonged breath-holding that carries an esoteric meaning. It brings to mind the initiative kiss of troubadours and Cathars, that unique contact with the Lady of Thoughts, which symbolically authorises *cortezia*, a restless and wandering life.[36] The kiss leads Marullus into a spiritual frontier zone, where self-dispossession is achieved by delivering one's self to *amor hereos*. Divested of all resources and defence mechanisms, the self is left bare, oscillating between life and death. The object of desire, Neaera, becomes stronger and stronger, simultaneously causing the cataclysmic emotional overflow of the enamoured Marullus. The overflow of love coincides with Marullus's physical exhaustion.

The motifs of exile and unrequited love that we have considered so far culminate in an approximation of death: exile unto death; love unfulfilled unto death. In both cases Marullus becomes the subject of a liminal experience, during which distance and loss are intensified—almost!—to the point of abjection. The quest of Marullus the mercenary and that of Marullus the lover are conjoined in a spiral experience of separation and distress. Just as at the zenith of exile, death becomes preferable, so does death at the zenith of ungratified love.

But here comes a twist. At the height of despair, the toils of displacement and idealised love do not really usher in self-annihilation, nor really reach that cold standstill of inertia, alienation and sadness, which is observable in that tormented Greek émigré, Manilius Cabacius Rhallus (1447–1523). As Han Lamers has argued, Manilius felt his *patria* becoming unrecognisable, "a wild beast" and "hostile land" (*hostica tellus*), while his talents and "nightly intellectual pursuits" seemingly failed to please him and alleviate his pain; contrariwise, Marullus remained vigilant and his displacement instigated an explosion of creative forces.[37] His appreciation of homeland is ultimately the

35 *Epigrams* 2.4. The translation is by Charles Fantazzi (Marullus 2012: 55).
36 Rougemont (1996: 102).
37 Lamers (2015: 225).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

fruit of nostalgia; homelessness revalorises the ancestral *locus* and stirs desire, rather than alienation. Analogously, insofar as the object of desire remains silent and unapproachable, Marullus's love acquires a metaphysical *raison d'être*, to the point of feeling his determination strengthened *because* and *insofar* as his love is hindered. The idea of a homeland is deeply felt and intensified while in exile; and the power of Marullus's love is augmented precisely because it surpasses the world of ordinary emotions.

One wonders: who is the enigmatic Neaera? Some have suggested that she was a real person.[38] Zakythinos identified Neaera with Marullus's wife, Alessandra Scala (1475–1506).[39] Sathas thought he had uncovered an occult reference to that "great mysterium of Byzantine history: mythical prostitution", associated with the debauchery of crowned females, the most notorious of which supposedly was Theodora.[40] The name *Neaera* hints at Virgil (*Eclogues* 3.3) and Horace (*Odes* 3.14.21), and distantly also at Apollodorus's speech against the Athenian courtesan Neaera. On the other hand, many epigrams by Marullus devoted to women with sibylline or allegorical names (Gemma, Aigle, Avita) revive well-known literary tropes and motifs, such as those of the permanently unsatisfied woman or the beautiful girl who lost her life before her time. We could thus interpret Marullus's poetry as an extended intertextual play. The more so, given that some of his epigrams are adapted from Planudes's *Anthology* (which was published in 1494 in Florence by Janus Lascaris), while other epigrams obviously draw from Roman sources. For example, the whore Pholoe, who becomes a nun in *Epigrams* 1.42 revives the figure of the notorious courtesan Pholoe, described by Horace and Tibullus, this being one case of Marullus experimenting with the Renaissance sub-genre of epigrams devoted to dead whores, rather than a genuine reference to a contemporary person.[41]

The limitations of the genre notwithstanding, it is worth recalling an esoteric approach to mystical love poetry that is, I believe, applicable to the case of Marullus, and which helps us identify Neaera. According to Denis de Rougemont, the sickness of *eros* testifies to the survival of a "natural or inherited paganism" permanently opposed to the Christian notion of *agape*.[42] This is more or less the position that, as we have seen, was anticipated by Robert Burton. An archetypical paganism transcending historical periodisation nourishes and hails a hedonistic, heroic, and narcissistic desire for complete and

38 For a critical review of this theory, see Guillot in Marullus (2011: 15).
39 Zakythinos (1928: 208).
40 Sathas (1872–1894: VII, ρλη΄).
41 Guillot in Marullus (2011: 106).
42 Rougemont (1996: 88).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

absolute union with the essence of God (a type of "unifying mysticism", to apply Rougemont's terms), which is incompatible with the Christian idea of a partial, humble, contingent and conditioned communion with God ("bridal mysticism").

According to Rougemont, this crucial difference between pagan *eros* and Christian love was aptly exemplified in the unshaken devotion of troubadours to a type of insatiable and ungratified love that could not be squared within the confines of Christian marriage. Purportedly, the pagan type of *eros* is the work of *heimarmene*, whereas Christian marriage is the outcome of one's free deliberation and human conventions. Crucially, bridal mysticism presupposes mutual affection and understanding, as well as one's coming to terms with one's neighbour and the community, whereas the unifying mysticism of the troubadours and the Cathars leaves no room for such a tamed love, delivering one's self to a painful, unrequited and anarchic longing for what is furthest from the world of phenomena. This is why wandering and disquietude were so dear to the troubadours: it practically rejected the promised calmness of marriage, which was now seen as "prostitution under the veil of oath" (*iurata fornicatio*), insofar as marriage, like prostitution, may join two bodies without the essential condition of love.[43]

It also reversed the valorisation of what is most near and what is furthest off. It implies that the person closest to one may be deceitful and illusive, whereas the Loved One, albeit furthest away, may be truthful and divine. This latter type of pagan love is untamed and unappeased, a raw impulse that cuts through the economy of marriage and undermines the commonplace of loving one's neighbours.

Restless and far-ranging, pagan love is destined to remain unreturned. Neaera never responds to Marullus's love. Her tormenting silence carries important consequences when viewed through the prism of an unresolved tension between Greek *eros* and Christian *agape*.[44] Pagan *eros* is not addressed towards a person, but adores the idea of *eros* as such, it is an emotional and spiritual Ouroboros, the snake that eats its own tail, unabashedly scorning the mutual understanding implied by Christian marriage. More than a literary vehicle for pagan ideas, the *eros* of troubadours and poets of the like of Marullus reiterates a sinister circle of intellectual self-consummation that directly challenges Paul's dictum (1 Corinthians 7:9): "but if they cannot exercise self-control, let them marry. For it is better to marry than to burn with passion" (κρεῖσσόν ἐστι γαμῆσαι ἢ πυροῦσθαι).

43 Rougemont (1996: 134).
44 Rougemont (1996: 188).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Thus, the poets' disregard for the Pauline idea of marriage and their willingness to welcome an almost self-annihilating internal fire salvages for posterity an essential aspect of a pagan theological model: as a rule, pagan philosophers assumed that a god returning the love of human beings is a contradiction in terms, implying a god shifting and changing his being according to circumstances, hence a god that is subject to passions, incomplete, and deficient. Perfection is not susceptible to change. By default, divine perfection was thought to be free from passion of all kinds. Aristotle's first cause is a moving immovable that attracts human beings without itself being attracted. As Walter Schubart put it in *Religion und Eros* (a "frightening book", according to Karl Barth), this means that the pagan-Aristotelian god does not "show" his love, he may only be loved by human beings without ever returning or rewarding them for that love, and it is through this one-way process that God loves his own essence: the unresponsive god of the pagan philosophers does not allow for a relation of love, but for a giant magnet, similar to Spinoza's *deus sive natura*.[45]

In Marullus's poetry, the binary opposites of nearness versus distance, marriage versus unreciprocated *eros*, mutual affection versus one-sided desire, are reflected in the striking contrast between the four all too conventional epigrams that Marullus devoted to his wife Alessandra Scala,[46] and those plethoric, passionate epigrams addressed to the shadowy Neaera.

Neaera, then, may well not be a person, but this hardly means that she was merely a literary invention. Neaera is at once no woman in particular and all women together, so dear to Marullus precisely because of her enigmatic, distant, uncanny, and permanently ambivalent identity. The uncertainty of her identity does not present us with a literary issue to be researched and resolved; rather, it points to her true essence.

Rougemont thought he had found in the hopelessness of the enamoured lover a window to "the great depths of Eastern and Western paganism".[47] The painful ascent to the edge of love leads to a liminal type of non-Christian self-definition and to the swoon of one's personhood within an abyss of loss, where the *love of love* and *death out of love* coincide with one's liberation from the world of phenomena and superficial sociability, that is, with presumably the highest claim one can lay to life. Lethal love accounts for a rupture of temporal existence, a rite of passage where "he who does not die out of his

45 Schubart (2001: 142–45).

46 *Epigrams* 3.4 with Fantazzi's note (Marullus 2012: 413).

47 Rougemont (1996: 78).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

love cannot live with his love either" (Ibn al-Farid, 1181–1234).[48] Lethal *eros* is the motive force elevating the individual above illusion and deception. The solitary and wandering life of troubadours and *stradioti* resembles a mystical process of instruction, spiritual adulthood, and self-knowledge, according to which the self is revealed to the Loved One in all its bareness. In the end, the Lady of Thoughts is the spiritual and angelic part of the self: "I am but your own self!"[49]

If we accept this view, the *stradiota* Marullus is constantly wandering about, as if the further he goes as a mercenary and poet, the closer he approaches knowledge, or as if physical and spiritual exhaustion from battle or love is the presupposition for reaching one's authentic kernel, that minimal "inner citadel" or "*daimon* within", to use the words of Marcus Aurelius.[50]

Does Marullus's poetry provide us with a way further to put to the test Rougemont's theory concerning the inherent deviance of pagan idealised *eros* from the Christian idea of marriage? It is helpful, I believe, to compare the poems devoted to Neaera to an older Byzantine and Orthodox version of "heroic love". John Geometres (fl. 2nd half of 10th cent.) was a poet and soldier who, somewhat coincidentally, also composed verses inspired by the violence of historical shifts and displacement (εἰς τὴν ἀποδημίαν)[51] as well as by lovesickness drawing on the *Greek Anthology*. At the outset, he too appears to experience love unto death:

> Βέλη τὰ πικρὰ καὶ μέλιτος ἡδίω,
> Βέλη τὰ δεινὰ καὶ ποθεινά· τῇ νόσῳ
> ἔστηκα βληθείς, ἐξερύσαι δ᾽οὐ θέλω,
> ὠθῶ καθ᾽αὐτοῦ τὸ ξίφος, θανεῖν θέλω.
>
> Arrows bitter and sweeter than honey,
> Arrows grievous and yet desirable!
> I am struck by the illness, but I don't want to pull it out,
> I push the sword toward myself, I want to die.[52]

But Geometres was Orthodox and Byzantine; which means that he carefully distinguished between that disastrous carnal *eros* of the pagan type and

48 Rougemont (1996: 105).
49 Rougemont (1996: 127).
50 Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations* 2.17.
51 Cramer (1841: 322.12–325.16). The most recent edition of John's poems is Van Opstall's (Geometres 2008).
52 Cramer (1841: 316.26–317.2).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

the redemptive love for God. Adapting a love poem contained in the *Greek Anthology* (9.449; cf. 9.749), he made it sufficiently clear that the Bacchic heat overpowering the enamoured body may be extinguished by a different type of heat, that is, the desire for God:

> Εἰ πυρὶ πῦρ ἐπάγεις βρόμιον, μάλα πολλὸν ἀνάπτεις· εἰ δὲ πόθῳ σαρκὸς θεῖον, ἀποσβενύεις.
>
> Add Bacchic fire to fire, and you shall receive a fire that burns even more; but if you throw desire for God into desire for flesh, you shall extinguish the fire.[53]

In both the epigrams of the *Greek Anthology*, as well as in Marullus's poems, a prominent place is reserved for that fire (πῦρ) condemned by Paul. Paul suggested marriage as a way to escape that fate of πυροῦσθαι, and Geometres proposes one's succumbing to a greater fire. He advances from carnal love to spiritual love, in which case only Jesus Christ offers redemption: "love ceases by means of a love that burns even deeper" (ἔρως ἔρωτι παύεται φλογοτέρῳ).[54] And elsewhere: "a fearful love blinds my reason/ but my desire for you, Jesus Christ, brings me back to light" (Ἔρως ὁ δεινὸς ἐκτυφλοῖ μου τὰς φρένας / ἀλλ' αἰθριάζει σὸς πόθος με, Χριστέ μου).[55]

Crucially, Marullus draws no distinction of that sort and offers no safety net. Carnal and divine love appear undissolved and indistinguishable. And Jesus Christ is a conspicuous absentee from all his poems. No god-sent redemption comes in view; the cycle of one's conversion into fire is perpetually reiterated rather than interrupted, as was the case in John Geometres's poems.

That this difference is anything but coincidental and relates to an underlying, generic, and constant tension between pagan and Christian modes of thinking may be seen by further comparing Marullus's with Geometres's poetry of exile. John is the author of a superb poem of displacement, in which he describes himself as rooted out of Reason and his fatherland, divorced from community and the whole world, with envy as his only companion (ἐρριμένον μὲν παντελῶς, παρειμένον φίλων, ἀδελφῶν, συγγενῶν, βίου, λόγου, ἔξω μὲν κόσμου παντῶς ὄντα, πλὴν φθόνου μόνου κατεντρυφῶντα).[56] This Byzantine experience of abjection is at the height of those of a Georges Bataille: John experiences his

53 Geometres (2008: 384); Cramer (1841: 320, 21–23).
54 Cramer (1841: 348, 11–12).
55 Cramer (1841: 320, 24–25).
56 Cramer (1841: 331.11–332.4).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

alienation in terms of a transformation into an "unapproachable excrement" (κόπρον ἀπρόσιτον) that transcends language and description: "deprived of language, reasoning, lips and heart, here I lie a dead man" (ἐστερημένος λόγου, λογισμού, χειλέων καῖ καρδίας, κεῖμαι τεθνηκώς), he writes, and sees his self "bare, wretched, alone" (γυμνόν, ἄθλιον, μόνον). There is no way to know how far John really identifies with the experience he describes, or, put otherwise, how far this is a literary exercise rather than an autobiographical testament. What really matters for our purposes is that no epigram by Marullus ever pushes displacement to such points of abysmal and complete deprivation, de-humanisation, and de-personalisation. Thus, whereas John expects from the Virgin Mary to come to his rescue at his final moment, Marullus turns to Emperor Maximilian and King Charles VIII of France for help to re-capture Constantinople.

The discrepancy between these two experiences of exile and lovesickness eventually boils down to that between a Christocentric and an anthropocentric worldview. The former ultimately prioritises the extra-mundane city of God, whereas the latter remains for ever anchored in the works of history and the world. Ironically, Marullus's expectations for a liberation of Greek territories were shattered, while the ever supra-historical Byzantine theology remained unassailable and unaffected by the tides of History; just as George Gennadios-Scholarios's pragmatism and ecumenism survived Plethon's plans for the regeneration of a Greek political community.[57]

3 Plethon's Shadow

Around 1489, Marullus composed in Florence the first three books of his *Hymns to Nature* (*Hymni Naturales*), a work that he appears to have begun in Rome. At the outset, this collection of hymns is a series of daring experimentations with Neoplatonic philosophy and ancient religion. Lilio Gregorio Giraldi (1479–1552) mentions that Marullus wrote the hymns with the help of Pico della Mirandola—with whom, on another occasion, he competed over a beautiful Italian girl.[58]

Judged in terms of their content and form, these hymns claim to serve a ritualistic purpose: they appear to be hymns for evoking and attracting divinities.[59] Upon reading them, one can sympathise with Erasmus, who

57 Siniossoglou (2011: 352).

58 Grant (2011: 39–41), quoted by Fantazzi in Marullus (2012: 414 n. 16).

59 See, e.g., Marullus's hymn to Pan: *Pan pater, Pan rite et idem rite Diespiter* (*Hymns to Nature* 2.1.77–8).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

maintained no doubts concerning Marullus's paganism,[60] and with Giovanni Tarchagnota, Marullus's cousin, who expressed similar suspicions.[61] No intratextual evidence supports the assumption that these hymns merely constitute an innocent literary game without theological and philosophical significance. And nothing challenges the author's confessed commitment to the worldview implied by these hymns. Contrariwise, it is strange, to say the least, that a poet so full of nostalgia for Constantinople is completely indifferent to the hymnology and theology of Byzantium, as well as to Catholicism. Marullus refers to Jesus Christ only on one occasion—but the context suggests that this was an emotional appeal in order to mobilise King Charles against the Ottomans.[62]

So what are we to make of Marullus's suppression of Christianity? Even if Sathas was wrong to suggest the survival of paganism in terms of a well-organised pagan underground in Byzantium and the Renaissance, he might well have been right in pointing out a non-systematic and contingent deviation from Orthodoxy explicit in Greek folk poetry, for example, in the case of the "Song of Armouris", the famous Byzantine heroic ballad, or the later epic poems *Erophile* and *Erotokritos*, in which, significantly, lovesickness plays a prominent role.[63] As Rougemont suspected, elements of a pagan worldview may well have survived in latent and even unconscious ways, constituting a continuation of much older conflicts between the Christian and the Hellenic intellectual paradigms.

Thus, although the recent trend in scholarship is to downplay the possibility of a specifically pagan outlook surviving in Byzantium and the Renaissance, it is significant that, as the American translator of Marullus put it, there is nothing Christian to be found in his *Hymns*, only an intellectual affinity with George Gemistos Plethon.[64] Zakythinos, Croce, and Kidwell had already moved in that direction. Zakythinos recognised in the *Hymns* a hierophant who dared to introduce pagan religious and cultic symbols, attributing to them a political potential: "the religion that Marullus hails is the religion of his ancestors, which he endorsed not only as a religion, but also as the means for bringing back to life his enslaved homeland".[65] For his part, Croce noted that in Marullus's case

60 Guillot in Marullus (2011: 159). Sathas (1880–1890: VI, IV): *Marulli pauca legi tolerabilia, si minus haberent paganitatis*.

61 Guillot in Marullus (2011: 159).

62 Cf. Croce (1938: 44); Zakythinos (1928: 225); Sathas (1880–1890: VI, VII).

63 Sathas (1880–1890: VI, II).

64 Fantazzi in Marullus (2012: XIX).

65 Zakythinos (1928: 225).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

there may be more than literary paganism at stake: rather, the poet commits himself to a religious outlook that effectively rules out Christianity.[66]

Could it then be that Marullus is somehow connected to Plethon—that he really was an exponent of that pagan cell that began in Mistra and migrated in Italy, as Zakythinos once suggested? Paolo Giovio (1483–1552) mentions that Marullus served as a mercenary in the Venetian cavalry under the guidance of Nikolaos Rallis.[67] Guillot notes that according to certain testimonies, Nikolaos Rallis is the brother of the poet Manilius Cabacius Rhallus, who was a friend of Marullus's. And we know that Manilios Rallis was son of Demetrios Rallis, also known as Kabakes, a man well known among the ranks of the *stratioti*[68] but also a devoted pupil of Plethon's, and, as it happens, the sun-worshipper and admirer of Julian who preserved the fragments of Plethon's *Nomoi*.[69] Another matter to be taken into account is that, as Charles Fantazzi notes, Ficino's notes on Julian's *Hymn to the King Helios* are included within the same manuscript that reproduces Plethon's works. Given that this work by Julian was a definite influence upon Marullus's hymns, one might well assume that Marullus also gained access to Plethon.[70] It is probable that Marullus was aware of Plethon's endeavour, and therefore did not necessarily consider himself as alone in taking pagan poetry seriously.

Like Plethon, Marullus constructs a theological universe that utilises Neoplatonist sources, most notably Julian and Proclus. Technically speaking, their view is at once panentheist (the world is part of God, but at the same time God surpasses the world), henotheist (depending on the circumstances, one or the other divinity acquires primacy), and pantheist (the world is a god). On the one hand, Zeus is what is and what we see, says Marullus, and nothing exists outside Zeus.[71] On the other hand, the essence of Zeus is not exhausted in his kingdom, and transcends human intellect. The celestial world is indirectly produced out of Zeus, who distinguishes between light and darkness, and with it comes into being a plurality of divinities. Only Zeus is infinite.[72] Further analogies may be made. Like Plethon, Marullus believed that it was a grave mistake to rely on mercenaries to ensure the freedom of a *genos*, and thought that a small and mobile army was able to withstand all threats.[73]

66 Croce (1938: 43–47).
67 Guillot in Marullus (2011: 114–15).
68 Guillot in Marullus (2011: 115).
69 Siniossoglou (2011: 10 n. 32).
70 Fantazzi in Marullus (2012: xv).
71 *Hymns to Nature* 1.1.18–25.
72 *Hymns to Nature* 1.1.25.
73 *Epigrams* 3.27.31–35.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Still, we ought to be careful: any connections between Marullus and Plethon hardly prove the survival of Plethon's *fratria* on Italian soil. After all, it is true that Marullus's sympathy for Lucretius hints at his rather Epicurean view of the world.[74] Even if Marullus was inspired by pagan Neoplatonism, his mode of existence assimilates abundant Epicurean and, I might add, Stoic influences.

Besides, in the *Hymns to Nature* Marullus poses as the self-styled transmitter of an ancient theological model to such an extent that one rightly wonders whether his explicit and unabashed paganism is primarily the provocative means of cultivating a unique poetical vision and identity, that is, to distinguish himself from Italian poets. After all, this seems to have been the case when, in the *Epigrams*, Marullus declared himself a "Constantinopolitan patrician", claiming the associations of an illustrious birthplace.[75] Marullus may have also assumed the prestigious role of the innovator and bearer of past wisdom. By claiming all credit for himself, he managed to find his own niche while in exile: "I am the first man" (*primus ego*), he declares, to give Pythia her voice back. It was his destiny that "I, a Greek, should narrate the sacred things of my country in a non-Hellenic voice" (*Patria ut Graecus sacra non Pelasga voce referem*).[76] And it was equally fateful, he avers, that an exile like himself would set up again the fallen tripods of Pythia, which had remained silent for centuries:

> Forsitan, vanus nisi fallor augur,
> Et decus labente daturus aevo
> Exuli, magni invideant quod olim
> Saepe tyranni.
>
> Interim, si non patriae beata
> Voce, qua grato licitum cadente
> Te canam Phoebo, tibi substrepemus […]
>
> Perhaps, if I am not a false prophet, as time passes, Mercury will also grant honour to the exile, which one day great monarchs will envy. In the meantime, if not in the blessed language of my country, I shall sing of you [Mercury] in the language that is permitted me […].[77]

74 Kidwell (1989: 199–200). See also Zakythinos (1975: II, 376).

75 Fantazzi in Marullus (2011: VII).

76 Cf. Marullus, *The Education of a Prince* 1.10–20; *Hymns to Nature* 2.8.

77 *Hymns to Nature* 2.8.16–25. The translation is by Charles Fantazzi (Marullus 2012: 251).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Here poetry elevates the displaced Greek aristocrat from the fringes of history, it aggrandises his abilities and personality until he exits the margins of Italian intellectual life and enters the foreground as a powerful individual to be reckoned with. Self-styled as a pagan hierophant, Marullus appears before his Italian contemporaries as a very special poet and individual.

But this social application of poetry hardly means that Marullus did not truly attribute to his exile the esoteric value claimed by the verses themselves. There is nothing in the *Hymns* that even momentarily suggests that their author remained alien to the cosmological, metaphysical, and moral consequences of the pagan worldview he claimed to resurrect.

And yet the psychological condition of exile accounts for a crucial difference between Marullus's and Plethon's Hellenism. This specific difference between Marullus and Plethon attributes to Marullus's poetry an existential significance that outweighs, I believe, the similarities between the two men. Oddly enough, that difference is also an apt reminder of a most ancient characteristic of Hellenism, which we might, following Nietzsche, call its *pessimism*, a feature of primordial Hellenism that Plethon's Platonic utopia had completely obliterated. In the remainder of this paper I argue that Marullus's poetry may be read as a return to that original Hellenic stance.

4 Hellenism and Pessimism: the Difference between Plethon and Marullus

Pessimism, wrote Georg Simmel (implicitly drawing on Nietzsche), is a threshold between the Hellenic sense of belonging to a community and the loneliness so typical of modernity. Pessimism is that point, where the Greek anthropocentric model is put on trial and modern man begins to suspect that even Hellenic culture and philosophy may be illusory; and that we live in a universe in which violence and irrationality occasionally sidestep and create breaches in the pagan deterministic and rational worldview.[78] The tantalising question is: what happens when the Greek paradigm loses its seductive power, when its capacity to preserve the primacy of reason appears exhausted?

In the light of the events of 1453, Marullus's pagan poetry is an ideal case study for affirming that very Nietzschean interplay of Hellenism with pessimism. For example, while the Greek world collapses, Zeus remains indifferent. One's pious relation to the gods survives only as an old debt to be unenthusiastically paid. Piety is more or less an acquired habit of mind:

78 Simmel (1992: 543–51).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Nam, cur inerti numina nenia
Et nocte frustra obtundimus et die
Iovemque ridentem precesque
Totque supervacuas querelas?
Colendus ille est, sed trahit omnia
Vis saeva fati turbinis in modum aut
De monte torrentis nivali
Praecipites rapientis ornos.

Why, therefore do we din our inept refrains into the ears of the gods night and day, in vain, and harass Jupiter, who laughs at our prayers and our useless laments? He must be worshipped, but the cruel force of destiny carries all before it like a whirlwind or a torrent that comes rushing down from the snowy peaks and carries off the ash trees in headlong flight.[79]

By contrast, Plethon taught that *heimarmene* coincides with pagan piety. The pious man will necessarily triumph and his cause is the just cause. This is why, in Plethon's eyes, the Byzantines should apostatise from Orthodoxy and strive towards a rupture with monasticism and the exhausted theological debates of the fourteenth century. Their apostasy and falling back to pagan Hellenism would necessarily rectify the course of history (*epanorthosis*: ἐπανόρθωσις). Plethon is very modern insofar as he thought that the ideas we choose define our political survival—this being the essence of ideology. Still, he used religion as the vehicle of ideas. Contrariwise, the day after the final fall of Constantinople, Marullus maintained no illusions of that sort: he daringly stated that mortals not only fail to elicit the gods' support for what is just and sacred, but, what is far more shocking, the gods themselves tolerate the presence of unholiness in history:

Quam te cadaver flebile aspicio miser,
Vix ipse adhuc credens mihi
Oculis videre coelitum tantum nefas!
O miserum et infelix genus,
Quo decidit fortuna gentis pristina?

79 *Hymns to Nature* 2.3.16–25. The translation is by Charles Fantazzi (Marullus 2012: 227).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

> In my misery, I look upon you [my native land], a pitiful corpse, still scarcely believing when I see with my own eyes such a wicked act of the gods! O wretched and unhappy race, to what depths has your former good fortune fallen?[80]

Devoted to the memory of his homeland (*ad patriam*), these verses continue with a paraphrase of a known motif from *Ecclesiastes*. There is nothing under the heavens that is not fragile, nothing among all peoples that is not doomed to die: *Iam iam nihil non fragile sub coelo, nihil | Non percaducum gentibus*.[81] Put otherwise: nature and history show no compassion or mercy. Here Marullus's experience of exile leaves little room for Plethon's noble expectations from Hellenism. Experience appears to have taught Marullus that pagan piety is destined to fail in the face of history just as are human vanity and ambition. The gods are not by default our allies, they may be indifferent and even inhuman, even if we are accustomed to using piety as a means of establishing a connection with them.

Marullus's pessimism is an expression of precisely that oscillation between the Hellenic worldview, which still invigorated Plethon's plans, and the mechanistic, de-sacralised world of modernity about to come. Like Plethon, Marullus is addressing the gods, but his view of history pushes him directly to doubt "whether anything sacred is still left on earth" (*et dubitem sancti in terris nihil esse fateri*).[82] His hymns to the gods are an urgent attempt to somehow preserve hope in the face of a resurging chaos, yet in full knowledge that history eventually circumvents piety and culture. History is the merciless and destructive force that man cannot really influence by appealing to the gods.

That Marullus suspected as much becomes explicit in a monody he wrote for Andrea Matteo Acquaviva (1458–1529) on the occasion of the death of Andrea's father, Giulio.[83] Here Marullus describes the abandonment of man in terms of a metaphysical protest that borders on blasphemy. If the gods really cared for justice and piety, he says, then it would be sensible for a great soldier like Andrea to fall in a battle for those gods and their temples. But

> Si modo sunt curae iusque piumque deis.
> Sed neque fas neque iura deos mortalia tangunt,
> Et rapit arbitrio sors fera cuncta suo.

80 *Epigrams* 2.49.5–10. The translation is by Charles Fantazzi (Marullus 2012: 99).
81 *Epigrams* 2.49.15.
82 *Hymns to Nature* 3.1.265.
83 *Epigrams* 1.48.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

> … if only justice and piety were a matter of concern to the gods. But neither divine law nor human rights touch the gods, and fierce fate carries off all things at will.[84]

The gods are observers of a raw truth that religion and civilisation cannot fully conceal, for all the temples of the world and for all our notions of piety and justice. Marullus has no trouble in providing historical examples from the depths of time to his own time:

> Nam quid prisca fides iuvit pietasque Pelasgos?
> Nempe iacent nullo damna levanter deo.
>
> Of what benefit was to the Pelasgians their ancient faith and piety? They lie prostrate with no god to alleviate their losses.

The same applies to Byzantium. Take a look at those walls that once were so dear to the gods, says Marullus, a great work of the Romans. Now they have become a plaything of the enemies. Only glory (*gloria*) remained from such a noble race (*Romanae nobile gentis*):

> Vivit honos, vivunt benefacta virumque labores,
> Et fugit hostiles fama decusque rogos.
>
> Honour lives on, and good deeds, and men's labours, and fame and glory escape the enemy's conflagrations.[85]

It is not specific nations or their accomplishments that survive then; rather, the values actively endorsed and transmitted by individuals. It is not the products of culture that really withstand the destructive forces of time and the accompanying deafening silence of the gods, but one's ability to incarnate reason and virtue. There are echoes of Marcus Aurelius in this outlook,[86] I believe, but also a strikingly modern tone: for example, Marullus's contemporary melancholic observer of the disintegration of ancient Greek ruins and friend of Plethon's,

84 *Epigrams* 1.48.26–28. The translation is by Charles Fantazzi (Marullus 2012: 37).
85 *Epigrams* 1.48.29–37 (cited here: vv. 29–30, 35–36).
86 Cf. for example Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations* 6.15 and 6.36 with 5.33, 6.7, and 6.30.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Cyriac of Ancona (*c.*1391–*c.*1452), would readily agree on the inability of material culture to withstand the forces of history.[87]

Like Cyriac, Marullus often appears caught in the nets of fatalism. He escapes when asking the exiled Greeks to come to grips with their own liability and accountability. It is not the gods that we should blame, he avers, but our own miscalculations and failed strategy. All that now remains is to sincerely search for atonement:

> Nec nobis tam fata deum, quam culpa luenda est
> Mensque parum prudens consiliumque ducis.
> Hanc igitur miseri luimus longumque luemus,
> Dum nos Euxinus et lacrimae minuant.
>
> It is not so much the gods' destiny as our own guilt that must be expiated and the imprudent design and strategy of our leader. Thus we unhappy creatures expiate and will continue to expiate our guilt for a long time to come until we are consumed by the Black Sea and our tears.[88]

Exile then occasions the painful coming to terms with recent history. Displacement urges Marullus to acknowledge a strained relation to fate that concerns not only himself but also a displaced Greek community. Fortune is an arrogant lover, he says; even worse, she is insatiable and permanently unsatisfied. She knows of no limit (*nullo beato termino*), and no divine law or pious mode of life may challenge the direction of her perpetually turning wheel. Only death offers redemption from the cruelty of the "harsh gods", it is only with death that one ceases to experience the "unspeakable losses of your [the native land's] downfall".[89] The undercurrent motif of lassitude, faintness, and helplessness is the same we encountered in Marullus's description of his passion for Neaera: like unreturned love, exile inescapably culminates in a liminal experience, leaving the poet worn out and yet fuller and wiser.

Marullus's pessimist Hellenism provides the answer, I believe, to his preference for the anthropocentric and natural philosophy of pre-Platonic philosophers, as well as for Lucretius, and explains why this outlook eventually sidesteps the Neoplatonic theology of the Plethonean type. For example, the

87 Cyriac of Ancona (2003: 5, 55, and *passim*). On Cyriac's thoughts concerning history, the decline of Hellenism, and his pagan tendencies, see Siniossoglou (2016: 21–62).

88 *Epigrams* 3.37.45–49. The translation is by Charles Fantazzi (Marullus 2012: 135).

89 *Epigrams* 2.49.15–24.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

notorious contrast between Heraclitan melancholy and Democretan cheerfulness becomes the topic of an epigram *Concerning the Misery of Life* (*De miseria vitae*). Here Marullus adapts an epigram contained in the *Greek Anthology* (9.148) and wonders:

> Heraclite et Democrite, hic ridere paratus,
> Tu contra lacrimis cuncta rigare tuis,
> Dicite: quo vitam mortalem auctore deorum
> Tam bene iudicio dispari uterque notat?
> Certe equidem reputans mortalia vos ego scire,
> Pace dei, solos vos puto ego sapere.
>
> Heraclitus and Democritus, one of you ready to laugh [Democritus] and the other, on the contrary, bathing everything with your tears [Heraclitus], tell me, by what god's authority does each of you criticise mortal affairs so well, each with contrasting views? At all events, when I reflect that you know what mortality is, with all due respect to God, I think only you are wise.[90]

Robert Burton will later waive the only apparent contrast between Democritus laughing and Heraclitus falling into melancholy along very similar lines.[91]

In such poems one approaches ancient wisdom in ways that contradict the Plethonean endeavour to reintroduce a Platonic political and religious model based on *heimarmene*. But like Burton, Marullus also overcomes the polarisation of sadness (Heraclitus) and laughter (Democritus) by bringing to the foreground an individual reflective stance that anticipates the *spleen* of modern loneliness. The intrusion of this particularly modern outlook becomes explicit when Marullus consciously and forcefully no longer turns for a remedy to the Greek past, as Plethon did, but spells out his desire for what is unprecedented and extraordinary, hence aberrant and unexampled:

> Nil insigne nisi iuvat indictumque.
>
> Nothing pleases me except what is exceptional and never said before.[92]

90 *Miscellaneous Epigrams* 10. The translation is Charles Fantazzi (Marullus 2012: 347).
91 Burton (2001: 1, 125).
92 *Hymns to Nature* 2.4.13–14. The translation is by Charles Fantazzi (Marullus 2012: 231).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Marullus's evocation of gods becomes intertwined with a key feature of modern European intellectual life: the condition of being intellectually, emotionally, or geo-politically without hearth and home, a *flâneur* wandering in cities and texts expiating loneliness by means of poetry. And yet, it is while sojourning in such a state of limbo that Marullus formulates the need for a new conceptualisation of Greekness divested from its centuries-old Byzantine and Eastern Roman legacy. Seen in that light, modern Greek identity was born in exile and because of exile.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

CHAPTER 11

The Longs and Shorts of an Emergent Nation: Nikolaos Loukanes's 1526 *Iliad* and the Unprosodic New Trojans

Calliope Dourou

According to Milman Parry's seminal definition, the formula in the Homeric poems is "a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea".[1] When analysing, in particular, the intricate set of rules underlying the noun-epithet formulae for the Achaeans,[2] the eminent philologist spares no effort in elaborately explaining how phrases such as ἐυκνήμιδας Ἀχαιούς or κάρη κομόωντας Ἀχαιούς are regularly employed in the Homeric corpus because they fit the metrical needs of the dactylic hexameter. Perusing, however, Nikolaos Loukanes's 1526 intriguing adaptation of the *Iliad* and paying close attention to the fixed epithets allotted by him to the Achaeans and the Trojans, we are faced with a distinctly dissimilar system of nomenclature, conditioned primarily not by any prosody-related exigencies, but rather by a proto-national sense of pride in the accomplishments of the gallant forefathers and by a concurrent, profound antipathy towards the people that came to be viewed as the New Trojans, the Turks.[3]

1 Loukanes and His Intellectual and Historical Context

Born at the dawn of the eventful sixteenth century, the Cinquecento of the startling transatlantic discoveries, the ceaseless Italian Wars, the vociferous emergence of the Protestant Reformation, and the unrelenting Ottoman advance into European territory, Nikolaos Loukanes, like so many of his erudite compatriots residing in flourishing cities in the West, appears to have ardently

1 Parry (1971: 272).

2 Parry (1971: 101 n. 1).

3 In BAV, Vat. Barb. gr. 239 we find a marginal note, most probably written by the author himself, whereby his name is recorded as Nikolaos Loukanos. In this article we will refer to him as Nikolaos Loukanes since this is the name used by all modern scholars thus far. For the scant information available on the author's life, see Katrames (1880: 248–52); Manoussakas (1963: 161–72); Sathas (1863: 135); Legrand (1869–1873: v, ζ–η); Zaviras (1972: 476–7).

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2020 | DOI:10.1163/9789004402461_013
Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

devoted himself to humanist intellectual endeavours aimed at instigating a revival of classical literature without at the same time being unresponsive to a longing to keep alive, in the hearts of his fellow Greeks, the empowering legacy of their illustrious ancestors. Gravely concerned about the alarming and seemingly unrestrainable expansion of the Ottoman Empire in the West during the first quarter of the sixteenth century, scholars such as Janus Lascaris and Marcus Musurus wholeheartedly dedicated their lives to the cause of the liberation of the Greek lands as their numerous fervent appeals for a crusade against the Ottomans amply testify.[4]

Loukanes's stridently patriotic version of the *Iliad*, the first printed rendition of Homer's *magnum opus* in a modern language,[5] emerges against the backdrop of the sanguine expectations to which Giulio de' Medici's ascendancy to the papal throne as Clement VII (r. 1523–1534) had given rise among Greek intellectual circles. That was a period when hopes for a crusade against the Ottomans were still simmering if not running high, and Greek intellectuals, for their part, especially those who were privileged enough to enjoy the personal acquaintance and friendship of the pope, had not yet grown entirely disillusioned with the idea of a united expedition against the inveterate enemies of Christianity, the Turks. It was also an era of looming uncertainty and persistent political unrest.

2 The Context of Loukanes's Adaptation of the Iliad

To be sure, many centuries had elapsed since the *Iliad*'s initial oral composition. Moreover, in the vibrant period of the first quarter of the sixteenth century, which witnessed the burgeoning of publishing houses devoted exclusively to the promotion of Greek books to a Greek audience,[6] there was no longer a need for obsolete mnemonic devices, instrumental only in the oral transmission of epic poetry by bards in erstwhile eras. By 1526, four editions of the *Iliad* in the original Greek had already been issued.[7] What was of dire importance,

4 For a comprehensive overview of the numerous Crusade appeals made by Greek scholars, see Manoussakas (1965).

5 Fischetti (1976: 20).

6 Layton (1994: xxxi).

7 The first edition was produced by Demetrius Chalcondyles in Florence (1488), the second in Venice by Aldus Manutius (1504), while the third and the fourth were also issued by the Aldine press (1517 and 1524).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

at this point, to Damiano di Santa Maria da Spici (fl. 1524–1537),[8] the publisher of the 1526 lavish edition of the Neo-Hellenic *Iliad*,[9] was to regale the readers with a captivating retelling of the story of the Trojan War couched in a language that would no longer be so distant to them. An easily digestible, abridged version of the ancient masterpiece that would at last render Homer's hoary heritage accessible to a wider, mainly Greek-speaking, audience residing in the Greek East or abroad.[10]

Nikolaos Loukanes, one of the first students to be recruited by the renowned Cretan Hellenist Marcus Musurus to attend the Greek College of Rome (*Gymnasio Mediceo*), which was founded by Pope Leo X (de' Medici, r. 1513–1521) for the express purpose of fostering Greek studies in Italy,[11] was only in his early twenties when he was chosen for the task. Deeply ensconced as he was from the very outset of his educational experience in the nurturing humanistic environment of Italy and having—most probably—participated in the production of some of the Gymnasium's most important publications, as for example the *Ancient Scholia on the Iliad*, which appeared in 1517, the young author seemed to be the perfect candidate for the admittedly daunting venture.[12]

His patriotically imbued *Iliad* is a condensed version of the original written in a so-called κοινὴ γλῶσσα ("common tongue"),[13] and in pairs of trochaic octosyllables. Notwithstanding the differences in terms of linguistic medium and verse rhythm, one could say that Loukanes follows the original quite

8 Andreas Kounades, Damian's son-in-law, was the first to engage in the publishing activities. His father-in-law's interest in them was spawned only after Kounades's premature death in 1523. For an insightful article on their lives, based on archival evidence, see Kaklamanes (1993: 595–605).

9 Loukanes's 1526 rendition of the *Iliad* along with the appended 478 verse poem *Ἅλωσις ἤγουν ἔπαρσις τῆς Τροίας*, whose composition belongs exclusively to Nikolaos Loukanes, has attracted the attention of several scholars, the most notable among whom are Bádenas (2002: 159–72); Carpinato (1997: 411–40); Carpinato (1999: 487–505); Fischetti (1976: 11–20); Follieri (1969: 119–30); Layton (1994: 87–91, 183–84, 341, 547); *BH XV–XVI*: I, 188–92). See also the introductions by Konstantinos Sathas and Francis R. Walton in Legrand (1869–1873: V, γ'-ιε') and Loukanes (1979), respectively. None of these works dwells on Loukanes's idiosyncratic use of the epithets. On the 138 woodcuts accompanying the text, see Holton (1972: 371–76).

10 Bádenas (2002: 170), Follieri (1969: 126).

11 For more information on the activities of the school, see Fanelli (1961: 379–93) and Meletiades (2006: 83–114).

12 On the Greek editions of the Gymnasio Mediceo, see Barberi & Cerulli (1972: 61–76).

13 In the colophon of the work Loukanes employs the term *koine* to describe the language of his *Iliad*. This should not be confused with the Hellenistic *koine*. Though plainer in some respects in comparison with the language of Hermoniakos, his predecessor, Loukanes's language still was not a strictly vernacular language as it retained several ancient lexical elements.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

closely. As for the omitted material, when it does not include extensive similes or protracted speeches, our author is usually careful to offer a synopsis of its content covering the basic events of each book. Given the author's marked predilection for precision, it is all the more surprising to see that his rendition swerves considerably from its source in the representation of the Trojans and the Achaeans.

Published one year after Lascaris's urgent plea to Charles V (1500–1558) to organise a crusade against the Turks whereby the esteemed scholar underlined the willingness of the enslaved Greeks to support in any possible way a potential expedition against the Ottomans,[14] Nikolaos Loukanes's *Iliad* could well have contributed to the cause of liberation in Greece,[15] had the quest for a unified mobilisation of the Christian powers against the Turks not been irreparably thwarted in the wake of the anti-imperialist League of Cognac (22 May 1526) and the subsequent Sack of Rome in 1527.[16] After all, it was none other than Nikolaos Loukanes who a few years back, and at the instruction of Lascaris, was saluting Clement VII's cousin, Pope Leo X, as the defender of Greek freedom (Λέοντα, Θεοῦ εἰκόν', ἑῆς ἐλευθερίης πρόμον, ἐκ θεσφάτων Ἑλλὰς πέμπει με προσειπεῖν).[17] Based on the information we get from the edition's colophon, the 1526 *Iliad* aspired to be a very beneficial and gratifying book (ἔστι μὲν ἡ βίβλος πάνυ ὠφέλιμος καὶ ὡραῖα), whose advantageous quality would—in my opinion—be better understood in light of what was to be more coherently articulated a few years later by one of Loukanes's fellow students at the Gymnasium, Nikolaos Sophianos (1500–1551). In the prefatory remarks of the latter's translation of the ps.-Plutarchan *Paidagogos* (1544) we read: "Seeing that on account of the long and harrowing enslavement our *genos* has degenerated and is not mindful of our ancestors' prosperity [...] I was urged [...] to render in a simple language [...] books that are useful and beneficial so that our pitiful *genos* recovering from so great an unenlightenment might unfurl its wings anew".[18]

14 Manoussakas (1965: 25).

15 For an insightful analysis regarding the territorialisation of Hellenism, see Lamers (2015: 233–69).

16 Setton (1976–1984: III, 229–68).

17 Manoussakas (1963: 165). This salutation may be translated as follows: "Leo, image of God, Greece, as decreed by God, sends me to address you, as the foremost guardian of her freedom".

18 This is my own translation. For the original, see Sophianos (1874).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

3 Metaphrastic Choices and the "Ottomanisation" of the Trojans

The aim of the present paper is to analyse the main epithets ascribed to the Trojans by the author in order to demonstrate that Loukanes's portrayal of the enemies is wilfully denigrating. In gauging the possible motives underpinning the author's metaphrastic choices, I will attempt to elucidate the significance of theories developed already in medieval times, and widely revived during the Renaissance period, regarding the origins of the Turks and the alleged association of the latter with the Trojans. Finally, I will conclude the analysis by proposing that Loukanes is retrojecting the rivalry and animosity that existed between the Greeks and the Ottoman Turks in the sixteenth century into the decidedly un-jingoistic heroic past reflected in the *Iliad*. If Aeschylus's works provide plentiful evidence of the so-called "Phrygianisation" of Troy[19] in the fifth century, Loukanes's *Iliad* certainly attests to the continuing appeal of the "Ottomanisation" of the Trojans until well into the period of the High Renaissance.[20]

To begin with, it would be useful to look at a list comprising the Homeric epithets for the Trojans according to their usage frequency in the *Iliad*:

1) ἱππόδαμοι, tamers of horses (encountered 22 times)
2) μεγάθυμοι, great-hearted (11 times)
3) ὑπέρθυμοι, high-spirited, daring (7 times)
4) ἀγέρωχοι, high-minded, lordly (5 times)
5) φιλοπτόλεμοι, warlike (3 times)
6) ἀγαυοί, illustrious, noble (3 times)
7) ἀσπισταί, armed with a shield (4 times)
8) χαλκοχίτωνες, bronze-clad (2 times)
9) μεγαλήτορες, greathearted (2 times)
10) αἰχμηταί, spearmen (1 time)
11) ἀγήνορες, manly, heroic (1 time)
12) θωρηκταί, armed with stout cuirass (1 time)
13) κέντορες ἵππων, drivers of horses (1 time)
14) εὐηφενεῖς, wealthy (1 time)

19 Hall (1989: 39).

20 For an extremely interesting iconographic parallel for the "Ottomanisation" of the Trojans, see Giulio Romano's *Hall of Troy* (completed in 1538), where the connection is not merely insinuated but is rather patently indicated through the distinctive Ottoman attire of some of the Trojan heroes (turban, tarboosh). For an insightful analysis of this work, see Harper (2005: 171).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

What becomes apparent from the comprehensive enumeration of attributes provided above is that the epithets accorded to the Trojans are either merely descriptive or, more often than not, blatantly encomiastic when they entail some form of value judgment. In the *Iliad*, instances of negative representation of the enemies are extremely rare:[21] four times, for example, they are called ὑπερφίαλοι (arrogant),[22] while they are only ἅπαξ reproached for being ὑπερηνορέοντες (overweening)[23] and ὑβρισταί (insolent).[24] Bearing in mind that even the Achaeans themselves are at times disparaged as ἀνάρσιοι (hostile, implacable),[25] δυσώνυμοι (bearing an ill name, hateful),[26] and ἀνάλκιδες (impotent, feeble),[27] we can rather safely infer that in the *Iliad* there are no traces of flagrant favouritism[28] towards any of the two sides. What notably permeates

21 I disagree with Page and Blegen, who claim that the epithets ἀγαυοί, ἀγέρωχοι, ἀγήνορες, μεγάθυμοι, μεγαλήτορες, ὑβρισταί, ὑπέρθυμοι, ὑπερφίαλοι, ὑπερηνορέοντες are synonymous in meaning portraying the Trojans as "a proud, arrogant people". See Page (1976: 251–52) and Blegen (1963: 17). Hall (1989: 24–25) is rightly critical of this view. See also Pinsent (1984: 147–48) where the argument is being formulated that many of the adjectives employed for the Trojans are "non-specific line-fillers which reflect epic values in general".

22 *Iliad* 13.621, 21.224, 414, 459. Moreover, in *Iliad* 3.106, the sons of Priam are distrusted, based on the accusation made by Menelaos that they are ὑπερφίαλοι καὶ ἄπιστοι (arrogant and untrustworthy).

23 *Iliad* 4.176.

24 *Iliad* 13.633.

25 *Iliad* 24.365.

26 *Iliad* 6.255.

27 *Iliad* 15.326.

28 Ever since the ancient scholiasts laid Homer under the unjustified imputation of a distinct Philhellenic bias (see for example the bT-scholium on *Iliad* 10.14: ἀεὶ γὰρ φιλέλλην ὁ ποιητής in Dindorf 1875–1888: III, 421; see also Traill 1990: 299, who concurs with this characterisation), the Poet did not remain impervious to allegations of chauvinism (Howald 1946: 144), nationalism (Van der Valk 1953: 5–26; Van der Valk 1985: 373–76), and patriotism (Stumpo 1937: 274–301). Most often assertions of this sort are based on evidence drawn from the battlefield. Stoevesandt (2004) offers the most systematic treatment of the considerations adduced in support of the allegedly pro-Achaean stance of Homer. Neal (2006), focusing on incidents of non-fatal injury in the *Iliad*, concludes that the Achaeans generally evince more unflinching courage and endurance than their Trojan counterparts, who at times even experience a brief loss of consciousness. If, however, "the balance is tilted in favour of the Achaeans on the battlefield", it is reasonable to argue that the *pathos* that informs the portrayal of the Trojans' civic lives "tips the balance off the battlefield down on the other side" (Hall 1989: 30). As Kakrides (1971: 55, 64), who forcefully refuted van der Valk's nebulous arguments regarding Homer's wavering between his "poetic objectives and his ethnic sentiments", has compellingly contended: "the poet stands above the frightful threshing floor of the war in irreproachable impartiality". Woronoff (1984: 889–91) also agrees that the narrator vouchsafes to the Trojans all the glory they deserve, and he posits that Homer's audience must have been able to

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

the Homeric narrative is a deep sense of respect for the valour of the Achaeans and the Trojans alike, as both armies are invariably touted as courageous.

Turning, however, to Nikolaos Loukanes's shortened version of the *Iliad* and examining it in conjunction with its prototype, we become increasingly aware of a differentiated treatment of the two rival armies. On the one hand, we notice that the Argives are elevated and extolled more frequently than in the Homeric original, while on the other we observe that the Trojans are oftentimes denounced as κακοί (evil), ἄδικοι (unjust), βάρβαροι (barbarous), and ἄπιστοι (faithless).[29] Let us examine some of the most notable excerpts.

There are four instances in which the Trojans are dismissively labelled as "evil": 4.139, 8.221, 10.65, 17.134, of which the first one will concern us here. In this passage the narrator attempts to render an elaborate epic simile concerning the tumultuous nature of the enemies' assault. In contrast to the Greeks, who march unanimously in silence, the Trojans, likened to ewes bleating ceaselessly in their fold, make their advance raising an incredible uproar. On close examination of the relevant scenes in both Loukanes and Homer, we realise that the 1526 *Iliad* is much less favourably disposed towards the Trojans, who within its narrative are for the first time essentialised as inherently bad. Homer's Trojans are conspicuously lapsing into a state of abject immorality.

> Loukanes 4.137–39
> Εἶδες πρόβατα καὶ αἴγας, κεκλεισμένας εἰς τὴν μάνδραν
> καὶ τὸ γάλ' ἀμελγομένας, συνεχῶς βοῶσι πᾶσαι.
> Οὕτως <u>οἱ κακοὶ οἱ Τρῶες</u>, μὲ κραυγῆς ἔρχοντο τότε.

appreciate both the resilience of the Achaeans and the steadfastness of the Trojans. Mary Bachvarova's recent study seems to corroborate this hypothesis, claiming that such identification with both sides must have been a corollary "of the assertion of dynastic ties to the Trojans that would have originated in the period in which Greeks were not yet dominant over the Anatolians in the Troad" (Bachvarova 2016: 435). William Merritt Sale in his seminal work on the formulaic expressions employed for the Trojans, on which part of Bachvarova's thesis is based, cogently argues that by deliberately eschewing the use of the opprobrious epithets he inherited Homer clearly adopts a far more sympathetic attitude toward the enemies, thus breaking away from the traditional view that portrayed the Trojans as villainous as the Suitors (Sale 1989: 344–45, 377–79).

29 The Homeric epithets for the Trojans are completely omitted without any replacement eleven times in Loukanes's text. When a different characterisation is chosen in lieu of the traditional, we encounter the expression οἱ ἐχθροὶ οὗτοι οἱ Τρῶες (sixteen instances) and the epithets πολεμικοί (three times), ἀνδρεῖοι (two times), ἀνδρειωμένοι (one time), μεγαλόψυχοι (one time), ἄθλιοι (one time), κακόμοιροι (one time).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Homer, *Iliad* 4.433–36
ὥς τ' ὄιες πολυπάμονος ἀνδρὸς ἐν αὐλῇ
μυρίαι ἑστήκασιν ἀμελγόμεναι γάλα λευκόν,
ἀζηχὲς μεμακυῖαι ἀκούουσαι ὄπα ἀρνῶν,
ὣς Τρώων ἀλαλητὸς ἀνὰ στρατὸν εὐρὺν ὀρώρει·

But for the Trojans, just as ewes past counting stand in the fold of a man of much substance to be milked of their white milk, and bleat without ceasing as they hear the voices of their lambs: so arose the clamor of the Trojans through the wide army.[30]

The opponents are similarly excoriated as *unjust* two times: in 6.7 and 6.41. In the first instance, the narrator recounts how Telamonian Ajax, an inexorable menace to his foes, pushes forward against the enemy's lines. Whereas Homer mentions that Ajax breaks himself a way through the lines of the Trojans, Loukanes is quick to add the scathing epithet "most unjust" to berate the perennial enemies of Greece once more.

Loukanes 6.6–7
Τελαμώνιος δὲ Αἴας, πύργος μέγας τῶν Ἀργείων
πρῶτος ἔφθειρε τὴν τάξιν, τῶν ἀδικωτάτων Τρώων.

Homer, *Iliad* 6.5–6
Αἴας δὲ πρῶτος Τελαμώνιος, ἔρκος Ἀχαιῶν,
Τρώων ῥῆξε φάλαγγα […]

Aias, son of Telamon, bulwark of the Achaeans, was first to break a battalion of the Trojans […]

Thus far Loukanes's portrayal of the Trojans reveals a palpable sense of acrimony. With the next pair of epithets this feeling of rancour becomes less inscrutable as we begin to fathom what may lurk behind the seemingly innocuous term "Trojan". When inveighing in their writings against the rapidly advancing Ottoman Turks, the humanists of the Quattrocento who had taken upon themselves to summon the help of the upper echelons of European nobility against the impending Ottoman menace do not fail to depict the threatening Eastern

30 Translation by William F. Wyatt (Homer 1999). All the English translations of the Homeric text are taken from the same edition.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

enemies as "faithless" and "barbarous".[31] So highly redolent of the fifteenth-century humanist crusade exhortations, could these emotionally charged words appear in Loukanes's work merely haphazardly?

For the moment, let us cleave to the text itself, which presents various examples of their use. To be more specific, the Trojans are called ἄπιστοι four times (4.64, 4.69, 4.105, 5.25) and βάρβαροι four times as well (2.69, 3.11, 4.135, 5.242). Let us probe some of the most telling examples. At the beginning of the fifth book of the *Iliad*, the Trojans enraged at Diomedes for the death of Phegeus assail him with impetuous rapidity. Whereas in Homer the Trojans are characterised as μεγάθυμοι (great-hearted), in Loukanes's rendition of the scene they become ἄπιστοι (faithless).

> Loukanes 5.25–27
> Οἱ δὲ ἄπιστοι οἱ Τρῶες, ἀφ' οὗ ἴδον τοὺς δύο παῖδας
> ἕνα μὲν πεφονευμένον, φεύγοντα δὲ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον
> ὥρμησαν κεχολωμένοι, κατ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Διομήδους.
>
> Homer, *Iliad* 5.27–29
> Τρῶες δὲ μεγάθυμοι ἐπεὶ ἴδον υἷε Δάρητος
> τὸν μὲν ἀλευάμενον, τὸν δὲ κτάμενον παρ' ὄχεσφι,
> πᾶσιν ὀρίνθη θυμός·
>
> But when the great hearted Trojans saw the two sons of Dares, the one in flight and the other slain beside the chariot, the hearts of all were dismayed.

Why does the author opt for such a vilifying portrayal? Is he perhaps drawing on any pre-existing association of the Trojans with the specific epithet? The *Iliad* yields a single occurrence whereby the sons of Priam are called ἄπιστοι. This is in book three (*Iliad* 3.105) preceding the duel between Menelaos and Paris, when Helen's former husband stipulates that Priam himself should sanction the proposed treaty because his children are "untrustworthy". Is Loukanes then capitalising on a negative trait-ascription by extending its application to the Trojans collectively? Are his Trojans solely "untrustworthy"? Or does the "amphoteroglossic" (double-tongued, ambivalent) term ἄπιστοι subtly hint at the enemies' lack of true faith?[32] Could the author be alluding to his contemporary *infidels*, who were gradually entrenching themselves in Europe?

31 Hankins (1995: 121).

32 Here I employ the notion of *amphoteroglossia*, which is brilliantly expounded by Panagiotis Roilos: Roilos (2005).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

4 "Civilised Greeks", "Uncouth Foreigners", and the Literary Tradition

The hypothesis that the author is indirectly calling attention to the Ottomans becomes all the more convincing when Loukanes's use of another standard epithet for the Ottoman Turks is taken into account. Early on in his work (2.69), the author introduces the opponents' territory as "the land of the barbarians" when king Agamemnon addressing the assembly of the Achaeans appears despondent over the failure of his army's nine-year endeavour to capture the city of Troy. While Homer's Agamemnon speaks with reverence and awe of the "well-peopled city of Ilion", the same hero in Loukanes's *Iliad* has nothing but contempt for "the land of the barbarians".

> Loukanes 2.67–70
> ἔστι γὰρ αἰσχύνη τόδε
> εἰς τοὺς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους, τόσους χρόνους νὰ σταθῶμεν
> εἰς τὴν χώραν τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ συχνὰ νὰ πολεμῶμεν
> κῇ ἄπρακτοι εἰς τὰς πατρίδας, νὰ στραφῶμεν ὡς γυναῖκες

> Homer, *Iliad* 2.130–33
> ἀλλ' ἐπίκουροι
> πολλέων ἐκ πολίων ἐγχέσπαλοι ἄνδρες ἔασιν,
> οἵ με μέγα πλάζουσι καὶ οὐκ εἰῶσ' ἐθέλοντα
> Ἰλίου ἐκπέρσαι εὖ ναιόμενον πτολίεθρον.
>
> But there are allies from many cities, men who wield the spear, who hinder me greatly and, though I wish it, do not allow me to sack the well-peopled city of Ilios.

Here we are confronted with a largely post-Herodotean distinction between civilised Greeks and uncouth foreigners that is anachronistically applied to the temporally elusive, legendary world of heroes that is so imaginatively recreated by Homer in his epic.[33] As we may recall, in the *Iliad* the epithet is used

33 Hardly emanating from a cultural vacuum, the dichotomy between Hellenes and barbarians in its more developed form is often thought to have been spawned (Hall 1989: 6), or magnified (Weiler 1968: 25) by the Persian Wars and the invasion of Xerxes. Although Schwabl (1962: 23) argues that at the time before Herodotos the antithesis tyranny/freedom = barbarians/Greeks did not exist yet, Vasilescu (1989: 77) is convinced that the Greeks of the archaic period did not fall short of evincing an awareness of the polarity of the Hellenic and the foreign world. Regardless of whether Homer was cognizant of the term barbarian (its omission being explained as due to conscious archaising Murray 1934: 144–45) or not (Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.3.3–4) one thing remains

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

only once (*Iliad* 2.867) for the Karians in the compound form βαρβαρόφωνοι to denote merely a linguistic difference.[34] The Trojans are only called "barbarians" in another epic belonging to the Trojan Cycle, the *Cypria* (10.7–9),[35] which is commonly ascribed to a Cypriot poet, Stasinos or Hegesias, and which dates most probably from the second half of the sixth century BC.[36] As the story of the Trojan War was refracted in subsequent centuries into different genres,[37] the distinction between Greeks and barbarians remained relevant. Attestations abound,[38] for example, in the Chronicles of Dictys of Crete[39] and Dares the Phrygian,[40] and later on in the Byzantine literary tradition in John Malalas's (491–578) sixth-century *Chronography* (*Χρονογραφία*) and Constantine Manasses's (1130–1187) twelfth-century chronicle (*Σύνοψις Χρονική*).[41]

In Constantine Hermoniakos's fourteenth-century rendition[42] of the Trojan story (*c.*1330), however, from which Nikolaos Loukanes borrows profusely in certain sections of his work,[43] the roles are reversed: in a scene where some of the most despicable Trojan War atrocities are poignantly described, the epithet βάρβαροι is applied to the Greeks.[44] It is also worth noting that Hermoniakos's

certain: nowhere in the Homeric epics is the confrontation between the two opposing armies portrayed as a conflict between the Greek world and the barbarian populations of Asia, as it would be interpreted a few centuries later by Herodotus (Herodotus, *Histories* 1.5). As Levy (1984: 11) has perceptively observed, seeking to attribute to the *Iliadic* Trojans characteristics that by the fifth century would come to typify barbarian behaviour is of no avail. It is interesting to note that foreigners in the *Iliad* are referred to as ἀλλοδαποί or τηλεδαποί (Levy 1984: 12).

34 Both Innocente (1996: 122–23) and Rochette (1997–1998: 232–33) agree—the latter with only a few reservations—with Strabo's astute observation about the meaning of the word *barbarophonos* in *Iliad* 2.867. According to the renowned Greek geographer and historian, the epithet is applied to the Carians not because their language is very harsh (οὐδέ γε ὅτι τραχυτάτη ἡ γλῶττα τῶν Καρῶν), but because they speak Greek badly (οὕτως οὖν καὶ τὸ βαρβαροφωνεῖν καὶ τοὺς βαρβαροφώνους δεκτέον τοὺς κακῶς ἑλληνίζοντας). See Strabo, *Geography* 14.2.28 (662c–663c).

35 The poem narrates the main events preceding the *Iliad*. For more information on the poem, see West (2003: 13).

36 West (2003: 13 n. 44).

37 For a concise overview of the multifarious ramifications in Greek tradition, see Nilsson (2004: 9–34).

38 The characterisation is also prevalent in the Scholia to the *Iliad*.

39 Dictys (1973).

40 Frazer (1966).

41 Malalas (2000) and Manasses (2003).

42 Hermoniakos (1890). On Hermoniakos's possible sources, see the astute analysis of Jeffreys (1975: 81–109).

43 Books one and two, specifically, contain long verbatim extracts from Hermoniakos's work.

44 Hermoniakos (1890: 22.286–88). The epithet is used one more time in 6.126, when Odysseus's odium against Palamedes is being expressed, and once for the Thracian king Polumestor in 24.63. It is never applied to the Trojans.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

version does not include any pejorative remarks whatsoever about the Trojans. Composed in the second quarter of the fourteenth century and dedicated to John II Komnenos Angelos Doukas (d. 1244)—in reality an Orsini, who as the newly appointed Despot of Epirus was eager to seize every opportunity to display his Hellenism to the citizens of the Despotate—Hermoniakos's 8,800 unrhymed trochaic octosyllables had understandably an entirely different orientation, which extends beyond the scope of this paper.

But if Loukanes's *Iliad* does resonate to a significant extent with the work of the poet of the Despotate, to the point that Hermoniakos's work is considered to be its second source besides the Homeric *Iliad*, the question then naturally arises: why is Loukanes so willing to veer away from both his main sources in his depiction of the Trojans? Is he wittingly investing the Trojan legend with an inchoate national sentiment? Does his view of the present colour his perception of the past? And why do the inhabitants of the famed fortress-town of Hisarlik in his work bear an uncanny resemblance to the Ottoman Turks?[45] Fifteenth-century theories on the origins of the Turks, drawing on material from the medieval chronicle tradition, will greatly help to elucidate all these questions.

The story of the Turks' alleged Trojan origins goes back to the late seventh century and has its roots in a Latin chronicle which is commonly ascribed to a fictitious author, Fredegar (and published in a modern edition by Krusch in 1888). According to the legend, attested for the first time in this source,[46] after the fall of Troy and during the ensuing flight from the famed city, Trojan refugees were split into two groups. The first group fled to Macedon and through intermingling with the pre-existing local population gave rise to the people of the Macedonian kingdom of Philip II and Alexander the Great. The second, meanwhile, meandered for many years through Asia Minor before finally settling in Europe (between the Rhine or the Danube and Ocean) under the

45 As the renowned German archaeologist Manfred Korfmann has convincingly argued (1993: 27–37) Troy VI and VIIa, chronologically a match for Homer's Troy, was an Anatolian fortress belonging to "the old Near Eastern type of 'royal seat and trading town'". These towns included "the Hittite capital, Boğazköy-Hattuša". See Latacz (2004: 25). *Ilios* (Troy) or Wilusa, as the name is preserved in the correspondence of the Hittite empire, had friendly relations with the Hittite capital. Politically, there was some kind of subordination of the town to Hattuša, but in spite of this *Ilios* retained its autonomy and was never officially a province of the Hittite empire: Latacz (2004: 77). The site was deserted, according to Korfmann, approximately in 950 BC: Latacz (2004: 137).

46 In a seminal article, Alexandre Eckhardt elaborates on the significance of Fredegar's legend claiming that it is entirely devoid of any historical value. In his view, the genealogical history of the Turks falls under the rubric of "etymological legends" so prevalent in the seventh century that they were often used in lieu of historical documentation. See Eckhardt (1967: 424).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

leadership of king Francio, a potentate these people had elected for themselves. Following the description of the "birth" of the Frankish nation, the account centres on the peregrinations of a sub-branch of the previous group, which deciding to secede from the main body of the Franks and designating its own sovereign, Torquotus, eventually anchored itself along the banks of the Danube between the Ocean and Thrace.[47] On the basis of Fredegar's report, these are the forebears of the nation of the *Torci*.

Though it is quite precarious to argue that the author intended "to refer to any historical Turkic people",[48] and despite the fact that Fredegar's tale was largely eclipsed by subsequent chronicles, such as the eighth-century *Historia Francorum regum*, which wished to wholly dispense with the idea of any Trojan cousins' of the Franks, the semi-dormant theory of the Trojan[49] pedigree of the Turks held on tenaciously until the Renaissance. To be sure, by that point, the majority of humanists, seriously engaged in historiographic work, strenuously rejected any such connection promoting in its stead the theory of a Scythian descent of the Turks, which was entirely in keeping with the prevalent contemporary conceptualisation of the Ottomans as the most despicable barbarians of all time.[50] Foremost among them was the prolific Enea Silvio Piccolomini (Pope Pius II, 1458–1464), who upon ascending the papal throne in 1458 fully devoted himself to arduous preparations for an ambitious crusade project, which, much to his distress, would never materialise. His writings are brimming[51] with reproaches against those who irresponsibly referred to

47 Fredegar (1888: 46 n. 51).

48 This is an idea put forward by Margaret Meserve, who after considering the different theories by scholars regarding this issue rejects them on historical grounds. It is worth noting that Fredegar's *Torci* have been identified at times as Huns or Avars, Western Turks, Torcilingui, proto-Bulgars, and even as Goths or Normans. For a discussion, see Meserve (2008: 48–53).

49 On the Trojan theory, see Eckhardt (1967: 422–33 n. 53); Heath (1979: 453–71); Meserve (2008: 22–64); Runciman (1972: 344–48); Spencer (1952: 330–33).

50 Meserve (2008: 26). According to Spencer (1952: 332), the learned, in general, were skeptical about the validity of the Trojan theory. Heath (1979: 453–71) explores the gradual transition from the "Trojan" legend to the "Scythian" theory. In his view, during the Renaissance, speculation on the origins of the Turks was pervaded by political concerns. In assigning an ignominious past to the Ottomans, humanist scholars were purposefully undermining their political legitimacy (see Heath 1979: 470 n. 58). An exhaustive presentation of the first studies in the West on the origins of the Turks can be found in Pertusi (1970: 465–552). Italian perceptions of the Turks during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are explored in Fleet (1995: 159–72).

51 Piccolomini (1967: 394).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

the Turks as *Teucri*, the name by which the Trojans were widely known in the West through Virgil's *Aeneid*.[52]

Aside from the tenuous medieval evidence, there were mainly three reasons why these ethnonyms were often used interchangeably: the first pertaining to an unmistakable phonetic resemblance between the names *Tourkoi* and *Teucri*, the second to the humanist penchant for "achieving an authentic antique style", "purged of barbaric neologisms",[53] and the third to the identity of the Turks' "power base in Asia Minor".[54] In employing an archaising term to denote a contemporary ethnic group, namely the Ottomans, humanists were not entering upon a new and untrodden path. Far from being unprecedented, the practice of calling the Turks by a classicising ethnonym had been ushered in already by Byzantine authors, especially historians, epistolographers, poets, and orators.[55] These authors, however, never associated the Turks with the Trojans, who in Greek literature were mostly known as Τρῶες and not Τεῦκροι, but rather preferred to regard them as Huns, Persians, Parthians, Persoscythians, Scythopersians, Persoturks, or Turcopersians.[56]

If Renaissance scholars were as zealous as their Byzantine counterparts in their wish to flaunt their erudition and to emulate ancient style, were they at the same time willing to flout historical accuracy[57] and to share with the upstart Turks their legendary Trojan heritage? Did the Turks' possession of the highly coveted Land of Troy make so strong an appeal to their imagination that they felt justified in construing a phonetic affinity as a semantic one? How sincere were their intentions? And to what extent were they influenced by contemporary politics? To begin with, as Margaret Meserve has argued,[58] not all humanists employing the term *Teucri* for the Turks were doing so because they were intent on making a statement about the true origins of the latter.

52 Runciman (1972: 344 n. 58).

53 Meserve (2008: 23–24, 27).

54 Heath (1979: 455 n. 58).

55 In his enlightening article Koray Durak points out that in other genres, i.e. military treatises, fiscal records, and the majority of chronicles, archaising terms are not as common (Durak 2009: 66).

56 Durak (2009: 66, 72). Archaising terms used by Byzantine authors for the Turks can be found also in Moravcsik (1958: 359–60).

57 Though more carefully elaborated and meticulously developed, the theory of the Scythian origins of the Ottomans was no less problematic, since it was based on the erroneous assumption that the latter came from the North, from the Caucasus region. Current historiography has dispelled this myth in revealing that the ancestors of the Ottomans, who "arrived in Anatolia in the wake of the Byzantine defeat at Manzikert", came from the East and not from the North. Their trajectory is succinctly delineated in Meserve (2008: 18–21).

58 Meserve (2008: 32).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

People like Coluccio Salutati (1131–1406), the Florentine chancellor who most probably was the first to call the Turks *Trojans* in a letter he wrote in 1389,[59] or Cardinal Isidore of Kiev (1385–1463), whose eyewitness account of the capture of Constantinople includes several references to the Turks as *Teucri*,[60] do not in any way intimate that the Ottomans were of Trojan stock.

5 Humanist Scholars and the Turco-Trojan Legend

What about those instances, however, where the Turks were explicitly portrayed as inexorable avengers who by capturing Constantinople were requiting the grave injustices inflicted upon Troy in eras long gone? The notion is tangibly reflected in numerous accounts of the fall of Constantinople. Filippo da Rimini (*c.*1407–1497), for example, the Venetian chancellor of the island of Corfu, in his description of Constantinople's siege narrated how upon entering Constantinople the sultan defiled a Greek virgin who had taken refuge in the church of Hagia Sophia in retaliation for Cassandra's rape by the Locrian Ajax.[61] Speculating on the veracity of such statements is not always easy. On many occasions the downfall of Troy and the ensuing sufferings of its inhabitants were thought to be the perfect foil for the atrocities committed during the sack of Constantinople, and therefore authors were inclined[62] to employ the Trojan analogy mainly as a rhetorical device[63] to dramatically accentuate the poignancy of the demise of the Byzantine Empire.

The *Responsio Magni Turci*,[64] a spurious epistolary poem purportedly composed by Mehmed II (1432–1481) in response to an authentic letter written by Pius II for the purpose of evangelising the Grand Turk,[65] further encapsulates the essence of the theory of the Trojan origins of the Turks. In this highly imaginative piece of antipapal propaganda the sultan expostulates with the pope protesting that the Trojan heritage should not be monopolised by Pius:

59 Meserve (2008: 27).
60 Meserve (2008: 30).
61 Pertusi (1983: 138).
62 Philippides (2004).
63 Meserve (2008: 47).
64 *Responsio Magni Turci ad Pium summum pontificem* 21–30. For an edition of the text, see Hankins (1995: 206–07). This work was composed sometime before 1474.
65 Piccolomini (2001). This letter was the basis for an epistolary poem supposedly composed by Pius II and addressed to Mehmed II. For more information on this versified letter, see Hankins (1995: 206).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Tu nos Dardanei generis posse esse negasti;
Me Turchum tandem dicere non puduit.
Sum Theucer, Theucro natus de sanguine. Turcum
Quid, Pie, meque tuo carmine sepe vocas?
Dic mihi, quis Theucer fuerit, quis denique Turcus?
Troiani fuimus, quicquid, amice, putas.
Reliquie fuimus Priami quas perdere Graii
Crudeli bello non potuere duces.
Dardanide quanto fuerint cum Marte potentes
Historie referent: hystoriasque lege.[66]

You have said it is impossible for me to be a Dardanian by birth, nor have you blushed to call me a Turk. I am a Teucrian, born of Teucrian blood. Why, Pius, do you call me a Turk throughout your poem? Tell me, who was Teucre, and then, who was Turcus? Father, we were Trojans, whatever you may think. We were the remnants of [the nation of] Priam whom the Greek generals could not destroy in their cruel war. History tells how powerful in war the Dardanians were: you should read your history.[67]

The Turks' right to their putative Trojan patrimony is asserted in the most forceful way. Taken at face value, this claim would seem to imply that the Ottoman sovereign truly entertained the belief that the Turks derived their pedigree from the Trojans. Would the Quattrocento audience, however, interpret it in such a way? Admittedly, the equally apocryphal letter of "Morbisanus", which chronologically preceded the *Responsio* and which most probably served as the principal inspiration for it,[68] was perceived by some contemporaries as a genuine text and was almost always printed together with the authentic letter of Pius II to Mehmed II.[69] To this readership, that is the fifteenth-century audience, the "Morbisanus" letter similarly to the *Responsio* conveyed an unambiguous message, namely that the alarmingly advancing Ottoman Turks aspired to "restore great Troy, and to avenge the blood of Hector and the ruin of Ilium by subjugating the empire of the Greeks" and punishing "the heirs of the original culprits for the injuries done" to their "goddess Pallas".[70]

66 Cited from Hankins (1995: 207).
67 Here I am using Margaret Meserve's translation: Meserve (2008: 39).
68 The text can be found in Piccolomini (1953).
69 Meserve (2008: 36).
70 Meserve (2008: 36).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

6 Loukanes and the Politics of Greek Post-Byzantine Intelligentsia

An exhaustive discussion of the motives underpinning the humanist infatuation with the Turco-Trojan legend lies outside the purview of this article. Regardless of whether the Quattrocento authors were convinced of the validity of the Turks' Trojan ancestry or not, there is one thing that remains certain. The notion enjoyed considerable popularity throughout the fifteenth century, especially among scholars who wished to infuse a distinct antiquarian tone into their accounts of the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople. Ubertino Pusculo's (*c.*1431–1488) epic poem *Constantinopolis*,[71] composed around 1455, offers a wonderful example of how the past was projected onto the present since its 3007 hexameters are filled with references to the Turks as *Teucri* and to the Greeks as Homeric *Danai*. If the Brescian humanist was apt to invoke the myth of the Trojan War in order to amplify the calamities visited upon Constantinople, was Nikolaos Loukanes, reversely, transposing the post-1453 Greco-Ottoman conflict into a more glorious, mythical setting with a view to inciting his fellow-countrymen to emulate the sublime bravery of their forefathers?

Unarguably, the phenomenon of "reading" the Turks into classical texts[72] was hardly new. Cardinal Bessarion's (*c.*1403–1472) Latin translation of the first Olynthiac oration of Demosthenes, which was completed at a very critical moment, as it coincided with the fall of Negroponte in 1470, is highly illustrative of this tendency. Drawing on the eloquence of the great Athenian orator, Bessarion attempts to establish a parallel between Philip II's advance into central Greece and the expansionist plans of the Ottoman Empire to the West. In the preface to his translation the acclaimed Hellenist spells out the connection in the most unequivocal way: "Just as Philip threatened Greece in those times, so now do the Turks menace Italy. Therefore, let Philip play the part of the Turks, the Athenians the Italian people, and Demosthenes ourselves. Now you will easily understand how the entire oration is suitable to our cause".[73]

In the case of Loukanes's *Iliad*, of course, we lack a statement as clearly enunciated as the one cited above. Nowhere in the edition's colophon can one locate any hint as to how the *Iliad*, the cornerstone of Greek *paideia* throughout the centuries, could relate to the sixteenth century, providing a potent paradigm for the precocious proto-modern Greek yearning for Hellenic

71 The text is available in Pusculo (1857).

72 Bisaha (2004: 80).

73 The Latin text can be found in *PG*: CLXI, cols. 669–76. Here I am using Bisaha's English translation: Bisaha (2004: 81).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

regeneration. The implicit connection can only be inferred from the differentiated treatment of the Achaeans and the Trojans within the context of the 1526 *Iliad* and from the striking resemblance, also found therein, between the inhabitants of Troy and their purported Ottoman *epigonoi*. By portraying the Trojans in Turkish garb, Loukanes was not automatically acknowledging the Ottomans' elevated mythical pedigree. Besides, his overall presentation of the Trojans, as it has already been demonstrated, is anything but flattering. In Loukanes's work, therefore, the Turco-Trojan association is not employed to extol the Turks. What happens actually is truly fascinating. Not only are the Turks deprived of any *kudos* emanating from their alleged Trojan ancestry, but also the Trojans themselves seem to be stripped of all their ancient nobleness on account of their connection with the ferocious Ottoman Turks.

Back in the fourteenth century, the anonymous composer of the *War of Troy*,[74] the vernacular Greek adaptation of *Roman de Troie*,[75] following in the steps of Benoit de Sainte-Maure (1154–1173),[76] was equipping Paris with a Turkish bow,[77] an accoutrement that in Benoit's version had also been provided to the Greek regiment of the island of Syme, led by Hunerius (Nireus),[78] to the king of Aethiopia Sersès and his men,[79] and to the knights of king Pretemesus of Paeonia,[80] both kings having been summoned to Troy to the aid of the beleaguered Trojans. Lacking though we may be in a similarly explicit marker of ethnic affiliation conferring a Turkish aura on any Trojan character in Loukanes's work, based on the foregoing analysis we are not unjustified—I think—in suggesting that Loukanes's Paris may also be holding a τούρκικο δοξάρι, whose Turkish tint, moreover, is one that he now evocatively relates to.

The above analysis has shown that Loukanes is prejudiced against the Trojans, as he invariably portrays them as evil, unjust, barbarous, and faithless. Against a backdrop of continuing association of the Turks with the Trojans, these disparaging appellations, for which we find no parallel whatsoever in the Iliadic tradition, may be regarded as emblematic of an endeavour to graft the opposition between the post-Byzantine Greeks and the Ottoman Turks onto that between the Achaeans and the Trojans. In proudly identifying with the illustrious forebears, the Achaeans, and in evincing so pronounced a hostility

74 Anonymus (1996).
75 Sainte-Maure (1904–1912).
76 Sainte-Maure (1904–1912: I, 7967), Sainte Maure (1904–1912: II, 11202, 11589).
77 Anonymus (1996: 4638, 8211).
78 Sainte-Maure (1904–1912: I, 8236), Sainte Maure (1904–1912: II, 9494, 9812).
79 Sainte-Maure (1904–1912: I, 7414), Sainte Maure (1904–1912: II, 9540), Sainte Maure (1904–1912: III, 15756).
80 Sainte-Maure (1904–1912: I, 6763).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

toward the ostensible offspring of the Trojans, the Ottomans, Loukanes seems to echo the views espoused by some of the most influential members of the Byzantine intelligentsia in Italy like Janus Lascaris and Marcus Musurus, with whom he was personally connected during his years at the Gymnasio Mediceo.

These intellectuals were fervent supporters of the idea that the pontiff could wield the influence of his spiritual authority to unite all the Christian powers in an expedition against the Turks and did not miss any opportunity to proclaim in the most emphatic way the resolute willingness of the enslaved Greeks to "recall [their] ancient virtues" and to forcefully attack the enemy from within in order to behold "the light of freedom" shining once again "on the Byzantine city".[81] It is not known whether Loukanes's *Iliad* was primarily intended to galvanise its readers into action, inciting them to support the cause of a crusade against the Ottomans. But even if it did, the timing could not have been more unfortunate. During the uneasy summer of 1526, a few months after the publication of Loukanes's *Iliad* (May 1526), the heavily defeated members of the anti-imperialist League of Cognac, deeply enmeshed in the ongoing conflict for domination over Italy, hardly had time to make plans about how to wrest Greece free from the Ottoman shackles.

81 *Hymn to Plato* 127–28, 131–34. The *Hymn to Plato* was published as a dedicatory poem prefacing the *editio princeps* of the works of Plato. The edition was printed by the press of Aldus Manutius in Venice in September 1513. For an edition of Musurus's masterpiece along with an English translation, see Manutius (2016: 302–17). For an analysis of the *Hymn to Plato*, see Dijkstra & Hermans (2015).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

CHAPTER 12

From Courts to Cities: Greek Migration, Community Formation, and Networks of Mutual Assistance in Sixteenth-Century Italy

Niccolò Fattori

In his *Turcograeciae libri octo*,[1] Martin Crusius (1526–1607) described his encounter with Stamatis, a Greek who had spent some years wandering around Central Europe in search of ways to pay for the ransom of his family, taken prisoner by the Ottomans after the capture of Cyprus. While his story bears more than one similarity to those of numerous other post-Byzantine exiles who were forced to roam from Spain to England after the fall of Constantinople, there are some remarkable differences. To begin with, unlike most of the Greek wanderers of the fifteenth century, the unfortunate Stamatis—who was thirty years old at the time—while *multarum rerum peritus*, was completely illiterate, and could neither read nor write. He spoke very little German, and it was only thanks to his limited knowledge of Italian that he was able to communicate effectively with Crusius. His command of the Mediterranean *lingua franca*[2] had most likely been perfected during his time as an artisan and labourer in Venetian Cyprus, where his family grew silkworms and traded in silk when they were not busy taking care of their fields and vineyards. The background of Stamatis, illiterate peasant, artisan and tenant, stands in stark contrast with the ones of the exiles of the previous century, who were often renowned for their erudition, their aristocratic credentials, and sometimes both.[3]

While the case of Stamatis is just one single example, the different social backgrounds of the exiles of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are symptomatic of the presence of two distinct phases of migration from Greek-speaking lands to Western Europe at the beginning of the early modern period, two phases which also produced different outcomes in terms of integration, settlement, and community formation. Throughout the fifteenth century, the migration took the form of an exile of the post-Byzantine aristocracy, which was quickly absorbed within the social circles of the early Renaissance courts,

1 Crusius (1584: 188–89).

2 Cortelazzo (1977).

3 Harris (1995: 120–31); Geanakoplos (1962); Monfasani (2013); Figliuolo (2012).

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2020 | DOI:10.1163/9789004402461_014
Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

or in other similar aristocratic environments. On the other hand, the gradual emergence of a professional migration in the early sixteenth century brought dozens of traders, artisans, and sailors to some of the most important port cities of the Mediterranean. There, they were allowed by the local authorities to gather in communities, usually centred around religious buildings or confraternities, in which they were able to preserve their self-identification as individuals who belonged to a different social group, in these cases often labelled as *Graecus*, for more than one generation.

A common feature to both the earlier émigrés of the fifteenth century and those of the later professional migration was their own recognition of their collective identity. It was, of course, articulated with varying degrees of sophistication and historical consciousness. Tommaso Diplovatazio, a jurist and statesman of the late fifteenth century, strongly stressed his own Greek origins in the dedicatory pages of his *Tractatus de Venetae Urbis Libertate*, reiterating Bessarion's claim that Venice was *alterum Byzantium* and underlying how the Greek world—in the Byzantine and Christian form that he saw as his own—was instrumental in the establishment of Venice and her prosperity, describing two patriarchs of Aquileia (Niceta and Elia, who respectively lived in the fifth and in the sixth centuries) as *Graecus*, and mentioning the privileges granted by Byzantine Emperor Nicephorus I. On the other side of the spectrum, a simple craftsman like Alexios Effomatos, who lived in London in the late fifteenth century, could complain that he was "Grieke and of an estraunge nation", and that "noone of his cuntree and tonge" lived in the city.[4] In its simplicity, Effomatos's statement clearly assumes the recognition of his own diversity from the rest of the population of London, and of his belonging to a specific group. Whether they could consciously construct it in relation to a complex historical tradition, or simply perceived this difference based on markers such as language and culture, it is clear that a sense of collective identity existed among the migrants, whatever their social standing.[5]

The fact that certain cultural identities were defined, however, did not mean they were univocal, or had impassable boundaries: especially within the larger cultural sphere of the Orthodox-Byzantine world multiple identities could coexist and overlap, both from the point of view of the outsiders, and in the self-perception of the migrants themselves. In the late sixteenth century, the Albanian settlers of southern Italy were called *grecastri sive albanenses*

4 Besta (1903: 344), in the words of Diplovatazio: *Nam visus sum non Venetias sed patriam ipsam adiisse, quando quidem in civitatem vestram omnes nationes confluant et praecipue Graeci*; Harris (2000a: 35–36).

5 Harris (2000a: 31–5); Vryonis (1991); Burke (2013).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

by their Italian bishops, and the Albanian stradiot captain Mercurio Bua was declared, in a poem written in his honour by the Greek poet Zane Coroneo, "rampart of the Albanians" and "chosen among the Hellenes", his lineage linked to that of the ancient Epirote king Pyrrhus, and his feats compared to those of the Roman Caesars.[6] The case of Giovanni Maria Strategopulo, analysed below in this chapter, will also offer an interesting example of a life lived across the blurred boundaries between the Latin and Greek forms of Christianity of the early sixteenth century.

Nevertheless, most migrants coming from Greek-speaking areas into Italy shared the feeling of being strangers in a strange land, a sensation which formed the basis for the creation of a number of social connections between themselves. In turn, together with bonds of friendship, acquaintance, and professional proximity these connections would constitute the very basis for the establishment of successful and complex communities of émigrés, able to assist their members, absorb the newcomers, and ease their often traumatic shoehorning in a host society. Community and social networks are in fact two names for the same phenomenon: the voluntary self-organisation of individuals who shared similar values, and it might be possible to state that the community itself did not exist outside the collection of social relationships that linked the individual migrants to each other.[7]

Indeed, in most cases it would be reductive to assume that the community existed as an independent actor, endowed with an agency of its own and not bound by the actions of its individual members. Instead, what migrant communities were able to develop was a series of collective dynamics, which influenced the lives of their members, and of the external people orbiting around them. Single institutions, such as mercantile *nationes* and religious confraternities, might indeed have such agency, but they rarely represented more than a very limited portion of a migrant population.[8] The combination of the different kinds of social ties that constituted each community strongly influenced

6 BNN, MS Branc. I.B.6, fols. 382v–383v, published in Peri (1967: 227–30); Petta (1996: 95–102); *DBI*: XIV, *s.v.* "Bua, Mercurio"; Falangas (2010: 31); Sathas (1867: I, 4, 96–97); Maltezou (2002); Dursteler (2006: 13–16).

7 Bruhn (2011: 12–13); Ambrosini (2005: 83–101); for an in-depth study of migrant networks in fifteenth century Venice, see Orlando (2014: 139–89).

8 Confront Becker (1982: 766) and Subacchi (1995: 84–85) for two opposite ways to study the Italian communities in Antwerp. There is a vast literature on the subject of the migrant and mercantile *nationes*; see for example Petti Balbi (2007); Mauro (1990); Bratchel (1984); Galoppini (2001); Mainoni (2001). For a different approach on the subject, see Casarino (1989: 138). The study of the Greek migrations in Italy was not immune from this fascination with organised structures, starting from the seminal work of Veludo (1847), to Fedalto (1967), Geanakoplos (1962: 52–3), and more recently Ball (1985: 182) and Grenet (2007).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

its structures and its dynamics. The strong connections provided by blood, kinship, and a shared place of origins (as in the case of the Albanian communities of southern Italy), or the relatively weaker ties of a shared set of linguistic, religious, and cultural norms, as for the Greeks in Ancona, would produce different forms of socialisation, and a diverse set of collective and individual responses to religious and political pressures.[9] Whatever their nature, these collective dynamics required a minimum threshold, in the number of people, in the quality of their interaction and in their constancy, to be able to emerge at all. With a few notable exceptions (the most important being, of course, Venice) this threshold would be achieved for the first time, in the context of the Greek migrations into early modern Italy, by the mercantile and professional diaspora of the sixteenth century.

This essay will analyse a number of cases of individuals, coming from attested or alleged Byzantine aristocratic families, who settled in the districts of Adriatic Central Italy (the Duchy of Pesaro, the towns of Fano, Ancona, and Recanati) between the mid-fifteenth and late sixteenth centuries. By comparing their stories, I will try to demonstrate the presence of structural differences between the first Greek diaspora, which took place following the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the Ottoman expansion in the southern Balkans, and the later influx of professionals coming from Greek-speaking lands, and how these structural differences were instrumental in the emergence (or lack thereof) of a sense of community among the expatriates, which was concretely expressed by the presence of a number of networks of mutual support, both formal and informal.

1 Nobles in Exile: the "Doctor Constantinopolitanus" and the Prince of Macedon

It is well known how during the collapse of the Byzantine Empire in the mid-fifteenth century, a consistent part of the Byzantine aristocracy escaped to Western Europe. Their settlement outside the boundaries of the old empire was made easier by the vast network of contacts they had been able to build with the numerous Italians who resided in the Eastern Mediterranean, as shown by Matschke in the case of the Notaras family who moved to Genoa and Venice,[10] or by the dynastic links that connected the Palaeologi and the Malatesta

9 On the Albanians in southern Italy, see the works of Tomai-Pitinca (1981); Tomai-Pitinca (1982); Tomai-Pitinca (1984); Tomai-Pitinca (1985). On the Greeks in southern Italy, see Hassiotis (2011); on Livorno Funis (2006); on Venice Burke (2016).

10 Matschke (1995: 59–72).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

family, which brought Cleofa Malatesta to the court of the Despotate of Morea between 1421 and 1433 and which would later help the military expedition in the Morea of her uncle Sigismondo Malatesta.[11] Strong relationships between the princely courts of Renaissance Italy, Italian humanists such as Francesco Filelfo, and Byzantine scholars such as Plethon are also well attested, and some characteristics of the historical works of Laonikos Chalkokondyles have led to speculations about the size of his network of acquaintances among the humanist *intelligentsia*, which must have been extraordinarily wide.[12] Others, like Andronikos Kontovlakas or Alexios Keladenos found employment as teachers of ancient Greek in Italy through the good offices of Cardinal Bessarion, whose role as mediator between the Italian courts and the Greek refugees cannot be overstated.[13]

The life of Tommaso Diplovatazio (1468–1541) is in more than one way typical of this first Greek diaspora, in that it offers the story of a wealthy Byzantine family, which though expelled from its lands in Greece was slowly able to rebuild its status overseas. Despite Tommaso's own attempts at promoting himself as a scion of the Vatatzes family, that had ruled in Constantinople during the thirteenth century, there are no surviving sources confirming the alleged imperial origins of the Diplovatazio family.[14] An Eudocia Diplovatazina is mentioned as the mistress of Emperor Andronicus III (d. 1341),[15] but this is the only attested connection between the Diplovatazi and the imperial throne. However, it has been ascertained that the family was originally from the Morea, and that they owned lands in the island of Lemnos, from which they were ousted by the Ottomans in 1457.[16] Already before this first expulsion, the head of the family, Giorgio Diplovatazio, was forced to wander around Europe looking for money to ransom his relatives, held prisoner in Constantinople, and in 1455 he reached as far as England.[17] The Diplovatazi were captured a second time while crossing the Adriatic to reach Italy from Venetian Zakynthos, and Giorgio was once again forced to wander in search for funds.[18] According to some records, he died in the 1480s in Spain, during the siege of Granada.[19]

11 Ronchey (2008).
12 Keller (1957: 363–70); Harris (1995: 32); Kaldellis (2014: 85–91); Monfasani (2013).
13 Monfasani (1984: 100); Monfasani (1990: 310).
14 Kantorowicz (1968: 5).
15 Pachymeres (1835: 174).
16 Kantorowicz (1968: 6–7).
17 Harris (1995: 22, 194), provides the *Litera indulgencie concessa Thome Eparchus et Georgio Diplovatagius civibus Constantinopolitane civitatis*.
18 Diplovatazio (1771: VI–VII).
19 Kantorowicz (1968: 9); Paximadopoulos (1954: 66).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

The rest of his family, including his wife Maria Lascarina and his sons Tommaso and Demetrio, moved to Naples. Thanks to its historical links with the Eastern Mediterranean, and to the efforts made by King Alfonso V of Aragon to establish its court as a world-class centre of humanist learning, the city could count on a significant population of Greek exiles, including scholars like Theodore Gaza, Niccolò Sagundino, George of Trebizond and the family of the Greek Neo-Latin poet Michael Marullus Tarchaniota, and together with Venice it became one of the main rallying points for the exiled post-Byzantine aristocracy.[20] In Naples, the Diplovatazi could count on the support of humanist Constantine Lascaris, brother of Maria Lascarina and uncle of Tommaso, and it was in nearby Salerno that Tommaso Diplovatazio was sent to complete his secondary education. In his biographical study on Diplovatazio, Kantorowicz claims that the education he received in Salerno helped Tommaso turn "completely Italian", distancing him once and for all from the Greek-Byzantine culture of his time, religious as well as secular. The fact that he gave his graduation speech in the town's cathedral is offered as the main evidence of this shift to a Latin Catholic identity.[21]

However, the juridical situation of the communities practicing the Greek liturgical rite in Italy in the decades that followed the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1439 would have allowed young Tommaso to keep his distinct religious identity, since the Council itself had declared the complete legitimacy of the Greek religious tradition within the boundaries of a Universal Church led by the Bishop of Rome. It was the beginning of a trajectory of rationalisation and systematisation of Greek religious practices within the Catholic Church that would peak in the late sixteenth century, as the reformation of the Greek Church in Italy became an important item on the political agenda of the papacy after the Council of Trent. Within roughly a century and a half after the Council of Florence, the blurred ecclesiological and ritual boundaries of the Union would slowly become more defined, first through the briefs issued by Leo X (r. 1513–1521) and Clement VII (r. 1523–1534), and later through the systematic operation of information gathering, missionary activity and incorporation of the Greek parishes in Italy within the structures of the Latin Dioceses, which marked the reign of the post-Tridentine popes such as Gregory XIII (r. 1572–1585) and Clement VIII (r. 1592–1605). The *Perbrevis Instructio* (1596), an official handbook on how to deal with the parishes practicing the Greek rite in Italy, was the concrete product of this process, and offered a set of thorough and standardised answers on what was or was not legitimate in the religious

20 Kidwell (1989: 56–57); Nold & Frazier (2015: XXV); Figliuolo (2012: 368–73). For Marullus, see Siniossoglou's chapter in this volume.

21 Kantorowicz (1968: 8–10).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

practice of the Greek and Albanian communities.[22] During this period, the Kingdom of Naples had no shortage of churches in which Orthodox rite was celebrated, and at least until the explicit papal ban issued by Pius V (r. 1566–1572) in 1566 there were numerous parishes which, while completely inhabited by Latins, would still celebrate the liturgy according to the Greek custom.[23]

It seems therefore rather unlikely that, in the complex and fluid climate of religious coexistence that characterised southern Italy at the turn of the sixteenth century, the cultural identity of an individual like Tommaso Diplovatazio could be radically reoriented in such a short time. In a similar manner, his later studies in Padua, which were made possible by the help of another family of Greek exiles who lived in Venice, the Spandounes,[24] would have helped him to maintain some connections to a sense of Greek/Byzantine identity. The Paduan University was already a renowned gathering point for an active and numerous *natione* of Greek scholars coming from the Venetian overseas, and soon emerged as the main centre of higher education for people coming from the Greek world.[25] Later, in the 1520s, Tommaso Diplovatazio kept referring to himself as *doctor Constantinopolitanus*,[26] thus confirming his deep attachment to his own cultural roots—which would remain clear and strong even during his maturity, as he made clear in the dedicatory pages of the *Tractatus de Venetae Urbis Libertate*, where he repeatedly describes himself as *Graecus*.[27]

In 1489, his mother Maria Lascarina was summoned at the Sforza court in Pesaro, where the local duchess Camilla Sforza (r. 1483–1489)—who knew and appreciated the works of her brother, Constantine Lascaris—would sponsor Tommaso's studies in nearby Perugia, and offer him the role of *vicario delle appellazioni e delle gabelle* (officer in charge of taxes and appeals), while her successors awarded him with increasingly important offices.[28] The Sforza rule of Pesaro has been described as "a co-operative effort between the commune and the lord", and like many similar cases from contemporary Romagna it was characterised by a complex mix of communal institutions and seigniorial power.[29] In this context, the space in which office-holders like Tommaso moved and socialised was that of the court, or *famiglia*, of the local lord.

22 *Perbrevis Instructio* (1671); Peri (1975: 201–02); Varnalidis (1981); O'Mahony (2008); Hofmann (1940: 36); Peri (1991: 598); Farr (2003); Peri (1984).

23 Peri (1991: 53–54); Santoro (1966: 17); *Magnum Bullarium* (1673: 192).

24 It is almost certain that the Spandolini mentioned in Diplovatazio (1771: IX) were, in fact, the Spandounes or Spandugini. See Paximadopoulos (1954: 65) and Nicol (1997: IX).

25 Plumidis (1971); Geanakoplos (1974).

26 BOPs, *Lettere d'Illustri Pesaresi* I, 425, published in Besta (1903: 340–46).

27 Besta, (1903: 343–45).

28 Kantorowicz (1968: 25–27); Diplovatazio (1771: 5); Eiche (1985: 103).

29 Eiche (1985: 81).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

The court of Pesaro was the environment in which the almost continuous history of Tommaso's enduring contacts with the Greek religious and cultural world suddenly stopped, only to resume during his period in Venice, between 1517 and 1530.[30] It might be interesting to note that it was not in Pesaro, but in Venice, where a uniquely complex and resilient Greek community had begun to take roots from the late fifteenth century, that Diplovatazio composed his *Tractatus*, which included a historical examination of the relationship between the Republic and the Byzantine world, and an apology of his own Greekness.[31] Tommaso Diplovatazio never had any attested contacts with the several Pesarese members of the Palaeologi, or with Costantino Arianiti Comneno (ca. 1456–1530), self-styled Prince of Macedon and governor of nearby Fano.[32] Neither did he favour a particular church or confraternity with ties to the Eastern religious rite, a practice which was widespread among the members of the later Greek migration. In his last will, he asked to be buried in the Latin church of Sant'Agostino in Pesaro, in front of the chapel of St Nicola da Tolentino,[33] rather than in the Greek church of Ancona, which had been active for at least thirteen years before Tommaso's death in 1537 and which was known to be the burial place for those Greeks who died in the vicinity of the city, at least in one case coming from Pesaro itself in 1573.[34]

Married to an Italian woman[35] and thoroughly inserted in the Latin and aristocratic environment of the court of Pesaro, Tommaso was never able to translate his sense of cultural belonging into a sense of community, and the presence of a number of other individuals sharing similar stories at the same court never seemingly evolved into even an embryo of community. After his periods in Salerno, Venice, and Padua, Tommaso never had the chance to live in an environment that would allow him to consolidate and transmit his sense of cultural identity.

Close to Pesaro, in the town of Fano, the local governor Costantino Arianiti Comneno was experiencing a similar situation. Arianiti was the heir to an Albanian noble family which had contributed greatly to the war against the Ottomans. Together with his mother and his brothers, he took shelter first in

30 Kantorowicz (1968: 52–54).

31 Besta (1903: 344).

32 On the Paleologi of Pesaro, see Paximadopoulos (1954); on the Arianiti, see Petta (2000: 151–80) and Harris (2013).

33 The will, certified by local notary Bernardino Fattori (1536–1539), can be found in Diplovatazio (1771: XIX–XX).

34 ASAn, Camillo Albertini, *Storia di Ancona dal 282 al 1824* (manuscript, 1830), p. 253; ASAn, ANAn 358 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1548), fol. 476r.

35 Diplovatazio (1771: XVI, XVII).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Venice and then in Rome, where they were awarded a small monthly pension.[36] In the aftermath of the Ottoman invasion of Albania, many of the local aristocratic families which fought alongside John Skanderbeg (1405–1468) had found refuge in Italy, while remaining tenaciously attached to a post-Byzantine heritage made of imperial titles and claims of links with ancient ruling families. The Musachi, for instance, in their family chronicle insisted on using old Byzantine titles such as Sebastokrator, or Despot of Epirus,[37] and later in his life Costantino Arianiti himself would sign his documents as Duke of Achaea and Prince of Macedon, titles that his family never possessed.[38] Another example of their lasting connection with the post-Byzantine aristocratic diaspora can be found in Costantino's marriage with an illegitimate daughter of the Palaeologan marquise of Monferrato, which allowed him to become regent of the small state for a while.[39] He was also one of the most vocal advocates for a crusade against the Ottomans in the Balkans, which he enthusiastically discussed with the French king Charles VIII at the time of his descent into Italy in 1494.[40]

He soon entered the inner circle of Pope Julius II (r. 1503–1513), and his loyalty would eventually be rewarded with the 'perpetual governorship' (*governatorato perpetuo*) of Fano, a town which, despite being geographically surrounded by the Della Rovere holdings of Senigallia, Fossombrone, Urbino, and Pesaro, maintained its *libertas ecclesiastica*, responding directly to the Holy See.[41] The offer of a governorship to Costantino has been seen as an action aimed at promoting his leadership of the many migrant communities from the Balkans which settled along the Adriatic coast of Italy,[42] but it is more likely that the pope was interested in ensuring a thorough Della Rovere control over the region to the north of the March of Ancona. The idea is somehow confirmed by the fact that during his rule, despite the presence of numerous Albanian

36 Petta (2000: 146).

37 Zečević (2000: 138, 139).

38 ASF, *Statuti*, 3. On the subject of Costantino Arianiti's titles, the poet Pietro Aretino poignantly remarked that "if nobility of blood was really enough to honour men who, by their own merit, deserve nothing at all, then the Signor Costantino would have his principality of Macedon, and wouldn't even bother governing Fano" ("E se la nobiltà del sangue avessi a far onorare gl'omini che per loro stessi meritano niente [...] anche il Signor Costantino riarìa el principato de Macedonia, né si degnerebbe del governo di Fano") (Aretino 1970: 17).

39 Petta (2000: 152).

40 Harris (2013: 654).

41 Amiani (1751: 110).

42 Harris (2013: 655); on the Albanian and Slavic migration in the area, see Anselmi (1988); Bonazzoli & Delucca (1988); Moroni (1988).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

settlers in those very same areas—often working as sharecroppers, servants, and caretakers, but since the early fifteenth century also as Lance Captains in the mercenary companies of the previous Lord, Sigismondo Malatesta—the actual administration of Fano was in the hands of Urbano, chancellor of the Della Rovere duke of Urbino,[43] and the two companies of footmen sent to garrison the town were commanded by Simone Tornabene, also a man of the duke.[44] Furthermore, the strong personal stake in the Byzantine heritage of his family notwithstanding, there is no trace of a proven connection or relationship between him, the Palaeologi of Pesaro, Tommaso Diplovatazio, or even with the Greek community of Ancona more generally.

Overall, despite the undeniable strength of their individual sense of identity, the exiles of the first diaspora in Central Italy were never able to create any kind of lasting community with other expatriates, and within one generation their heirs would usually be absorbed within the social fabric of Italian courts. Even when small circles of expatriates gathered in groups around influential and charismatic figures, it usually was for relatively short periods of time. A good example is Bessarion's court in Rome, whose prosperity depended almost completely on the good will and the charisma of its patron. With the cardinal's death in 1472, rather than forming a self-sustaining community based on common ties of language and culture, the circle dissolved almost immediately, drastically reducing the employability of the Greek exiles in Rome.[45] The case of the Diplovatazi is, once again, indicative of this trend towards complete integration into the host society. In the letter written by Tommaso's grandson Valerio to the Council of Ten in Venice—the same institution to which Tommaso proudly introduced himself as *doctor Constantinopolitanus*—there is no mention of his family's Byzantine origins, and Valerio self-described as "of Pesarese origins, subject of the Most Excellent Lord the Duke of Urbino".[46] Born and raised within the court of Pesaro, he constantly participated in the meetings of the local council. He also tried to compose some poetry (in Italian), and obtained a rhymed eulogy after his death.[47] During the same period, his brother Muzio is also constantly attested as a participant in council meetings, where he intervened in his role as *Colonnello* (commander) and *Gonfaloniere*

43 ADF, *Ruoli della sagrestia 1432–49*, 3–4; ASF, *Codici Malatestiani* 54, fols. 133^{r}, 147^{r}, 198^{r}; 56, fol. 260^{r}.

44 Amiani (1751: 109).

45 Harris (2011: 425–28); Bianca (2015: 5–8).

46 Besta (1903: 357–60).

47 BOPs, ASCPs, *Verbali*, MS 49 (1580–1609), fol. 225^{rv}, quoted in Scorza (1980: 107); BOPs MS 140, fol. 39^{r}; MS 137, fol. 45^{r}.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

(a high political office) of the commune.[48] With the exception of their coat of arms, sporting a golden double-headed eagle on a red background, the Greek and Byzantine heritage is completely absent from the lives of the descendants of Tommaso Diplovatazio.[49]

2 Ancona and the Confraternity of Sant'Anna

A completely different outcome in community construction and in the transmission of a sense of cultural identity characterised the Greek presence in Ancona, which developed around the same time in a city located approximately 50 kilometres south of Pesaro. The church of Sant'Anna dei Greci was officially granted to the Greeks in 1524 by Pope Clement VII, together with the permission to practice the Greek rite, and a devotional confraternity with the same name was established in 1531.[50] However, an unofficial embryo of community already existed, although with unspecified roles and responsibilities, in the form of a *universitas Graecorum*. Not much is known about this *universitas*, and it was probably the first collective definition given by the Anconitan authorities to the Greek presence in the city.[51]

Crusius believed that the Greeks in Ancona were for the most part sailors, and that the nobles were *pauci vero aut nulli*, few or possibly even none.[52] This is an impression that is partially confirmed by an analysis of the notarial section of the State Archive of Ancona: out of the 356 recorded individuals of certain Greek origins who left a paper trail, 24% were involved in long-distance trade, 18% were either ship captains or lower level naval workers, 18% were artisans and shopkeepers, while the rest were either priests, public servants, translators, or had unknown professions.[53] Most of them reached the city in the 1520s to profit from its growing importance as a centre of trade, in which resources from the Eastern Mediterranean were exchanged for the products of European textile manufacture. However, it was not the first time Greek migrants settled in Ancona: at the end of the fifteenth century, for instance, the alleged grandfather of Michael Marullus was buried in the church of San

48 BOPs, ASCPs, *Verbali*, MS 49 (1580–1609), quoted in Scorza (1980: 107–10); Segre (1998: 141).

49 BOPs, MS 1430, XXII.

50 Saracini (1675: 321); Angelucci (1843: 34).

51 ASAn, ANAn 196 (Lorenzo Trionfi, 1525–1527), fol. 1rv.

52 Crusius (1584: 525).

53 These figures are an updated and revised version of the data contained in Fattori (2017).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Domenico,[54] and there is evidence of Greeks who had taken residence in the city around 1448.[55] But those were isolated cases, and their numbers did not reach the critical mass required for the formation of an actual community until the first half of the sixteenth century.

The émigrés benefitted not only from a favourable economic climate, in which they could prosper as intermediaries between East and West, but also from a series of changes in the Catholic attitude towards the Greek rite, which allowed Greek churches to be established throughout the Italian peninsula.[56] Thanks to the dispositions contained in the brief *Accepimus Nuper*, which recognised the canonical legitimacy of a Greek rite practiced in accordance to the dispositions of the Council of Ferrara-Florence and placed Greek parishes outside the control of Latin bishops, the Greeks of Venice were allowed to purchase the ground on which to build a church in 1510,[57] while those of Naples could congregate in a chapel by 1518, and built their own church in 1544.[58] The dedication of religious buildings was usually accompanied by the establishment of devotional confraternities, which administered the churches' financial assets and acted as the main representatives and governing bodies of their communities.

Among their main responsibilities was the establishment and the maintenance of a system of welfare and wealth redistribution within their communities. Unlike their more ordinary counterparts, which occupied very specific niches of welfare, such as the assistance to pilgrims, the maintenance of hospitals or the care of convicts, 'national' confraternities offered a wide range of services, while keeping the focus of their activities on their own ethnic community.[59] The Confraternity of Sant'Anna was no exception, and by the 1560s it could offer a series of services which included a dowry fund for unmarried girls, a weekly redistribution of alms, door-to-door religious services and yearly festivals, and in 1562 it was almost able to set up its own hospital, which was however immediately appropriated by the communal authorities. All these services were offered almost exclusively to members of the *natione*

54 McGann (1980: 401–04) and McGann (1981: 341–43). Our knowledge is based on the epitaph recorded in Schrader (1592: 276^{v}–277^{r}).

55 ASAn, ANAn 8 (Antonio Giovanni di Giacomo, 1444–1448), fols. 79^{r}, 90^{r}.

56 Habert (1676: 1^{rv}); Rodotà (1758–1763: I, 136); Varnalidis (1981: 364–70).

57 Cecchetti (1874: 460–63).

58 Ambrasi (1961: 162).

59 BNN, MS Branc. I.B.6, fol. 27^{r}, published in Wos (1978: 35); Ball (1982: 139–42); Black (1989: 45, 61–65); Muchnik (2013: 12); Sanchez de Madriaga (2014: 18, 20–21); Luzzi (2003); Ceccarelli Isopi (2000: 7–19); Zardin (2000); Grenet (2007).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

greca, as the wider community was called in the statutes of the Confraternity itself.[60]

These systems of wealth redistribution were a powerful tool for the construction of a sense of community, as the funds used to finance it came not only from the Confraternity's own assets (a number of agricultural properties acquired in the years after 1531),[61] but also from the community itself, which contributed with weekly alms and extraordinary donations.[62] The founding charter of the Confraternity also allowed it to levy a small tax on every crate of merchandise brought into the port of Ancona from Greek ships passing by.[63] Despite the small economic significance of these contributions (which amounted to the less than impressive sum of 40–50 Scudi every year), they were instrumental in creating a sense of self-supporting community revolving around its "national" devotional institutions.[64] The yearly banquets held during the day of Saint Anne every 25 of July, and the yearly processions of the saint's relics from the cathedral of Ancona to the church, were also occasions of collective celebration and socialisation, moments in which the group identity of the Greek community was shown and celebrated, both within itself and in relation to its host city. The church of Sant'Anna and its Confraternity thus became the main spaces of socialisation for the members of the Greek community of Ancona.

The presence of an institutionalised system of communal solidarity such as the one provided by Sant'Anna was only one aspect of the collective life of the Anconitan Greeks. There was a whole range of activities and relations that existed outside the official channels of the Confraternity, and which can be classified as an informal system of mutual support. It was the spontaneous network of friendships, acquaintances, family relations, and patronage that probably constituted the clearest expression of a sense of community among the migrants. Many of these relations would be forged under the roof of Sant'Anna, but much of the individual lives of the Greek merchants and artisans in Ancona took place in the private and public *fondaci* (merchant lodgings and warehouses) located around the docks. While Sant'Anna could offer a physical space in which to consolidate and celebrate their belonging to a specific group, the *fondaci* were places of commercial transactions, arbitrations,

60 ASAn, ACAn, *Fondo Ospedale Umberto I*, Testamento di Alessio Lascari Paleologo, fols. 2^{r}–5^{r}; BNN, MS Branc. I.B.6, fol. 27^{r}, published in Wos (1978: 35); Pirani (1992: 476–77).

61 ASAn, ACAn, *Catasti Pontifici*, 3, fol. 156^{v}; ANAn 600 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1575), fols. 190^{v}–191^{r}, fol. 480^{r}; ANAn 198 (Lorenzo Trionfi, 1536–1537), fols. 156^{r}–156^{v}.

62 BNN, MS Branc. I.B.6, fol. 38^{v}, published in Wos (1978: 43).

63 Saracini (1675: 321).

64 BNN, MS Branc. I.B.6, fol. 18^{v}, published in Wos (1978: 31); Muchnik (2013).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

recording of official testimonies and exchange of information with the rest of the Mediterranean world.[65] The presence of different places in which to socialise with people who shared a similar cultural and religious background allowed different expressions for the informal network of mutual support, which could take the shape of legal assistance, professional partnerships, financial help, and patronage.

A good example of this dynamic is provided by the case of Nicola Servo de Cania (fl. 1540–1560) and Nicola Racane de Chio (fl. 1558–1560), two Greek merchants. In May 1558, they began to purchase the shares of a ship, the San Giuhanni Baptista, from its previous owners, Pandolfo Biliotto from Florence and Benedetto Gondola from Ragusa, subsequently leasing them to other merchants.[66] They then decided to entrust the captainship to another Greek, Basilio Notara de Candia.[67] Everything was proceeding all too smoothly, and within twenty days the crates of woollen kersey cloths were ready to be loaded. Yet the first problems were behind the corner: before the ship could depart to the Peloponnese, the legal representative of Venetian merchant Pompeo De Bono, another Greek named Stefano Armatomeno, reached Ancona. He claimed that while the ship was still in Venice, De Bono had purchased six shares of it, which had not been bought back by Racane and Servo and therefore still belonged to him. Racane brought the case in front of an ad hoc tribunal with judges coming from Genoa, Ragusa, Florence, and Ancona. The court, much to his dismay, confirmed the legitimacy of De Bono's claims: he still owned those six shares of the ship and was thus entitled to a proportional part of the earnings.[68] It was just a minor setback, and the ship eventually left the port of Ancona on the 23 of June.[69] The owners and the captain of the San Giuhanni Baptista disappear from the record for four months, until the 20th of October 1558. After that date, they are constantly engaged in a long series of arbitrations and legal controversies with those people who had bought shares in their ship, almost monopolising the folder of notary Girolamo Giustiniani for the year 1559.[70]

65 ASAn, ANAn 350 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1536), fol. 58^{v}. Constable (2009: 351); Calabi & Keene (2013: 317); Burroughs (2000: 66–72); Caracausi (2008: 326–27); Marrella & Mozzato (2001: 51–59).

66 ASAn, ANAn 364 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1558–1559), fols. 49^{r}–53^{v}.

67 ASAn, ANAn 364 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1558–1559), fol. 55^{r}–55^{v}.

68 ASAn, ANAn 539 (Marino Benincasa, 1559), fol. 223^{v}; ANAn 364 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1558–1559), fol. 61^{r}.

69 ASAn, ANAn 364 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1558–1559), fol. 71^{v}.

70 ASAn, ANAn 364 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1558–1559), fols. 207^{v}, 210^{v}, 220^{r}, 222^{r}, 222^{v}, 224^{r}, 226^{r}, 234^{r}, 239^{r}, 319^{r}–319^{v}.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

None of the documents can be used to give an actual idea of what happened during the voyage back to Ancona. The survival of the captain rules out the possibility of a shipwreck; it is more likely to assume that it was attacked—either by Uskok or Ottoman pirates, or maybe even by a Venetian patrol or a French ship—and lost its cargo.[71] Whatever happened, the owners of the San Giuhanni were forced to jump from an arbitration to the next, paying insurance compensations to their outraged shareholders. However, the assistance given to Nicola Servo by two members of the Greek community, Michele Politi (fl. 1534–1575) and Alessandro Maurodi (fl. 1539–1569), was able to ensure them some breathing room. They took over some of their debts, *non teneri sed teneri volens, non vi dolo vel metu ducti* as the formula went: "knowing they did not have to, but freely deciding to do it, neither out of malice nor fear".[72] It was not an uninterested act of kindness: Maurodi expected Servo to repay his loan of 600 Scudi by the following year, and when he himself had to fulfil a payment obligation, he sent his creditors to Servo;[73] and the same can be said for Politi, who requested that Servo paid a fine in his stead.[74] Nevertheless, their assistance was able to chase away the ghost of financial ruin long enough for him and Racane to buy some shares in another ship, the Santa Maria di Loreto, refurbished for the occasion with a brand new sail bought by Florentine merchants.[75]

The problems of Servo and Racane are a good example of the dynamics of social interaction that characterised the Greeks of Ancona: the two merchants came from different areas, one from Genoese Chios and the other from Venetian Crete, and while they opened the purchase of shares in the cargo of their ship to merchants from all the nations active around the port—Florentines, Ragusans, Genoese, and even an unusual Veronese—they elected a Greek captain, who was also originally from Crete. When troubles arose, it was their network of contacts inside the Greek community that helped them, not as an institutionalised act of charity (as it would have been, had the Confraternity of Sant'Anna been involved), but as a series of favours, granted and requested on the basis of informal personal ties.

Another way the Greeks of Ancona supported each other was through legal assistance. While most of the judicial archive of Ancona has been completely wiped out in a series of archival accidents, the notarial section still

71 ASAn, ANAn 358 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1548), fol. 385^{r}; ANAn 354 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1542–1543), fol. 339^{v}; ANAn 353 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1539), fol. 117^{v}.

72 ASAn, ANAn 364 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1558–1559), fols. 226^{r}, 239^{r}.

73 ASAn, ANAn 539 (Marino Benincasa, 1559), fol. 140^{r}.

74 ASAn, ANAn 540 (Marino Benincasa, 1560), fol. 53^{v}.

75 ASAn, ANAn 539 (Marino Benincasa, 1559), fol. 89^{v}.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

contains some precious examples of arbitrations taking place in the *fondaci*. Arbitrations between Greeks, or involving an individual of Greek origins, were usually presided by a member of the Confraternity of Sant'Anna,[76] the only exception being those involving people from Genoese Chios, who would occasionally rely on their Genoese contacts.[77] Since the solution of these controversies was apparently based more on the influence and charisma of the single arbiters rather than on the respect of a set of codified norms, in most cases the arbiters chosen by a Greek party were wealthy or otherwise well-connected merchants, such as Alessandro Maurodi de Adrianopoli or Costantino Ralli de Chio. Their constant presence in the arbiters' seat, as well as their frequent appearances as testamentary executors or *procuratori*, seem to point out towards their presence at the top of a patronage network that involved the whole migrant community.

But forms of legal assistance in civil trials are also attested in the only surviving folder from the judicial section of the Diocesan Archive, which contains the case of an insolvent Greek sailor, Giovanni di Zaccaria Schiada de Corfu, and his creditors, a group of Italian merchants from Chios and Ancona. Schiada was a Corfiot migrant who reached Ancona with his father Zaccaria in the late 1530s, possibly after the Ottoman siege of the island in 1537.[78] Despite being the owner of a plot of land in his native island, by the year of his trial in 1553 he had fallen on some hard times, and was unable to repay the sum he owed to his creditors, whom he had probably met through his Greek-Chiot contacts inside the Confraternity. The defensive strategy of his lawyer, the Anconitan noble Niccolò Stracca, was twofold: to accuse the creditors of contumacy, for not being present during the trial, and to plead extreme poverty for the defendant. While this line proved ultimately unsuccessful, as Schiada was condemned to pay the full amounts of his debt, it is interesting to note that his case was supported exclusively by members of the Greek Confraternity.

In their testimonies they tried to demonstrate that Giovanni did not end up in extreme poverty due to his laziness or inaction, but because of the "mali tempi" and the inability to find a reliable source of income: he had always been a "homo da bene", and in the past he had always paid his debts.[79] What is significant, rather than the trial itself, is the identity of the supporting witnesses,

76 ASAn, ANAn 354 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1541–1542), fols. 317^{r}, 420^{r}; ANAn 355 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1543), fol. 81^{v}; ANAn 540 (Marino Benincasa, 1560), fol. 400^{r}.

77 ASAn, ANAn 355 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1543), fol. 66^{v}; ANAn 541 (Marino Benincasa, 1561), fol. 83^{v}; ANAn 539 (Marino Benincasa, 1559), fol. 138^{v}.

78 ADAn, *Causae*, 2 (1541–1560), *1555—Io.em Zaccarie Greco con suos creditores*, fol. unnumbered.

79 Ibid.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Costantino Politi de Rodi and Luigi Demetrii de Patrasso, two members of the Greek confraternity of Sant'Anna. Both of them were long-time residents in Ancona, and had known Giovanni for some twenty years.[80] Their intervention on his behalf was not an institutionalised act of charity towards a member of the community, but rather an expression of personal vicinity towards a person they learned to know and trust under the roof of Sant'Anna.

3 Alessio Lascari Paleologo and the Strategopuli of Ancona

The cases shown in the previous section all involved people from a relatively modest background, often wealthy but generally unable to prove an aristocratic lineage: despite the marriage of his daughter to a member of the lower nobility of Recanati,[81] Alessandro Maurodi was a lowborn merchant, as were Racane and the well-connected Nicola Servo,[82] while Michele Politi was an artisan who later became a commercial intermediary.[83] Giovanni Schiada struggled to make ends meet as a sailor, and the two witnesses at his trial were respectively a ship captain and a public interpreter.[84] However, despite Crusius's description of the Greek population of Ancona as exclusively mercantile and maritime, there are a few attested cases of members of former noble families who took residence in the city, or had strong contacts with the local Greek community. Their examples are interesting especially in comparison with the other cases from the earlier diaspora.

One of the most important figures for the development of the Greek community of Ancona and its institutionalised network of welfare was Alessio Lascari Paleologo. Despite the heavy imperial surnames he carried, his origins are rather obscure: we know from a document dated to 1537 that his father was a certain Giovanni Lascari de Morea, who had already died at the time.[85] This mention would probably suffice to link him to one of the Morean branches of the Lascaris family, the same of Tommaso Diplovatazio's mother. However, it seems possible to exclude the presence of an immediate and direct relation between Captain Alessio and the humanists Janus and Constantine Lascaris,

80 Ibid.

81 ASAn, ANAn 599 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1574), fol. 37^{v}.

82 ASAn, ANAn 539 (Marino Benincasa, 1559), fol. 140^{v}; Dursteler (2008: 176).

83 ASAn, ANAn 539 (Marino Benincasa, 1559), fol. 132^{v}; ANAn 364 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1558–1559), fol. 239^{r}.

84 ASAn, ANAn 356 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1544), fol. 480^{r}; ANAn 539 (Marino Benincasa, 1559), fol. 170^{v}.

85 ASAn, ANAn 351 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1537), fol. 35^{r}–35^{v}.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

even though Alessio is cited in the chronicle of Teodoro Spandounes together with Constantine and with an otherwise unspecified Demetrio Lascari, who also worked as a mercenary captain for the Venetians in Dalmatia.[86] The notarial sources do not offer any further insight into his family, with the exception of his wife Drusiana and his son Giovanni, who was awarded the title *miles Lauretanus* in the early 1550s, and died in Viterbo in 1557, five years before his father, who died in 1562.[87] Alessio Lascari did not live in Ancona, as he usually resided in one of his properties in the district of Recanati, some 30km to the south.[88]

Just like Diplovatazio and Arianiti, Lascari was fully inserted in social circles that were thoroughly Latin and aristocratic: the world of professional mercenary captains. Despite the rather fragmentary mentions, it is possible to sketch a chronology of his activities through more than thirty years: in 1528 he defended the Apulian town of Manfredonia from a Venetian siege, in 1535 he garrisoned Bologna with 50 light horses—which were probably the same he commanded in Lazio in 1545, during the War of Paliano. In the 1540s he was in the payroll of the Farnese dukes of Parma and Piacenza. In 1556 he is reported leading his company between the inner Marches and Umbria, once again in Papal service.[89] He died in July 1562.[90]

However, unlike Diplovatazio and Arianiti, Lascari maintained constant contacts with the Greek community of Ancona, which is particularly clear from his last will. With his testament the captain left a grand total of 1000 Scudi to the Greek church of Ancona, including 500 for the construction of a hospital, which was located in the property of a Greek woman named Monica Rodiani, and 500 directly to the Confraternity. While the administration of the hospital was immediately taken over by the authorities of Ancona,[91] the direct donation constituted the core of the Confraternity's dowry fund, which every year provided 25 Scudi to girls of marriageable age who could not afford one. Greeks were preferred, but Italians, Dalmatians, and Armenians could also be occasional beneficiaries.[92] Finally, the captain asked to be buried inside the

86 Spandounes (1895: 141).

87 ASMc, ANR 1224 (Pietro Buonamici, 1557), fol. 203^{v}; ANR 1225 (Pietro Buonamici, 1558), fol. 142^{v}; Scriattoli (1988: 102).

88 ASMc, ANR 1224 (Pietro Buonamici, 1557), fol. 23^{r}.

89 Giovio (1560: 96); Albéri (1846: 329); Guidiccioni (1855: 244–45); Amiani (1751: 176); Muzi (1844: 114); Cappello (1870: 49).

90 Miniati (1653: 114).

91 Pirani (1992: 465–79).

92 BNN, MS Branc. I.B.6, fols. 36^{r}–37^{v}, published in Wos (1978: 40–42); ASAn, ANAn 592 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1563), fol. 336^{v}; ANAn 597 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1572), fols. 95^{v},

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

church, with an epitaph commemorating his military prowess.[93] Lascari's will was in all aspects a turning point in the history of the welfare services provided by Sant'Anna, and the Confraternity officially declared in its statutes that yearly memorial celebrations were to be made in his name every June.[94] But more importantly, his bequest and the material form of his sepulchre—a red marble sarcophagus with his coat of arms, a double headed eagle, both unmistakeably echoing the Byzantine imperial ideology he felt an inheritor of—show how he articulated his connection to the Greek community of Ancona in terms of leadership and patronage, based on a set of shared political symbols.[95]

A more ordinary type of involvement in the affairs of the community is attested throughout his life: already in his first appearance in 1537 Alessio Lascari chose Nicola Coressi, member of Sant'Anna and Consul of the Genoese in Zante, as his legal representative for a controversy involving 10 Scudi worth of bovine hides imported from Moncastro on the Black Sea. The hides had been purchased by Lascari from the Greek merchant Nicola della Sola de Zante, and only paid some time later through Coressi.[96] Lascari and his wife Drusiana also kept contacts with Greek artisans while in Recanati, and in one occasion offered to safeguard a sum of 100 Scudi for the two merchant brothers Giorgio and Demetrio Maruda, also from Zante.[97] It is also significant that the executor of the captain's last will was the wealthy and influential Greek-Anconitan merchant Alessandro Maurodi.[98] The purchase of skins from Eastern Europe, and their sale to Italian merchants in exchange of woollen textiles was one of the most common commercial activities in Ancona,[99] especially among the Greeks, who often built their fortunes on this role as intermediaries. The involvement of Lascari—who was a mercenary by trade, and generally resided in Recanati and not Ancona—in this particular kind of commerce is a convincing testimony of his connections with the Greeks of Ancona. This participation,

---

282^{r}, 288^{r}; ASAn, ACAn, *Fondo Ospedale Umberto I, testamento di Alessio Lascari Paleologo*, fols. 2^{r}–5^{r}.

93 Miniati (1653: 114); Saracini (1675: 367).

94 BNN, MS Branc. I.B.6, fols. 36^{r}–37^{v}, published in Wos (1978: 40–42).

95 ASAn, ANAn 356 (Girolamo Giustiniani 1544), fol. 187^{r}; ANAn 593 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1563), fol. 140^{r}; Saracini (1675: 367): "un Arma in campo azzurro scolpita con un'Aquila indorata, e con due teste coronate, et un sole in mezo del petto di dett'Aquila"; Harris (2013: 660). On artistic patronage among another group of migrants, in Ancona, the Armenians, see Hansen (2004: 336).

96 ASAn, ANAn 351 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1537), fol. 35^{r}–35^{v}.

97 ASMc, ANR 1227 (Pietro Buonamici, 1561), fol. 612^{r}; ANR 1229 (Pietro Buonamici, 1563), fol. 420^{v}.

98 ANAn 592 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1563), fol. 140^{r}; Saracini (1675: 367).

99 Paci (1977: 278–86).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

in personal, religious, economic, and even symbolic terms, can be contrasted with the atomisation experienced in the cases of Diplovatazio and Arianiti.

While the Greek migration of the sixteenth century had a distinctly professional connotation, the state of uncertainty and fluidity that characterised the Adriatic-Aegean region continued to produce a constant influx of exiles and refugees. The absolute majority took shelter in the Venetian dominions, or in Venice itself, and there were many who found safe haven in the Neapolitan provinces.[100] However, a certain number was able to move to Ancona as well. The story of most of them can only be inferred from a combination of dates, names, and provenances: there was for example a sudden surge of Cypriot members in the Confraternity of Sant'Anna after the Ottoman conquest of the island in 1570; and the previously mentioned Giovanni Schiada de Corfu reached Ancona fleeing "the war", probably a reference to the Ottoman Siege of 1537.[101] The case of the Strategopulo family, however, offers enough evidence to provide a clear picture of their exile and resettlement.

Their name is first attested in Byzantine sources from the thirteenth century. Alexios Strategopulo was instrumental in recapturing Constantinople from the Latins in 1261, and the family's later role at the imperial court is confirmed by the marriage of Alexios's son Constantine to a female member of the Vatatzes family. During the troubled times of the fifteenth century, Simone Strategopulo is attested in the service of the Tocco rulers of Corfu, and it was probably there that his family began to orbit closer to the Latin enclaves in the Eastern Mediterranean. In 1499, a Giorgio Strategopulo is attested as *sakellarios* of the town of Coroni, in the Peloponnese.[102] A few decades later, in 1532, Giovanni Maria *quondam Georgii* Strategopulo, most likely the son of the *sakellarios* of Coroni, is attested as a member of the Order of Saint John, with the role of *commendatore* of Teano. The Grand Master of the Order granted him the position, together with the dignity of knight, for his distinction in the Knights' daring but unsuccessful attempt at recapturing Methoni, the previous year.[103] Giovanni Maria, along with his brothers Nicola and Michele, is first attested in Ancona in March 1539, as he leased the small Hospitaller abbey of San Sigismondo, near the Umbrian town of Todi, to a local farmer.[104]

Despite his membership in a typically Latin institution such as a monastic military order, Giovanni Maria and his brothers can also be found as members

100 Varriale (2014: 47–62).

101 ANAn, 597 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1572), fols. 3^{r}, 280^{r}; ADAn, *Causae*, 2 (1541–1560), *1555—Io.em Zaccarie Greco con suos creditores*, fol. unnumbered.

102 Zečević (2000: 124–26, 129).

103 Bosio (1683: 103–8); Spandounes (1895: 193); Del Pozzo (1714: 80).

104 ASAn, ANAn 353 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1539), fols. 85^{v}–86^{r}.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

of the Greek Confraternity of Sant'Anna by at least 1543,[105] and some years before they are described as *cognati* (in-laws) of the Greek herbalist Giovanni Filaretti da Tebe, who had been active in Sant'Anna since at least 1543.[106] Their relationship with Filaretti was not just familiar: it was also professional. All the three male members of the family, Giovanni Maria, Michele, and later Nicola, found employment as partners in Filaretti's shop, where they worked for thirty years.[107] They are repeatedly attested taking care of business together, receiving and granting loans, buying and selling spices and sugar.[108] The Strategopuli remained in the Confraternity of San'Anna until 1578, when the sudden increase of pressures from the Latin clergy, and the simultaneous inauguration of the Greek College in Rome produced a visible rupture in the unity of the Greek community.[109] The College had been founded specifically for the task of educating a generation of priests and monks who could spread the forms of Greek rite that had been formulated and approved by the post-Tridentine papacy.[110] The last known male member of the Anconitan branch of the family was Simone Strategopulo, who is attested as a student of the College until he was discharged for illness in 1583.[111]

While endogamy was rarely practiced by the members of the sixteenth century Greek migration,[112] the Strategopuli decided to enlarge their family network exclusively within the Greek community itself. By marrying into the community, associating themselves with other Greek families both professionally and personally, and by joining its institutions, the Strategopuli were able to transmit and maintain, for at least two generations, a distinct sense of ethnic identity, first as full members of the ethnically cohesive circle that pivoted around the Church of Sant'Anna, and later as priests practicing the Greek Catholic rite.

105 ASAn, ANAn 600 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1575), fol. 189^{v}; ANAn 355 (Girolamo Giustiniani 1543), fols. 52^{r}–52^{v}; Tsirpanlis (1973: 69).

106 ASAn, ANAn 540 (Marino Benincasa, 1560), fol. 178^{r}.

107 ASAn, ANAn 604 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1578, 2), fol. 137^{r}.

108 ASAn, ANAn 539 (Marino Benincasa, 1559), fol. 104^{r}; ASAn, ANAn 542 (Marino Benincasa, 1562), fol. 264^{r}.

109 BNN, MS Branc. I.B.6. fols. 142^{rv}, published in Peri (1975: 221); BAV, Vat. Lat. 6416, fols. 91^{rv}, published in Peri (1973: 427–28).

110 Peri (1970: 53–54).

111 BAV, Vat. Lat. 5527, fols. 35^{r}–39^{r}, published in Peri (1970: 39–42); APCG, *Cronaca di tutti i scolari* [...], fol. 8^{v}, published in Wos (1974: 38).

112 Orlando (2007: 114–17) states that only 21% of the recorded marriages were contracted within the Greek community in Venice. Burke (2016: 31–34) offers a contrary view, stating that esogamic marriages accounted for 35% of the recorded agreements.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

4 Conclusions

The experiences of Lascari and Strategopulo on the one hand and of Diplovatazio and Arianiti on the other show how the presence of community structures influenced the maintenance and the transmission of a sense of distinct identity among Greek exiles, both horizontally and vertically: from their lands of origins into their host city, among the expatriates themselves, and from one generation to another. Together with Venice—which offers, as said, a thoroughly different case[113]—the Renaissance courts were the typical destinations of the exiles fleeing from the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans in the early diaspora. This movement was usually the result of pre-existing contacts between the Byzantine and Italian aristocratic families, who often considered the presence of a Byzantine exile in their court as a sign of prestige. The exiles were often proud and conscious about their imperial lineage as much as their cultural heritage. Diplovatazio himself and his mother had been summoned to the court of Camilla Sforza because of their links to the family of Constantine Lascaris, and only later was he able to obtain a position of responsibility in the civic administration. Similarly, Arianiti's insistence on his alleged imperial titles, together with his diplomatic skills, certainly played an important role in his rise to the favour of Pope Julius II. But regardless of their strong attachment to their noble Byzantine pedigree, the immersion in the courtly environment in which they spent most of their lives provoked an atomisation of the diaspora across a myriad of distant centres, without a single and commonly recognised rallying institution or individual.

There were, of course, exceptions, such as the vibrant community of Venice, which began to flourish in the second half of the fifteenth century. Venice was, however, a unique occurrence, at least for the post-Byzantine diaspora: it was the capital of an overseas empire comprising a significant number of Greek-speaking subjects, had a long history of contacts with Byzantium, and its ruling class had always been markedly open to the presence of numerous foreign communities within the city.[114] In the same period, other gatherings of Greek nobles and intellectuals were relatively ephemeral, and the already cited circle sponsored by Bessarion in Rome did not last long after the death of its founder.[115] Something similar can be said for later experiences, such as

113 Burke (2014).

114 The literature on the Greek community in Venice is vast. See the recent work by Burke (2016); Orlando (2014); Grenet (2007). Older works by Geanakoplos (1962); Fedalto (1967); Thiriet (1977) still offer some very interesting insights. Cecchetti (1874) has published some important documents on the subject.

115 Harris (2011); Bianca (2015).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

the Greek College in Rome founded by Pope Gregory XIII. This institution in particular was part of a very specific project for the religious education and the missionary training of a restricted number of Italian Greeks, sent to conquer the souls of the schismatics in the peninsula and abroad *tamquam ex equo Troiano*.[116] While the students were often able to develop a number of political connections with important members of the Roman Curia (the Anconitan brothers Marco and Atanasio Savari were, for example, personal protégés of the powerful Cardinal Santoro), the college itself was founded as a school, and remained as such, particularly during the first precarious decades of its existence: it was a college sponsored by the popes, not a complex community based on networks of friendship or acquaintance, and the commonality of language and culture.[117]

With the gradual exhaustion of the wave of exiles of the fifteenth century, new migratory trends started to emerge: the majority of the new migrants were merchants, artisans, and sailors rather than aristocrats, and they tended to concentrate in large numbers inside important trading cities, often forming stable communities that revolved around religious structures, such as the one in Ancona. These communities were held together by a shared sense of common cultural and religious identity, upon which they built institutionalised systems of wealth redistribution, and offered spaces of socialisation in which to establish personal connections that could be used to give and obtain support and patronage, often enabling the survival of a distinct sense of identity for more than one generation. In a few cases, for almost a century: Paolo Politi, who is attested as Governor of the Confraternity of Sant'Anna in 1608, and was often labelled as *Graecus* in the notarial documents, was born in Ancona as the great-grandson of Bartolomeo Politi, a Rhodian rosary maker who reached the city in 1527.[118]

In Ancona, the members of the Confraternity of Sant'Anna constituted the main core of such a community, whose services and influence could extend beyond the boundaries of the city itself, as shown by the example of Alessio Lascari Paleologo. Captain Lascari did not reside in Ancona, nor was he leading a sedentary life in nearby Recanati. Yet he donated most of his wealth to Sant'Anna and to its system of wealth redistribution, despite the fact that neither he nor his family were ever able to benefit directly from it. In fact, the

116 BVall. K 17, fols. 118^{r}, 119^{r}–120^{v}, published in Peri (1970: 54).

117 Peri (1970); Wos (1974: 38); Porfyriou (1998: 21–32); Fyrigos (1980: 38, 55).

118 Angelucci (1843: 34); ASAn, ANAn 600 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1575), fol. 229^{v}; ANAn 602 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1577), fol. 199^{r}; ANAn 174 (Troilo Leoni, 1525–1527), fol. 65^{r}; ANAn 1023 (Giuseppe Sguri, 1607–1608), fol. 27^{v}.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

execution of Lascari's last will created a long controversy between his widow Drusiana and the Confraternity, which dragged well into the 1580s, as the captain had apparently promised more than he could afford to donate.[119]

The size and influence of the Greek community of Ancona would start to steadily decline in the last decades of the sixteenth century, stuck as it was between the hammer of Catholic pressures and the anvil of a shrinking Adriatic commerce[120]—to the point that in 1628 the Confraternity was opened to Latin members, who soon monopolised it.[121] Nevertheless, Sant'Anna offered to the Greek migrants of the sixteenth century a space of socialisation, in which to create and cultivate lasting personal and professional relations. Stamatis, the wanderer mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, passed through Ancona on his way to Germany.[122] We do not know for how long he remained there, and there is no mention of his presence in any document that I am aware of. However, it would be fair to assume that the Greeks of the city would have provided him with some of the help he needed for his long journey through Central Europe.

---

119 Some of the numerous documents related to this controversy: ANAn, 592 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1563), fol. 336^{rv}; ANAn 594 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1565), fol. 270^{r}; ANAn 597 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1572), fol. 169^{r}, fol. 280^{rv}; ANR, 1229 (Pietro Buonamici, 1562), fol. 338^{v}; ANR 1230 (Pietro Buonamici, 1565), fols. 43^{v}–51^{v}; ANR, 1233 (Pietro Buonamici, 1568), fol. 128^{v}; ANR 1234 (Pietro Buonamici, 1569), fol. 91^{r}.

120 BNN, MS Branc. I. B. 6., fols. 45^{r}–46^{r}, 60^{r}–61^{v} published in Wos, (1978: 47–48, 58); Orlandi (1991: 258); Earle (1969: 28–44); Paci (1977: 280–82).

121 Angelucci (1843: 34).

122 Crusius (1584: 188).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

PART 3

Appropriations and Use: Cultural & Religious

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

History, Archaeology, and Antiquarianism

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

CHAPTER 13

The Greekness of Greek Inscriptions: Ancient Inscriptions in Early Modern Scholarship

William Stenhouse

Conventional histories of Greek archaeology give the impression that very little happened in the field between the fall of Constantinople and the expedition of Jacob Spon (1647–1685) and George Wheler (1651–1724) to Athens in 1675–1676. Although Cyriac of Ancona (*c.*1391–*c.*1452) made pioneering drawings of Greek buildings, statues and inscriptions in the 1420s and 1430s, the subsequent rise of the Ottomans ostensibly prevented even determined scholars from travelling eastwards, and only really in the eighteenth century would writers and artists in Western Europe get to grips with Greek remains. There is a little truth in this picture, but not much. Ottoman control did not preclude people interested in antiquities from travelling in the Eastern Mediterranean: so Ogier Ghislein de Busbecq (1522–1592), for example, copied Augustus's *Res Gestae* from a monument in Ankara in 1555; Georgius Dousa (1574–1599) recorded details of monuments in Constantinople, which he published in 1599; and there was an active trade in antiquities in areas under Venetian control well into the seventeenth century.[1] Moreover, by centring on the Eastern Mediterranean, this picture takes a narrow view of what Greek archaeology constitutes. In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, people interested in ancient Greek objects certainly studied the records that Cyriac had made, and, as we shall see, got hold of coins and other objects from the Eastern Mediterranean on the antiquities market.[2] But they also examined Greek remains in western Europe. Many coins and inscriptions featuring Greek letters survived in southern France, the Italian peninsula, and especially in Rome. The early modern study of Greek remains in western Europe, alongside material from the East, and scholars' attempts to use those remains to connect themselves with ancient Greece, are an idiosyncratic but important chapter in the Hellenism of this period, which can in turn be seen as part of a wider

1 See Martels (1991); Dousa (1599); Damen (2012), and, in general, Vingopoulou (2004); Stouraiti (2014); Pollard (2015: esp. 103–50).

2 For studies of coins in this period, see Cunnally (2001); Napolitano (2012); Kagan (2013); and Napolitano in this volume.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2020 | DOI:10.1163/9789004402461_015
Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

movement towards the assimilation of the Greek past. In what follows, I shall illuminate this erudite movement in a series of case studies, examining various ways in which scholars approached Greek inscriptions and raised wider questions of what Hellenism could involve in late Renaissance intellectual life.[3]

1 Collections of Greek Inscriptions

The sixteenth century was a formative period in the study of classical inscriptions. Scholars were driven by a humanist desire to record and preserve evidence of the classical past, and by a growing understanding of how inscriptions might inform them about how the Roman world worked.[4] Thanks to a remarkable example of collective zeal, Janus Gruterus (1560–1627) was able to include over 12,000 examples collected by his colleagues and predecessors when he published his collection, the *Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis Romani* (*Ancient Inscriptions from the Entire Roman World*), in 1602. Despite the title of the work, a not insignificant number of the inscriptions inside, around 500, were in Greek. They included material that Cyriac had collected, examples from the Eastern Mediterranean recorded by Busbecq and others, and plenty of Greek inscriptions from former Roman territories around the Western Mediterranean.

What can we learn about what scholars thought of the Greekness of Greek inscriptions from their appearance in printed collections?[5] Did they, for example, think about what it meant for Romans to write in Greek? Did they think in terms of separate Greek and Roman civilisations? Unfortunately, we get little idea. Understandably, editors usually presented the inscriptions with little annotation, except for details of the find-spot and their source. The compilers of the first large collection of inscriptions organised their material geographically, by the place where the examples were discovered. Bartholomaeus Amantius (d. before 1556) and Petrus Apianus (1495–1552) published their *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* (*Inscriptions of Inviolable Antiquity*) in 1534, and claimed to include inscriptions from the whole world, but in practice their

3 This is a companion piece to two other essays on the study of Greek history and antiquities in this period: Stenhouse (2017a) and Stenhouse (2017b). I presented various details of this work at conferences in Princeton, Gotha, and at the British Epigraphy Society annual meeting in London, as well as at the Berlin RSA sessions. I am grateful to participants in those gatherings, and particularly to the editors of this volume, for their comments.

4 See, in general, Stenhouse (2005).

5 For general comments on the history of Greek epigraphy, and the later emergence of specifically Greek collections, see Guarducci (1967–1978: I, 27–42); Calabi Limentani (2010).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

selection circled the Mediterranean, from Spain and France around to North Africa. They included Greek inscriptions alongside other examples; their sections for Greece and Asia Minor, with material from Cyriac, were, unsurprisingly, dominated by Greek examples. By presenting the inscriptions in this way, the editors did not have to think about how the Greek inscriptions related to the Latin ones. But when Martinus Smetius (*c.*1525–*c.*1578) collected inscriptions from the former Roman Empire in the 1540s, he attempted to organise them by content and theme, rather than find spot or modern collection. He gathered dedications to the gods together, for example, or dedications to emperors, regardless of language. So the result of Smetius's efforts was to elide the difference between Greek and Latin material, and ostensibly to present a single ancient world. This makes sense in terms of the interest of Smetius and his colleagues, who particularly wanted to explicate Roman legal texts and were curious about the range of evidence for particular historical phenomena or the existence of institutions.

Smetius gathered and ordered his material in the 1540s and 1550s, but his collection was not published until after his death, in 1588. His editor, Justus Lipsius (1547–1606), left Smetius's work more or less as it was, but when he added an appendix of newly-discovered material, he took a different approach. He followed his new Latin inscriptions, which he had tried to organise chronologically, with three pages of new Greek examples at the end, but apparently arranged these randomly.[6] Lipsius was more of a philologist than a historian like Smetius, and a philologist of Latin rather than of Greek: we can see here that he operated using first linguistic and then historical criteria to present his material. Then, when Joseph Scaliger (1540–1609) and Gruterus corresponded in 1598 about producing a work to build on, and replace, Smetius's, Scaliger devised a sort of compromise: he proposed keeping Smetius's thematic order, but grouping the Greek examples together at the end of each section.[7] Thus Greek inscriptions relating to emperors were to be separated from other Greek inscriptions, but not integrated with Latin inscriptions in that category. Both Lipsius and Scaliger, therefore, seem to have been wary of the idea that Greek material and Latin belonged together. Scaliger, perhaps, was conscious that information about more and more pre-Roman inscriptions from various Greek

6 Smetius (1588: *Auctarium*, 57–59).

7 Scaliger (2012: III, 152–53 [1598.07.17]): *Si igitur satis animo tuo acceptum est hanc provinciam suscipere, quam primum poteris me certiorem facies, ut quaedam ex Graecia et ex aliis locis, quae nuper habui, optima monimenta, tibi mittam. Ordinem Smetianum servandum censemus; hoc uno excepto, quod omnia Graeca separatim proponenda in fine cuiusque capitis, melius e re nobis fore videtur, nisi tu aliter censes*. He repeated the suggestion a few months later, but saying that he would leave the final decision to Gruterus: Scaliger (2012: III, 226 [1598.12.09]).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

islands was reaching western European scholars. For example, a scholar from the Veneto called Onorio Belli (d. 1604) was collecting inscriptions from Crete which reached Gruterus, and Scaliger had also had material from Dousa's trip to Constantinople.[8] Smetius's Greek inscriptions, on the other hand, had come mainly from Roman Italy and France, mentioning Roman offices and institutions, and so were more easily assimilated to the material in Latin. Gruterus did not follow Scaliger's advice wholeheartedly: while there are some clumps of Greek inscriptions, others appear scattered throughout, and overall his approach is closer to Smetius's.[9] At least judging by the major inscription collections, then, scholars did not have a consistent sense of how separate Greek inscriptions should be from ones in Latin, and certainly did not address the question of their Greekness explicitly.

Undoubtedly a further problem here was that most of the antiquaries who collected inscriptions—Scaliger here is an exception—were, like Lipsius, very much more comfortable working with Latin than Greek. In mid sixteenth-century Rome, collectors such as Smetius, or his colleague Pirro Ligorio (*c.*1513–1583), all turned to one man, the philologist Benedetto Egio (d. 1567), for help.[10] When Fulvio Orsini (1529–1600) added an appendix of laws on bronze to Antonio Agustín's (1517–1586) 1583 work on laws and decisions of the senate, he included Greek examples from his own collection. But while he added notes and explications for the Latin examples, for the Greek ones he just gave the text alone—despite the fact that they addressed questions of Roman constitutional history.[11] Orsini could certainly read Greek, but for some reason he seems to have held back, and not to have exposed his work for scrutiny. Publishers and engravers, too, were less happy working with Greek lettering, and were more likely to garble Greek than Latin inscriptions.[12]

8 See Belli (2000), whose most spectacular find was a Hellenistic will, which appeared in Gruterus (1603: 216–19); for Dousa, see Scaliger (2012: III, 253–55 [1599.03.09]).

9 For sections of Greek inscriptions, see Gruterus (1603: 315–17, 1136–37). See Scaliger (2012: III, 153n).

10 Crawford (1993).

11 Agustín (1584: †23–†24, †30–†34; cf. *Fulvi Ursini notae ad leges et senatus consulta quae in veterib. cum lapidum aerisq. tum scriptorum monumentis reperiuntur*, 3–40).

12 Stenhouse (2010: 31–34).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

2 Editing and Commenting on Greek Inscriptions

When scholars did get to work on individual inscriptions, however, the results could be impressive. Three Greek inscriptions connected to the second-century Greek intellectual Herodes Atticus offer a very good example of the sort of sophistication that epigraphers could bring to their work in the early seventeenth century. The inscriptions were found on land by the Via Appia, about three miles south of Rome, which Herodes had acquired through marriage to a Roman woman, Annia Regilla (*c.*125–160). They included two large inscribed columns, discovered in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, and subsequently included in Smetius's and Gruterus's collections, and a long, erudite panegyric in verse, commissioned from the second-century didactic poet Marcellus of Side, which was carved on two large slabs that were found separately in 1607 and by 1617.[13] The two columns came from the entrance to a sanctuary (described in the inscriptions as being, ἐν τêι/ hοδôι/ τêι Ἀππίᾳ/ ἐν τôι/ hερόδο/ ἀγρôι ["in the Appian Way, in the land of Herodes"]); both featured curses against anyone moving them. The poem probably came from a temple built by Herodes in honour of his dead wife. The texts pose problems of legibility—the columns' inscriptions were in a strange script and a strange dialect—as well as of content.

Three of the greatest northern European philologists of the late Renaissance, Joseph Scaliger, Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614), and Claude Saumaise (1588–1653), all published their thoughts about the inscriptions; other prominent French scholars, including Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580–1637), Jacques Sirmond (1559–1651), and Christophe Dupuy (1580–1634), gathered information and studied the poem; and at Rome Petrus Arcudius (*c.*1563–1633), a Greek convert to Catholicism, originally from Corfu, wrote a commentary based on his autopsy that was not published but circulated in erudite circles (Scaliger, Casaubon and Saumaise all worked from others' transcriptions).[14] Before the

13 For a discussion and translation of the inscriptions, in the context of a persuasive and troubling examination of Regilla and Herodes's relationship, see Pomeroy (2007: 166–74). See also Gleason (2010). For editions and details of transmission, see *CIG* 26 = *IG* XIV, 1390 = *IGUR* 339 and *CIG* 6280 = *IG* XIV, 1389 = *IGUR* 1155; see discussions in Guarducci (1967–1978: III, 137–38; IV, 232–34), and Ameling (1983: II, 149–50 [no. 143]; II, 153–59 [no. 146]). The two columns are now in the Museo Nazionale, Naples, having been bought for the Farnese collection in the sixteenth century, and the inscribed poem is in the Louvre, from the seventeenth-century Borghese collection.

14 Christophe Dupuy sent details to Paris from Rome in 1607; Sirmond was one of many scholars to study copies of the inscriptions. See his transcriptions and translations in BnF, MS Lat. 9696, fols. 18r–20r. On Arcudius, see *BH XVII*: III, 209–32, without details of

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

discovery of the poem, Scaliger addressed the columns in his *Thesaurus temporum* (*Treasury of Periods*) of 1606. He guessed, but stated confidently, that their peculiar script was an example of very old Ionic lettering, acknowledging that the Via Appia, whose construction began in 312 BC, was an odd place to find it. Because he had compiled the indices for Gruterus's collection, he was very familiar with the Greek examples there, and he clearly knew about the other kinds of script used for Greek inscriptions found in Rome. Despite the problems of letter-forms, though, he was able to transcribe the inscription from one column into lower-case Attic Greek for his readers.[15] In private, he was slightly more circumspect, admitting in a letter to Saumaise of 1607 that it was also strange that this Herodes who made the dedication would write in letters unknown to the Romans.[16] By then, the first part of the poem had been found, which encouraged Isaac Casaubon quickly to write a ten-page edition, translation and commentary, connecting it with the columns.[17] He accepted Scaliger's argument that the script of the latter was Ionic, and went further, deciding that he knew who the Herodes was. Seizing an opportunity to connect this pagan inscription with early Christian history and a famous Herod, he argued that the possibilities were Herod the Great, Herod Antipas (his son), or Herod Agrippa (his grandson). He chose the first, since it was not surprising that this "most ambitious leader" would leave "a splendid example of his impiety and Hellenism".[18] Unfortunately his mistake here overshadowed the value of his linguistic commentary on the verse, which included both references to classical and Hellenistic Greek poets, and *comparanda* from other inscriptions.[19] After the discovery of the second half of the poem, Claude

---

the commentary. Arcudius was a member of the household of Scipione Borghese, which explains his access to the inscribed poem.

15 Scaliger (1606: *Animadversiones in Chronologica Eusebii*, 102): *Multum mirari subit, quum via Appia, cuius in columna mentio fit, anno ab. u*[*rbe*] *c*[*ondita*] *CCCCXLI strata ab Appio Claudio fuerit* [...] *tamen in Italia adhuc veterum Ionicarum literarum usum fuisse.*

16 Scaliger (2012: VII, 362 [1607.11.30]); see Grafton (1983–1993: II, 630–31).

17 The first edition of Casaubon's commentary (Casaubon 1607) is undated on the title page; a copy in the Bodleian library, Oxford (Vet. L2 c.1) records that a Stephen West bought it in 1607. A second edition (Casaubon 1608), printed in Goslar, quickly followed. A Latin translation of the inscribed poem also appears in Morellus (1607: 9–10). For Casaubon's role, see Grafton & Weinberg (2011: 16) and Scaliger (2012: VII, 150 [(1607).05.05]; VII, 172 [1607.05.31]), where he complains to Gruterus that Casaubon won't send him a copy until Casaubon has finished his edition). Casaubon's work is not discussed in Parenty (2009).

18 Casaubon (1607: 6): *Ut non alia quaerenda nobis sit ratio, cur ambitiosissimus Princeps in tantae celebritatis loco, atque adeo in ipsa propemodum urbe Roma, hoc suae impietatis &* Ἑλληνισμοῦ *luculentum testimonium extare voluerit.*

19 His error was quickly apparent: see, e.g. the letters from Marcus Welser to David Hoeschel in Welser (1682: 838–39), pointing to the evidence of Philostratus, cited in Grafton &

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Saumaise published a much longer discussion in 1619, referring to both columns and the first half that had been found in 1607. Although he did not identify the two halves as coming from the same work, he connected all the pieces not with Herod the Great—who at the very least, he said, would have described himself as a king—but with Herodes Atticus, whom he knew from the biography of Philostratus.[20] Philostratus recorded that Herodes was rich, and a big builder elsewhere: this explained the large Greek inscriptions in Rome. Saumaise then wrote a detailed commentary on the poem, glossing the arcane verse primarily by referring to ancient Greek literary works. He treated it in much the same way he would a poem by Theocritus or Callimachus (he had practice: by 1619 he had spent much time working on the Greek Anthology, and he took the opportunity to include his comments on a Theocritean poem later in this volume).[21] But he was also attentive to its physicality. He compared the script with that of manuscripts that he had seen. He was aware of the physical extent of the document, and tried to supply readings for the lacunae in his copy. And he referred to other inscriptions: by working with those, for example, Saumaise was able to identify changes in their orthography over time, pointing out that "ει" was used in older inscriptions where one would expect "η".[22] From an epigraphic point of view, however, his most impressive contribution was his demolition of Scaliger's claim that the script was Ionic. In a long digression on the columns, he demonstrated that they were supposed to be in fifth-century Attic Greek, and not Ionic, and that they were actually made in the second century CE.[23] Again, he came to this conclusion primarily because of his familiarity with literary texts from antiquity: he used Herodotus and others, including especially the late antique grammarian Marius Victorinus, for the development of the Greek language.[24] But to make the argument that it was a second-century carving, he looked at the letter shapes, saying that the characters for "rho" (ρ), "delta" (δ), and "upsilon" (υ) were much closer to the Roman *R*, *D*, and *V* in contemporary inscriptions than the classical Greek forms. To make his point here, he also adduced manuscripts and a Hadrianic coin in Greek lettering,

---

Weinberg (2011: 16 n. 65), and Scaliger's comment to Saumaise, Scaliger (2012: VII, 362 [1607.11.30]).

20 Saumaise (1619: 8–9, 71–73). He connects the columns with the poem stylistically, asking (9): *Quis non agnoscit eumdem in hac inscriptione genium et in illa Farnesianae columnae eiusdem et auctoris, et argumenti?*.

21 Van Miert (2011).

22 Saumaise (1619: 16).

23 Saumaise (1619: 29–57).

24 Saumaise continued to work on this question, and more generally the development and relationship of languages. He published the *De Hellenistica commentarius*, focusing on New Testament Greek, in 1643: see Considine (2010).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

showing how Roman characters started to influence the Greek script.[25] Finally, shortly after he read Saumaise, Arcudius provided an *ad verbum* translation, corrected some of Saumaise's readings, and added a short commentary of his own.[26] Because he had access to the inscriptions themselves in Rome, he was happier positing errors by the carver for peculiarities in the text, and highlighting places where Saumaise's transcription had misled him.[27]

The best known example of early seventeenth-century work on Greek inscriptions is not Saumaise's book, however, but John Selden's *Marmora Arundelliana* (Arundel Marbles), which was first published in 1628 and then reissued in 1629.[28] This work shows how skills honed on western European remains could be applied to those from Asia Minor. Selden (1584–1654) included transcriptions and commentaries of several Greek inscriptions that Thomas Howard, the Earl of Arundel (1586–1646), had acquired from Greece, and that Selden had studied with help from colleagues since the stones' arrival in London early in 1627.[29] The *Marmora* is best known for its edition of the so-called Parian marble, a Hellenistic chronicle, which caused great excitement because of the possibility it offered of reconciling Near Eastern and Greek chronologies, but it also contains a treaty and decrees from Smyrna.[30] As Casaubon and Saumaise had done, Selden presented transcriptions in capital letters, versions in lower-case Greek and translations, followed by extensive and wide-ranging commentaries. There he took the opportunity not so much to demonstrate his command of Greek history and language, as to place the inscriptions in a cross-cultural framework, using a variety of sources. In his

25 Saumaise (1619: 55–56).

26 BnF, MS Lat. 8958, fols. 11^{r}–16^{v}, in the papers of Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc. Peiresc was sent the commentary by Girolamo Aleandro, a scholar working at Rome, on 6 February 1620 (Peiresc 1995: II, 157). Peiresc told Saumaise on 22 May 1620 (Peiresc 1992: 6–7). Jacob Spon knew Arcudius's commentary, though probably through Peiresc's papers: Spon & Wheler (1679: II, 163–65).

27 For example, BnF, MS Lat. 8958, fols. 15^{r} and 16^{r}. Peiresc continued to be interested in the Herodes Atticus inscriptions, and received a transcription of the shapes of some of the columns' letters from Giovanni Battista Doni in 1635: see Peiresc (1992: 210) and BnF, MS Lat. 8957, fol. 198^{r}.

28 Toomer (2009: I, 360–86).

29 On the discovery, see Selden (1628: sig.¶r) and Vickers (2006: 7–9, 24–25). For evidence of the assistance Selden received, see, e.g., Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Selden Supra 108, fol. 182^{rv}, a letter from Patrick Young of 30 April 1627, where he offers Selden various *coniecturas* on the inscriptions, including a suggestion that the stone-carver had erred (*sculptoris* σφάλμα, fol. 182^{v}).

30 *IG* XII, 5, 444 and Jacoby (1904) (Parian Marble); Petzl (1982–1987: II/1, 1–13 [no. 573]) (Smyrna-Magnesia treaty). For comments on the edition of the Parian marble from the perspective of a contemporary ancient historian, see Liddel (2014: 388–89).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

commentary on a treaty between Smyrna and Magnesia, for example, he made parallels with Roman-era coins, when discussing whether a whole city could be seen as equivalent to a sacred shrine or a place of refuge, and compared references recorded in the Greek inscription with a medieval English reference to the law of asylum.[31] Selden was more what we could call a comparative legal historian than an ancient historian, and his commentaries on this inscription reflect those interests.[32] They also serve to domesticate the issues raised by the treaty, and place this old inscription from the Greek East in a familiar framework. In addition, his edition shows his knowledge of contemporary epigraphic trends. He did not forget that he was dealing with fragmentary inscribed material, presenting his transcriptions of the texts with his supplements in red ink, making them clear to the reader, as earlier sixteenth-century publications of inscriptions had done. He also used Gruterus's collection extensively to offer parallels for what he saw: he cited an example of a Greek will in Gruterus, for example, to offer a parallel for the phrase ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ ("good fortune") in the Smyrna treaty, and referred to records of decisions in Greek and found at Rome for other formulae.[33]

3 Western European Greeks

Collectively, then, these commentaries reveal how late Renaissance philologists could use their knowledge of Greek texts, and of Greek and Roman material remains, to elucidate individual inscriptions. These scholars did not have many comparable examples, and tried to explain what was before them from their wide-ranging reading. Thanks to the format of line-by-line commentaries, only incidentally do they address wider questions of Greekness and Hellenism, such as Casaubon's comments on Herod the Great. A different way of approaching the problem is to look at historians who examined the presence of Greeks in western Europe, occasionally using inscriptions and coins alongside other evidence to make wider historical arguments.

The best example of this phenomenon is Giulio Cesare Capaccio's history of Naples, the *Neapolitanae historiae* (*Histories of Naples*) published in 1607. Capaccio (1550–1634) is better known for a vernacular guidebook to the city, *Il Forastiero* (*The Foreigner*) of 1634, but the earlier work gives a clearer idea of

31 Selden (1628: 125–27). See Toomer (2009: I, 376–77).

32 Wallace (2011).

33 Selden (1628: 128, 135). See Toomer (2009: I, 377), and for another example, Toomer (2009: I, 375).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

his thoughts about Naples' Greek past.[34] Capaccio began his book by making a sweeping general argument for the similarity of Naples with Greek cities, claiming that Naples rivalled Greek cities not only in its buildings, ceremonies, or religious ritual, but also in its political system.[35] Capaccio saw Naples' ancient status, as a free and prosperous Greek colony, as central to its identity, and used inscriptions to make this point. He claimed that Naples initially was an independent city, with its own magistrates, then became a Roman ally, and then a *municipium* under Roman governance.[36] But even under Roman control, he argued that the Neapolitans retained a Greek system of government alongside the standard municipal Roman one. Here Capaccio used his inscriptions. Among the 30 or so inscriptions in Greek that he cited in the work, he found references to a *boule*, in which *decurions* (the standard Roman magistrates in *municipia*) worked alongside an *archon*, a Greek magistracy. He argued that this was what he called a mixed republic, using both Latin and Greek systems, and that this mixture continued well into the middle ages—he cited a reference in Peter the Deacon (d. after 1159) to Neapolitans praying in both Greek and Latin in 872 CE.[37] As well as to *archons*, he found references in other inscriptions to more Greek magistrates, including the *demarch*—though he was eager to point out that the *demos* did not have too much power in the city—and minor roles like the *phretrarch, chalcologus*, and *phrontista*.[38] He tried to explain the roles of all of these, often giving Roman equivalents for their positions and cited literary texts as well as another Greek inscription

34 On Capaccio see Ambrosio (1996: 31–33), with references to previous studies, and Caracciolo (2016: 149–65). Capaccio was building on the work of other historians from the Bay of Naples who had stressed the area's Greek past: see, for example, Ambrogio Leone's *De Nola* of 1514 (Miletti 2016).

35 Capaccio (1607a: sig. [+3]^{v}), *Antiquae Neapolis simulacrum primo loco proposui, ut nihil coeteris illustribus civitatibus invidere posse cognoscamus, non modo ornamentis atque aedificiis, in quibus marmora, picturae, operosae moles in Theatris, Gymnasiis, Balneis tanta maiestate elucebant, quanta omnis Graecia emicuit; non modo, inquam, aut Gymnicis ludis qui dum maximos Pancratiastes, et Athletas habuere, maximos quoque Imperatores ad eas voluptates evocarunt; aut Musices, Poëtices, arteque dicendi agonibus; vel Relligione, in qua ex antiquitatis tenebris multa sane obscura antiquorum lapidum, et nummorum cognitione maximo cum huius urbis honore in lucem sunt revocata; sed etiam florentissimae illius Reipub. methodo, quam ab Atheniensibus ortam et constitutam, cum iisdem Atheniensibus et Lacedaemoniis statu politico certasse non dubitamus.*

36 Capaccio (1607a: 50–54).

37 Capaccio (1607a: 55–57). He calls it (57) a *mixtam Rempublicam*.

38 Miranda (1990–1995: I, 14–16 [no. 3] [*Demarch*]) and Miranda (1990–1995: I, 62–66 [no. 43] [other magistrates]); see Capaccio (1607: 70–80). For a contemporary use of the same material, see De Nardis (2015).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

from Rome. But he did not simply suggest that these titles were Greek translations of Roman positions, but rather a demonstration of the origins of Naples, and of the debt that the Romans had to Greek ideas of government. To this effect, he cited Livy's claim that three commissioners were sent from Rome to Greece in the early republic, to copy Solon's laws in Athens and study the legal systems of other states.[39] Elsewhere he uses an inscription as evidence for a female priest of Ceres, a cult that he said came from Greece, and another as evidence for flourishing Greek games in Naples.[40] When he was writing, the *pronaos* of the Roman-era temple of the Dioscuri, with a huge dedicatory inscription, still stood and had become a symbol of the city, so Neapolitans would have been familiar with the idea of a Greek identity.[41] In his narrative, Capaccio then used inscriptions to help flesh out what it meant for Naples to be Greek: we can see this partly as an assertion of Naples' distinctiveness in comparison with Rome, but also as a more profound proof of the city's antiquity and distinction.

Capaccio also saw evidence of Greek origins elsewhere in the Bay of Naples, arguing that Cumae, too, had Greek-titled magistrates on the Athenian model, though Naples itself was clearly an unusual case, where the city's Greek origins were well-known and visible in traces around the city.[42] This was not the only place where scholars looked for Greek origins in this period. In the south of France, too, antiquaries celebrated their Greek heritage, though in comparison their efforts show how resourceful Capaccio was. The French scholars pursued two related threads: first, evidence from Strabo and others that some southern French towns, most famously Marseille, were Greek colonies; and second, Julius Caesar's claim that the Druids used Greek characters. These references were accepted: Scaliger, for example, postulated that the Druids did know Greek, but kept it from the regular people, which he compared to early oral transmission of the Kabbalah.[43] Together, Strabo, Caesar and others could be used as evidence for a pre-Roman Hellenism that expanded beyond a few cities in Provence and affected the Gallic tribes around. Early modern scholars looked for traces in the world around them, sometimes in speculative ways. Gabriele Simeoni (1509–1575), an Italian visitor, identified the remains of a temple of

39 Capaccio (1607a: 67–68); see Livy, *History of Rome* 3.31.

40 Capaccio (1607a: 215–16, 251). For the games, he also cites a coin, and a Greek inscription from Rome (*IGUR* 240) with a reference to games in Naples.

41 Miranda (1990–1995: I, 11–13 [no. 1]). Part of the temple had survived because it had been converted into the church of S. Paolo: see Lenzo (2011: 40–44) and Lenzo (2015). Capaccio (1607a: 218–25) explicates the inscription and cult at some length.

42 Capaccio (1607b: 230–31).

43 Scaliger (2012: I, 297–98 [?1580.07.08]).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Cybele nine miles outside Marseille. He did this partly thanks to a bas-relief showing Cybele, with an inscription in Latin, immured in a church, but especially because—as he claimed—the inhabitants spoke Greek and still looked Greek; from this he concluded that they were descendants of the Phocaeans who settled Marseille.[44] Léon Trippault (b. 1538) compiled his *Celt'hellenisme ou etymologic* [sic] *des mots francois tirez du graec. Plus: preuues en general de la descente de nostre langue* (*Celtic-Hellenism, or Etymology of French Words Taken from the Greek, and Proofs in General for the Descent of Our Tongue*), which he published in 1581, to show how modern French derived from Greek.[45] In 1664 Jacques Deyron was still claiming that the inhabitants of Nîmes still had a slight Greek accent, and Peiresc, usually more sober than Simeoni or Trippault, also argued that in Marseille some people's diction preserved traces of original Doric Greek. Elsewhere, we can see from Peiresc's notes his interest in a Latin inscription that seemed to record an administrative district called "Graecia Galliae".[46]

Unfortunately, however, for these scholars, there were fewer physical traces of a Greek presence in southern France (Peiresc suggested that the sea air of Marseille had damaged what little there was).[47] Jules-Raimond de Soliers (or Solier; *c.*1530 to after 1582), for example, who probably completed his history of Marseille in the 1570s, presented the city in terms reminiscent of those used by Capaccio.[48] Marseille was a Greek city similar in outlook to Athens, which

44 Simeoni (1558: 17): "[…] y auoir eu autrefois un temple: mesme que les habitans du lieu, tant hommes que femmes, sont encor auiourdhuy habillez à la Grecque, & ont les paroles, la couleur de la chair, & la façon du visage de mesme: dont je penserois volontiers que ce fust quelque demeurant de ces Grecs nommez Phocenses, fugitifs, qui edifierent la ville de Marseille […]". This site, the village of Pennes, became well-known: see, e.g., Soliers (1615: 217).

45 Trippault (1581). See Considine (2008: 62–63), in a context of a discussion of Henri Estienne's more modest attempts, including his 1565 *Traicté de la conformité du langage françois avec le grec*, to show structural similarities between French and Greek.

46 Deyron (1663: 38, 127); Peiresc (1992: 92 [22 May 1634]), in the context of a discussion of linguistic mixing: "Comme nous voyons qu'à Marseille, il est demeuré fort peu de vestiges de l'ancienne langue grecque originelle, dorique, à cause du trop grand commerce avec les Romains depuis la ruine de leur Republique […]". See also Peiresc (1992: 117) for the influence of Marseille Greeks on the Gauls around them. In BnF, MS Lat. 8957, fol. 177^{r}, under the heading "Grutherus Graecia Galliae", Peiresc copied an inscription and highlighted the phrase "Graecia Galliae", with a reference to Marseille in the margin. Unfortunately, Gruterus's transcription of the inscription (*CIL* V, 3344) was incorrect, and the phrase did not exist on the original stone.

47 See, e.g., the comments of Peiresc (1992: 146–47).

48 Soliers originally wrote in Latin, and discussed the whole of Provence; his son had the section on Marseille translated for publication. See Le Menn (1998).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

brought civilisation to its neighbours, and taught them Greek.[49] Thanks to its origins, it preserved a tradition of "ancienne liberté" ("ancient freedom") through the Roman period and beyond, of which the present consuls were the inheritors.[50] But he did not offer material proofs. Honoré Bouche (1599–1671) did more, in a seventeenth-century history of Provence. He showed various coins featuring the Greek legend ΜΑΣΣΑ (short for Μασσαλία, Marseille), noting that they were found in hoards without Roman or Gallic examples, which pointed to the cultural and economic strength of Greek Marseille. While he cited inscriptions in Greek, he did not apply them to the question of Marseille's cultural or political formation in the way that Capaccio had done; he quoted a Greek inscription mentioning a gymnasiarch, for example, noting that the word gymnasium derived from the Greek, but arguing that the games that the individual had been involved in were Roman.[51]

Elsewhere evidence is similarly thin. The town consuls in Nîmes, for example, displayed a fragment of a huge architrave inscribed in Greek over the main gate to the city, but it is not clear whether it was shown as a sign of the town's antiquity, more specifically of its Hellenic origins, or, most likely, because it included the Greek name for Nîmes.[52] One gets the sense that despite their claims for the importance of the pre-Roman Greek inhabitants of France, these French local historians were not sufficiently comfortable with either the Greek language or with applying inscriptions as historical evidence to exploit what little material they had.

4 Forgeries

Paradoxically, the clearest way to think about what inscriptions in Greek meant to scholars of this period is to look at the Greek inscriptions they invented. Their inventions show the contexts in which they discussed Greek inscriptions and confirm the sorts of purposes that they thought Greek inscriptions could serve. Thanks to the work of Anthony Grafton, we are accustomed to the notion that forgery has inspired important developments in philological and historical criticism and that the best forgers are acutely aware of the most innovative scholarship around them.[53] Just as the sixteenth century saw fundamental

49 Soliers (1615: 39, 73–78, 98–109).
50 Soliers (1615: 183 and dedication).
51 Bouche (1664: I, 88), citing *IG* XIV, 2445 = *IGF* 15.
52 *IG* XIV, 2496 = *IGF* 100.
53 Grafton (1990).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

developments in the study of classical inscriptions, so it was a golden age for the imitation, emulation, and forgery of inscriptions in Latin. People carved or devised classicising inscriptions to adorn their houses, to make money, to win arguments about the past, and to fool their contemporaries.[54]

And the same was true, to a lesser extent, of inscriptions in Greek. Often, we can see close parallels with forgeries in Latin. Pirro Ligorio notoriously invented various inscriptions in Latin that provided evidence for institutions and offices otherwise only known through written texts, and he did the same in some Greek examples. So, for instance, he invented a monument featuring the Greek word *Artimpasa*. Next to it, he commented that, "many people, instead of writing ΑΡΤΙΜΠΑΣΑ [*artimpasa*], as one reads in the good texts of Herodotus, write in their own way ΑΡΓΙΝΙΠΑΣΑ [*arginipasa*], which is wrong, as is proved by these stones written by the ancients". His invented inscription, supposedly found in Italy, thus provides proof for one reading of Herodotus—the one, not coincidentally, his friend and collaborator Egio was advocating at the time.[55] Greek inscriptions could offer prestige of one sort of another, just as Latin ones did. So, for example, someone tried to attribute a statue-base from Vienne, in France, to the famous Athenian sculptor Myron, by having his name added to the object. Unfortunately, the carver came up with ΜΥΡΟΝΩS, swapping the omicron and omega of what would be the correct genitive form of his name.[56] Ligorio's practice of adding inscriptions to herms, identifying not sculptor but subject, is another variant of the same phenomenon.[57] In other cases, though, forgeries do not just offer parallels to examples in Latin, but also tell us a little about visions of Greek or Greece. For example, in the Veneto someone added an inscription to a funerary stele from the Cyclades. In the 1570s or 1580s, this was in the collection of Paolo Ramusio (1532–1600) in Padua, presumably having been imported through Venice, and it is now in Verona.[58] Ostensibly the added inscription is a votive dedication: ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΣ / ΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΡΙΑ ΤΗΙ ΝΕΜΕΣΕΙ / ΡΑΜΝΟΥΝΤΟΘΕΝ ΝΕΑΙΡΑ / ΑΘΗΝΑΙΑ ΧΑΡΙΤΟΒΛΕΦΑ /

54 Stenhouse (2005: 75–98).

55 BNN, MS XIII.B.7, p. 419, "molti in vece di scrivere come si legge nelli buoni testi di Herodoto ΑΡΤΙΜΠΑΣΑ scrivono a lor modo ΑΡΓΙΝΙΠΑΣΑ il che è falso per affermatione di questi sassi scritti dagli antichi". See Stenhouse (2005: 86) and Vagenheim (2011: 224).

56 Chorier (1658: 402–03 [*IG* XIV, 363*= *IGF* 201]); other records derive from his work. But cf. *IGF* 201, where Decourt raises the possibility that Chorier's printer was to blame for the inversion, and that the inscription could date from the Roman period.

57 For Pirro Ligorio, see Chatzidakis's chapter in this volume.

58 *CIG* 6834 = *IG* XIV, 108*; Ritti (1981: 106 [no. 48*]), with details of provenance; Guarducci (1967–1978: I, 493–96). It became part of the collection of Scipione Maffei, the eighteenth-century author of a manual on the detection of forgery, who owned it and defended it to the hilt: Maffei (1749: lvii–lviii).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

ΡΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ("Neaira of Athens, who has eyes like the Graces, makes this dedication to Nemesis of Rhamnus, in thanks for her freedom").[59] Neaira was the name of a fourth-century *hetaira* who bought her freedom in Corinth, went to Athens and ended up living with an Athenian citizen, Stephanos. Because of this arrangement Stephanos was then the victim of a notoriously unpleasant prosecution, which made the career of his wife famous in antiquity.[60] Neaira's fame therefore makes it suspect. In addition, the letter forms are far removed from typical fourth-century examples, the funerary-themed decoration of the stele, showing a seated woman with her head covered, is inappropriate for a dedication of thanks, while the stone itself appears illustrated in a sixteenth-century manuscript, without any lettering, along with some other pieces from the Paduan collection of Giovanni Battista Ramusio (1485–1557), Paolo's father.[61]

What should we make of this forgery? It is likely to have been based on a genuine Greek inscription from Delos mentioning Rhamnus, also in Giovanni Battista's possession.[62] The similarity between Rhamnus and Ramusio's name, latinised as Rhamnusius, seems then to have inspired a playfully erudite imitation, including puns and arcane diction. In the middle line, Ῥαμνούντοθεν (from Rhamnus), alluding to Ramusio, appears next to the name Neaira. That might also recall the work of the Veronese poet Catullus, who referred to Nemesis as the "Rhamnusia virgo" according to a Renaissance emendation.[63] The word χαριτοβλέφαρος ("with eyes like the Graces") in the fourth and fifth lines is very unusual: just before he describes Neaira, Athenaeus tells us that the orator Demetrius of Phalerum described himself as such, in an anecdote about his love for Lampito, a courtesan, and Pliny the Elder writes that *charitoblepharon*

59 Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 1.33.2 records a shrine to Nemesis at Rhamnus.

60 For a modern account, see Hamel (2003). On the name Neaira/Neaera, see also Siniossoglou in this volume, p. 244.

61 Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS Lat. XIV, 260 = 4568, fol. 51^{r} (no. 15). Ramusio had various antiquities from the Eastern Mediterranean, including material from Crete (e.g. fol. 46^{v} [no. 9]: *Togatae Romanorum magistratuum imagines, in Creta insula superioribus annis repertae, ac Joanni Batistae Rhamnusio dono datae, quas Paulus filius in suam Patavinam domum deportavit*). For other material in the collection, see Agasse (2001) and Bodon (2005: 25).

62 *CIG* 2297; Roussel & Launey (1921–1937: IV, 224 [no. 2086]); Ritti (1981: 59–60 [no. 24]). It became part of the Contarini collection in Ateste, and, like the forged example, was later acquired by Scipione Maffei. It was translated and first quoted in print by Pietro Bembo, Giovanni Battista Ramusio's friend: Bembo (1551: 55^{r} = 1990: 400–01). The Marciana manuscript records that it came from Delos (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS Lat. XIV, 260 = 4568, fol. 52^{r} [no. 16]).

63 Skinner (1984: 134).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

was a sea plant used as a love-charm or aphrodisiac.[64] And for those who knew Neaira's story, the freedom she gives thanks for is ambiguous: is it freedom from slavery, or freedom from the grip of a lover? There are probably further references (within a generation, Venice was regularly compared with Athens: does the Athenian context mean something here?), but even without those, one way to understand this is as a demonstration of allusive learning for a small audience who would have been in on the joke. Padua was still a centre of Greek scholarship, and Ramusio himself certainly knew Greek. He completed an official and tactful history of the fourth crusade in 1573, which defended Venice's role, using Byzantine Greek sources as well as medieval European ones.[65]

This forgery reflects the erudite Hellenism of that milieu, the province of a male elite, laughing about famous and powerful courtesans. A similar, esoteric example is a lead tablet with a Greek inscription celebrating life in the woods, which was in the collection of Giovan Vincenzo della Porta (d. before 1604) in Naples.[66] In the middle of the tablet was an oval-shaped recess, in which an ass, symbolising lust, approached an altar of Priapus. Capaccio, perhaps at della Porta's suggestion, interpreted this as evidence for the worship of Priapus and described (while condemning) the *phallogogia* festival.[67] It is easy to see this piece similarly emerging from an erudite, libertine, milieu. In France, forgeries or additions to ancient objects could provide evidence for Greek or Gallic settlements. In Antibes, for example, Solier recorded a jumbled inscription that read something like this ΑΝΤΙΠΟΛΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΑΙ ΟΙΓΕ / ΝΙΚΟΙ ΜΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΥΤΟΝΙΚΑΙ ΟΥΕ / Α ΡΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ (the first few words, "Antipolis and its citizens", are clear, but the rest is not; Peiresc, relying on a local source, had a different version).[68] No trace of it survives. Antibes' Greek past was well-attested in textual sources, but by the late sixteenth century, no Greek inscriptions had been found there. It seems likely that this piece was an attempt by a local forger, perhaps adapting a real fragment, to provide Antibes with something similar to the Greek inscription mounted on the gate at Nîmes. If so, his enthusiasm was greater than his technical abilities.

64 Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 13.593–4 and Pliny, *Natural History* 13.51 (142). The term also appears in another inscription, from Athens, but that is not attested until Spon published it late in the seventeenth century (*IG* III, 1376 = *IG* II², 12828).

65 Marin (2000).

66 *IG* XIV.64*; Stenhouse (2002: 239–40); Iasiello (2003: 134–38).

67 Capaccio (1607: 243–44).

68 Bouche (1664: I, 289), using a manuscript of Soliers. See *CIG* 6776 = *IG* XIV, 2426 = *IGF* 195. Peiresc (BnF, MS Lat. 8957, fol. 230r) had ΑΝΤΙΠΟΛΙΣ ΚΑΙ / ΟΙΠΩΛΙΤΑΙΟΓΕ / ΝΙΚΟΙΜΟΝΚΑΙ / ΜΑΝΤΟΝΚΑΙΟΥΕ / ΛΑΡΙΟΝΚΑΙ ///////// (his lines show where the stone was illegible).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Invented testimony could also support Caesar's claim that the native Gauls spoke Greek. A handful of Gallo-Greek inscriptions were known in the early modern period, but not usually recognised as such. Peiresc, in 1632, seems to have been the first person to suggest tentatively that an inscribed goblet could have Gallo-Greek lettering: he thought that the letters on it were a proper name, and more likely to be Gallic than Greek.[69] It was easier to invent testimony, which someone did in the case of a funerary vessel shaped like a drum, which contained a smaller glass vase, supposedly uncovered by workmen in a vineyard outside Dijon in 1598. The key to interpreting the find was a slightly obscure inscription on the bottom: ΜΙΘΡΗC ΕΝ ΟΡΓΑΔ[Ι] ΧΩΜΑ ΤΟ CΩΜΑ ΚΑΛΥΠΤΕΙ / ΧΥΝΔΟΝΑΚΤΟC ΙΕΡΕΩ[Σ] ΑΡΧΗΓΟΥ / ΔΥCΕΒ[ΙΑΣ] ΑΠΕΧΟΥ / ΛΥCΙ[ΟΥ] ΟΙΚΟΝ ΟΡΩ[Υ] ("Here, in territory sacred to Mithras, a mound covers the body of the high priest Chyndonax; stop, impious one, seeing my redeeming place of rest [?]").[70] A local erudit, Jean Guenebauld, published his illustrated account of the find in 1621, claiming that this Chyndonax was a Druidic high-priest, and then establishing a link between the Druids and the classical world, especially Greece.[71] Guenebauld argued that the Mithras of the inscription was equivalent to Apollo. He divided the inscription into four lines, which, he said, compared with the advice Plato provided in the Laws, that a funerary monument should not have space for more than four heroic lines; and he likened Chyndonax's epitaph to that of Archimedes, who only had a small column, and compared this modesty with the prouder behaviour of the Romans.[72] The site of the discovery was particularly sacred: there was a Roman temple of Apollo nearby, Guenebauld argued, which he identified on the basis of recently-discovered columns and a mosaic floor.[73] But while the main aim of the monument and discussions seems to have been to demonstrate the importance in antiquity of Dijon and surrounds, they also make

69 Peiresc (1888–1898: II, 297–98 [18 June 1632]) : "Ce sont de cez godets que les anciens appeloient litterata pocula, ou bien γραμματικά ποτήρια, se lisants treize lettres grecques en celuy qui est exterieur, lesquelles semblent composer un nom propre, bien que aulcunement barbarisé, et qui tient possible un peu du Gaulois, aussy bien que du Grec". He also (300–01) addressed the style of the cups to support his hypothesis. See Lejeune (1985: 415 [no. G-279]).

70 *IG* XIV, 370* = *IGF* 219. I have adopted the resolutions given in the text of Decourt in *IGF*, though Guenebauld and Peiresc (BnF, MS Lat. 8957, fol. 178r) have different interpretations and different translations: see *IGF ad loc*. The inscription found a defender as late as the 1940s: see Vollgraff (1949).

71 Guenebauld (1621).

72 Guenebauld (1621: 14–15, 21 [citing Plato, *Laws* 12.958c7], 22 [citing Cicero, *Tusculan disputations* 5.64]).

73 Guenebauld (1621: 18).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

a clear claim for the Greekness of the Druids.[74] Together, then, these Italian forgeries hint at a slightly recherché Hellenism, whereas the French examples offer further evidence for the importance of having a pre-Roman past.

5 Conclusion

What do we learn from this tour of scholars working with Greek inscribed texts? First of all, that despite the absence of large quantities of material evidence from the Eastern Mediterranean, antiquaries were increasingly comfortable working with Greek inscriptions, as the books by Saumaise and Selden show. This conclusion is not, perhaps, very surprising to anyone accustomed to working with the polymaths of the late Renaissance. But that did not necessarily mean that they thought hard about how different Greek examples were from the Roman ones that they knew better, and certainly they did not address questions of their Greekness in commentaries directly. But this survey also confirms that we should think of Hellenisms, rather than a singular Hellenism operating in this period. Greek learning and ideas Greek history could fit into a variety of scholarly contexts: Greek inscriptions inspired a range of responses from erudite humour to serious historical arguments about the French past.

74 Guenebauld (1621: 35–39) for comments on the antiquity of Dijon. Guenebauld also devoted much space to discussing comparative burial practices.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

CHAPTER 14

Pirro Ligorio (*c.*1513–1583) and Greek Antiquity

Michail Chatzidakis

The Neapolitan painter, architect, antiquarian, and art theoretician Pirro Ligorio (*c.*1513–1583) is best known for his antiquarian writings. As an antiquarian, he was among the most outstanding figures of the Cinquecento antiquarian scene. His monumental encyclopaedia of antiquity, which consists of thousands of pages and which was not destined to be published, offers a wealth of information about how this humanist viewed the ancient world. While his study of ancient Roman culture has received due attention in the scholarship, his perception of the ancient Greek world has, by contrast, not attracted scholars' interest thus far. Unlike his illustrious antiquarian predecessor, Cyriac of Ancona (*c.*1391–*c.*1452), Pirro Ligorio never stepped onto Greek soil, and yet the ancient Greek cultural heritage is prominent in his antiquarian studies.

In the present essay, I intend to offer a first look at Ligorio's understanding of ancient Greek culture. In so doing, I will draw occasional comparisons with Cyriac, the absolute expert in the field of the ancient cultures of the Eastern Mediterranean, and especially Greece. By viewing Ligorio's approach to ancient Hellas in comparison to Cyriac's achievements, those by Ligorio can be put in perspective and become more intelligible. In view of the substance of the existing material, it will be apparent that in the context of this essay it will be possible only to scratch the surface of this subject.[1]

1 The bibliography on Ligorio is too vast to be given here. The main studies are those by Mandowsky & Mitchell (1963); Gaston (1988); Schreurs (2000); and Coffin (2004). Ginette Vagenheim has contributed a series of important studies. The ambitious project "Edizione Nazionale delle Opere di Pirro Ligorio" has as its designated target the complete edition in the foreseeable future of Ligorio's numerous autograph manuscripts, which are scattered throughout libraries and archives in Naples (Biblioteca Nazionale, XIII. B. 1–10), Turin (*I libri delle Antichità*, J.a.III. 3–15 (vols. 1–13) and J.a.II. 1–17 (vols. 14–30)), Oxford (MS Can. Ital. 138), Paris (BnF, MS Ital. 1129,), and Ferrara (Biblioteca Ariostea, MS I, 217, and MS II, 384). Until now the Turin volumes 20 (*Libro delle antichità di Tivoli e di alcune famose ville*), 21 (*Libro delle medaglie da Cesare a Marco Aurelio Commodo*), 23 (*Libri degli eroi e uomini illustri dell'antichità*), and 28 (*Libri dei diversi terremoti*), and the Naples volumes 4 (*Libro dei pesi, delle misure e dei vasi antichi*), 7 (*Libro delle iscrizioni greche e latine*), 8 (*Libro delle iscrizioni dei sepolcri antichi*), and 9 (*Libro dei fiumi e dei fonti antichi*) have been published in the *Edizione Nazionale delle Opere di Pirro Ligorio* (see the General Bibliography). On the structure and the chronological order of the manuscripts see Mandowsky & Mitchell (1963:

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2020 | DOI:10.1163/9789004402461_016
Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

1 The Greek Antiquarian Tradition in Italy

> Despite Crusades and trade, Latin rule and missionary effort, the archaeological study of the Greek world during the Renaissance practically began and ended with Ciriaco d'Ancona.[2]

This bold remark, found in Roberto Weiss's pioneering chapter on the rediscovery of the ancient Greek world in his classic *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity* (1969), is by no means exaggerated. In the course of his adventurous life, the Italian merchant and "autodidact archaeologist" Ciriaco de' Pizzicoli, better known in English as Cyriac of Ancona, sought to fully explore the Eastern Mediterranean area. Despite the eagerness and zeal of his search, however, which was focused on locating and identifying as many inscriptions, buildings, and monuments of the ancient world as he could, reconstructing their original functions and meaning, and drawing them in his travel diaries,[3] his example did not have an immediate impact on antiquarian scholarship. As far as travelling to Greece for archaeological purposes, a substantial gap exists between 1452, the presumable year of Cyriac's death, and the middle of the seventeenth century, when Jacob Spon (1647–1685) undertook his scientific travels and when engagements with Greek affairs made by such collectors as Thomas Howard, 21st earl of Arundel (1586–1646), and diplomats, such as the French envoy Charles-Marie-François Olier, marquis de Nointel (1635–1685), inaugurated what we would call today the "rediscovery of the ancient Greek world".[4]

Apart from Cyriac's exceptional antiquarian travels, the presence of Italian artists in Greece in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries for study purposes is witnessed by some isolated pieces of evidence. Among these a few stand out: an assumed, much-debated Greek journey made by Francesco Squarcione;[5] the cryptic provenance note "Archo Trio[n]fale i[n] Grecia so[no] quattro di q[ue]sti pilastri" ("triumphal arch in Greece, there are four of these pilasters")

Appendix II, 130–39); Vagenheim (1987: 262–85); Schreurs (2000: 22–27, 325–33). I would like to express my gratitude to my colleagues Timo Strauch and Birte Rumbach from the *Census of Antique Works of Art and Architecture Known to the Renaissance* for permission to consult for my research copies of all of Ligorio's manuscripts, which are being preserved in the library of the Institute of Art History and Visual Studies at the Humboldt University in Berlin.

2 Weiss (1969: 131).

3 On Cyriac, see now Chatzidakis (2017).

4 Beschi (1986); Schnapp (2009: 23).

5 Scardeone (1560: 370). Cf. also Weiss (1969: 181). But see also the objections of Fiocco (1958–1959: 62–63), who rejects the assumption of Squarcione's archaeological expedition in Greece, mainly because of the fact that such an expedition is not reflected in his art production.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

in a drawing by Sallustio Peruzzi, currently in the Uffizi;[6] and the information transmitted by Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574), who records that Raphael kept draughtsmen under his guidance even in Greece.[7] The reliability of these scattered notes, however, has hardly been confirmed. There may well be some truth in Vasari's statement, though, especially when one takes into account that both Raphael and Sebastiano Serlio (1475–1554) recognised the primacy of ancient Greek art and praised it highly in comparison with ancient Roman art. For example, in the famous "Castiglione letter"—addressed by Raphael to Pope Leo X between 1517 and 1519—one can read that Greece was once that country "which had brought out the inventors and perfect teachers of all arts",[8] whereas Serlio posed the even more unrestrained rhetorical question:

> Chi neghera [...] chi potesse vedere le maravigliose opera che fecero i Greci, le quali sono tutte estinte et abbattute dal tempo, e dale guerre; giudicarebbe le cose greche di gran lunga superare le romane?
>
> Who would deny, should he look at the wonderful buildings the Greeks had constructed, and which due to the course of time and warfare have been disintegrated and destroyed in our days without exception, that the Greek monuments by far surpass their Roman counterparts?[9]

The celebration of the superiority of Greek as compared to Roman art, expressed without hesitation in the writings of Italian Renaissance artists and architectural theorists alike, sharply contrasts with their persistent refusal to demonstrate Greek superiority by properly investigating the vestiges of Greek art and architecture in Greece in their own right. Thus, the steadily increasing fascination with Greek culture from the fifteenth century onwards does not seem to have stimulated a true longing for systematic archaeological investigations in situ among Italian humanists. Raphael's and Serlio's texts provide an explanation for the lack of concern for archaeological explorations that extends

6 Bartoli (1914–1923: VI, 120–21) with Fig. 681; Census ID 61917.

7 Vasari (1878–1885: IV, 361): "Era tanta la grandezza di questo uomo che teneva disegnatori per tutta Italia, a Pozzuolo e fino in Grecia". An engraving by Agostino Veneziano (*c.*1490–*c.*1540), which depicts the basis of the column of Marcian at Constantinople, is the only existing evidence for this claim. The accompanying text reads as follows: "Basamento de la colona di Costantinopoli mandato a Rafaelo di Urbino". See Samaltanou-Tsiakma (1971).

8 "E parve che non solamente in Italia venisse questa atroce e crudele procella di guerra e distruzione, ma si diffondesse ancora nella Grecia dove gia furono gl' inventori e perfetti maestri di tutte l' arti". See Shearman (2003: I, 504, 513, 521).

9 See Serlio (2001: 3.46).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

beyond other, more practical reasons, such as the big dangers involved in travelling to the Levant by land or sea (especially after the fall of Constantinople in 1453). To justify their refusal to witness the Greek world with their own eyes, Raphael and Serlio argue that the material heritage of ancient Greece had been lost completely over the course of the centuries, so that autopsy would not have been a viable option of enquiry anyway.[10] This idea seems to have been widespread. Illustratively, as late as 1575 the German humanist from Tübingen Martin Crusius (1526–1607) turned to a Greek colleague in search of a reliable answer to the rumours that Athens had been razed to the ground.[11]

The fact that men of letters from the West did not explore the Greek world *in situ* resulted in widespread ignorance of the actual topographic situation of the region. Instead of exploring the Greek world by themselves, humanists projected their own concerns and standards onto what they believed to be ancient Greece. This amounted to rather complex forms of cultural reception and appropriation, of which Pirro Ligorio is an eminent example.[12]

2 Ligorio's "Philological" Approach

Although Ligorio often signed his work with the Greek name "Meisopogniros" (meaning "despiser/enemy of the deceitful"),[13] he seems not to have been a very gifted student of Greek. Nevertheless, he was, of course, frequently confronted with Greek, for example in the numerous Greek inscriptions of the city of Rome.[14] The philologists Ottavio Pantagatho from Brescia (1494–1564) and Benedetto Egio from Spoleto (d. 1564), who were both experts in Greek studies and are often mentioned in Ligorio's manuscripts, seem to have assisted him with translating Greek inscriptions into Latin and also seem to have advised him regarding the interpretation of Latin texts.[15]

10 Beschi (1986: 306–07).

11 Paton (1951: 9); Howard (1994: 26–27).

12 More details on this phenomenon in Chatzidakis (2010: 238–41).

13 Schreurs (2000: 97 n. 234; 344) with Appendices 39 and 41; Coffin (2004: 47, 71, 140).

14 On this, see Orlandi (2007); Ligorio (2008).

15 Laureys & Schreurs (1996: 397–98); Schreurs (2000: 107–08, 360–61, 119–25); Vagenheim (1987: 297); Vagenheim (2007); Occhipinti (2007: LXXXI–XCII); Orlandi (2007: 1062); Ligorio (2008: 409). On Benedetto Egio and his eminent role for the Greek epigraphic studies of the sixteenth century, see Crawford (1993). Vagenheim (2007) points to the peculiar fact that, in the preface to the 37th book in the 7th Naples volume (BNN, MS XIII, B. 7: *Libro XXXVII delle antichità di Pyrrho Ligori, dove si tratta de molte inscrizzioni greche, tanto di Roma, come de altri luoghi*), Egio's name seems to have been erased at a later time by Ligorio.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Ligorio's main ambition as a student of antiquity was to reconstruct, in both word and image, fragmentarily preserved antiquities.[16] That his assumptions and conclusions—though founded on solid scholarly ground—were nonetheless often incorrect gained him the reputation of being a counterfeiter of ancient inscriptions that has persisted since his lifetime. Recently, however, scholars have begun to appreciate Ligorio on his own terms rather than the standards of modern scholarship. In this respect, it is instructive to compare, for instance, the critical and negative verdicts of Antonio Agustín (1517–1586) as well as the positivists of the nineteenth century, such as Mommsen, Henzen, and Kaibel,[17] with the more benevolent assessments of Luigi Moretti, Giorgio Filippi, Alessandra Coppola, Olli Salomies, Heikki Solin, Ginette Vagenheim, and Anna Schreurs, offering a fair and well-balanced assessment of Ligorio's achievements as a scholar of the monuments of antiquity.[18]

Indicative of Ligorio's working method is the thirty-seventh book in the seventh Naples volume (see n. 1 above): the *Libro delle iscrizioni greche e latine* (*Book of Greek and Latin Inscriptions*), dealing with the Greek inscriptions of the city of Rome and its surroundings. This book clearly shows that, by exhaustively consulting the ancient authors, Ligorio takes pains to explain to his readers in detail the divine surnames mentioned on the (genuine or invented) stones. Thus, by offering valuable information about the iconography of the scenes depicted, he also demonstrates his literary erudition. To cite some examples: the identity of the depicted deity holding a lance and a shield on a (forged) relief allegedly found near Capua is revealed as that of Athena/Pallas on account of the epithet Μαγαρσίδα, meaning "of Magarsos" or "Megarsos": a former Assyrian city near Adana on the Mediterranean coast of Turkey, whose protector deity was Athena.[19] The adjective θαλλοφόρος, occurring in a dedication relief to Hercules, is translated into Latin by Ligorio with *pacifer* ("peace-bringing") and accompanied by a long mythological extract from Hesiod about the leading role of the demi-god over all deities in ancient Greek mythology

16 On this working practice of Ligorio's, see Mandowsky (1952–1954); Mandowsky & Mitchell (1963); Schreurs (1993: 59–71); Schreurs (2000: 36–44, esp. 41): "[Es zählt weniger die] Richtigkeit der jeweiligen zeichnerischen Ergänzung bzw. der erzielten Ergebnisse […] als die vollmundige gelehrte Attitüde, welche sich in ihr ausdrückt"; Orlandi (2007: 1062); Ligorio (2008).

17 Kaibel (1890); Henzen (1877); Vagenheim (2014).

18 Moretti (1980); Moretti (1982); Salomies (1986); Coppola (1987); Coppola (1992); Schreurs (1993); Filippi (1994); Solin (1994); Schreurs (2000). See also Vagenheim (1987, esp. 248–62), where a historical overview of the different opinions concerning Ligorio's expertise is supplied. Cf. Orlandi (2007: 1061–62 n. 7). On Ligorio as forger, Dessau (1883) and Hülsen (1901).

19 Mandowsky & Mitchell (1963: 100, no. 88); Vagenheim (2007: 222–23); Ligorio (2008: 367). The "Athena of Magarsos" appears frequently on Hellenistic coins.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

who had an impact on the human passions.[20] On the other hand, on the occasion of the representation in another (sarcophagus?) relief of Hercules picking an apple, Ligorio takes the liberty, relying on his reading of *Suda*, to call Hercules μήλειος ("of the apple") in the accompanying text.[21]

In the same volume, under the heading "inventors of the different arts" (book 33), Ligorio's observations about the origins of the Greek alphabet and the cultural history of the Greek script are particularly interesting, and I will quote them in full below:

> Plinio dice che sono stati di quelli che han detto che *Cadmo fu il primo, che dai Phinici portasse sedici lettere in Grecia* che son queste A.B.C.D.E. G.I.L.M.N.O.P.R.S.T.V. A queste Palamede nella guerra troiana aggionse quattro: Ξ.Θ.Φ.Χ; et altretante, poscia, Simonide medico: Υ.Σ.Η.Ω; secondo scrive Aristotile, le caratteri furono da principio dieciotto: A.B.E.N. Υ.Λ.Σ.Η.Τ.Μ.Ρ.Ο.Θ.Ξ.Χ.Υ.Φ.Ψ et che il Θ. Φ. furono piu tosto da Epicarmo che da Palamede aggiunte. Ma Plinio dice che Menone ne trovo in Egypto quindice anni innanti a Phoroneo, antiquissimo re di Grecia, et questo se ingegno provare con le historie di Epigene, che appo a i Babilonii si scrissero in mattoni cotti l' osservation delle stelle di setticentovinti anni, et il medesimo par che voglia Beroso et Critodemo. In Latio furono arrecate da' Pelasgi, o veramente da Evandro.[22]
>
> Pliny says that there were other writers, who suppose that *Cadmus brought sixteen letters into Greece from Phoenicia*. To these Palamedes, it is said, at the time of the Trojan war added the following four letters: θ, ξ, φ, and χ. Simonides, the lyric poet, afterwards added the same number of letters: ζ, η, ψ, and ω. Aristotle, on the other hand, is of the opinion that there were originally eighteen letters, as follows: α, β, γ, δ, ε, ζ, ι, κ, λ, μ, ν, ο, π, ρ, ς, τ, υ, φ, and that two of them, to wit θ and χ, were introduced by Epicharmus, and not by Palamedes. Pliny says that a certain person of the name of Menos, in Egypt, invented letters fifteen years before the reign of Phoroneus, the most ancient of all kings of Greece; he attempts to prove this by citing the story of Epigenes, who informs us that the Babylonians inscribed on baked bricks a series of observations on the stars, covering a period of seven hundred and twenty thousand years. Berosus and Critodemus assert the same. The Pelasgi were the first to introduce the letters into Latium, or Evander if we want to be more precise.

20 Ligorio (2008: 344).

21 Mandowsky & Mitchell (1963: 83, no. 60); Ligorio (2008: 345).

22 Ligorio (2008: 150) (italics mine).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

However erudite Ligorio's remarks may appear to be, they nevertheless quote almost verbatim—in translation, and with some misunderstandings—the respective passage in the seventh book of the *Natural History* of Pliny the Elder.[23] Hence, they remain restricted within a positivistic, philological discourse of an encyclopaedic nature without practical application and critical reflection: in this respect, they are inferior to those of Cyriac.

Conversely, as far as Cyriac's approach and antiquarian terminology are concerned, it is noteworthy that very often, when discussing inscriptions, he differentiates between "Attic", "Doric", "Ionic", and even "Phoenician" lettering. Transcriptions of archaic inscriptions that he saw in the Peloponnese and copied faithfully in his travelogue (Fig. 14.1) demonstrate that his specific characterisation of ancient script not only takes into account regional-historical aspects but occasionally also stylistic distinctions of sorts. In the process, invoking Herodotus's discussion of the Greeks' discovery of writing (*Histories* 5.58–61) and presumably also Pliny (*Natural History* 7.57.192), Cyriac refers to the archaic typeface as "Cadmeic". Even if from the point of view of modern epigraphy the designation is misleading, one can only appreciate the antiquarian's competence and observational skills in his suggestion of the term "Cadmeic" for these early archaic fonts, as he apparently managed to identify correctly the ancient character of the archaic inscriptions. At the same time, in his drawing of the respective monuments, Cyriac takes pains to reproduce each letter in its individual form and succeeds with astonishing scientific accuracy, which appears very clearly when comparing his recordings with the actual archaeological remains.[24]

Unlike Cyriac, Ligorio had never been in Greece. This makes it all the more noteworthy that in 1561 Ligorio published, apart from some other cartographic works, a large-sized (478 × 678 mm) map of Greece, printed in Rome by Michele Tramezzino (Fig. 14.2). Cornelis de Jode (1568–1600) later incorporated the map into his 1578 and 1593 editions of the *Speculum* (quietly omitting the map's original author and transferring its original Latin title into Italian). Ligorio's map contains ancient as well as modern designations and seems to have been inspired by the two most important maps of Greece of the period—that of Nikolaos Sophianos (1536, 1544, 1552) and that of Giacomo Gastaldi (1560)—however, Ligorio's map did not directly depend on either of them for the rendition of the mainland and the coastal lines, or for the toponyms used.[25]

23 Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 7.57.

24 For more details on this issue, see Chatzidakis (2017: 64–65, n. 417).

25 On Ligorio's map of Greece, see Tooley (1939: 32, no. 283); Almagia (1948: 45); Almagia (1956: 57–59); Karrow (1993: 354); Zacharakis (2009: 189); Tolias (2012: 106). The demand

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

FIGURE 14.1 Cyriac's drawing of the relief of the Eumenides from Argolis, Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Codex Trotti 373, fol. 114r

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

FIGURE 14.2 Pirro Ligorio's map of Greece (1561) in Cornelis de Jode, *Speculum orbis terrarium* (Antwerp: Arnold Coninx, 1593)

In Ligorio's map, ancient sanctuaries are marked, following late medieval custom, by stereotyped symbols, for instance by the sign of a vaulted building that easily surpasses all neighbouring constructions in height and size.[26] As a rule, the name of the relevant deity is written next to the symbol indicating its location. Apollo sanctuaries ("Apolline") are indicated to have existed in Delphi; on the island Euboea, northwest of Negroponte; at the promontory Maleas on the southern Peloponnese; and in Asia Minor. For Asia Minor there are three sanctuaries indicated: one opposite from Chios, one south of Knidos,

for maps of Greece seems to have risen abruptly around the middle of the sixteenth century, and it might very well be that Ligorio had recognised a lucrative enterprise in producing a map.

26 The practice of using the sign of a round monument as a symbolic representation for an ancient temple is found repeatedly on the maps of the islands in Cristoforo Buondelmonti's (1386–1430) *Liber Insularum Archipelagi*, dated from 1417. I refer, for example, to the maps of Delos (fol. 38^{v}) and Cythera (fol. 19^{r}) in the Codex Hamiltonianus 108 of the Berlin State Library. Ligorio did not seem to have drawn upon Buondelmonti. Cf. Almagia (1956: 59).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

and one on the slope of the Mikale mountain. The map also includes a temple dedicated to Diana ("Diana"/"Cerere") on Euboea, to the east of Edipsos; other temples dedicated to the goddess are included northwest of Plateae and at the slope of the "Timolo mountain" in Lydia, not far away from Sardis. In Plateae a "Juno" temple is designated, and two Zeus shrines ("Iove"/"Iovillicio") are registered on the Peloponnese: one in the western part, near Pyrgos, and the other near the city of Tripoli in Arcadia, indicated in the form of a protruding multi-storey construction. I should also mention a Zeus temple west of Mount Olympus in western Macedonia; a temple devoted to Asclepius ("Esculapio") on the Peloponnese, more precisely at the foot of the "Stimphalos" mountain; and two Neptune temples, one in Amphipolis and one beside Chalcedon on the bank of the Asian Bosporus, just opposite Constantinople. One also finds two unidentified monuments at the Isthmus of Corinth ("Ismon") and another unnamed monument not far from the slope of the Helicon mountain in Phocis. In Enos in eastern Thrace, a "Nymphaeum" is marked, while another monument of large dimensions with the designation "Marateriο" is indicated at the Meander River, south of Tralles. A slightly peculiar occurrence in this list of place names is the name of "Venere" for the sanctuary at Cape Sounion ("St Angelo Colonne") in Attica, which actually can be assigned safely to Poseidon/Neptune. It should finally be noted that the size and significance of some cities indicated on the map are implied by the sign's multiplication, which is the case, for instance, with the sign indicating the location of Constantinople.

Ligorio's perception of ancient Athens, indicated by the image of a fortified city at the mouth of an undefined river (i.e., the Ilisos) and surrounded by five towers,[27] is determined by its splendid but irreversibly lost history. Ligorio singled out classical Athens as being synonymous with ancient Greek glory. In this respect, his understanding of ancient Greece is consistent with that of Cyriac, who one century earlier had also proclaimed the reign of Pericles as the climax of ancient Greek history, which he acknowledged as a historical period *sui generis*.[28] But very much unlike Cyriac the "eyewitness", Ligorio did not relate the illustrious history of ancient Greece with the remains of monuments such as the Parthenon or the Theseion, still visible during his time. Instead, he evokes another ancient building, no longer existent in the sixteenth century, the so-called *Stoa Poikile* (ἡ ποικίλη στοά: Painted Porch) or *Peisianakteios Stoa* (ἡ Πεισιανάκτειος στοά: the Porch of Peisianax), originally located at the ancient Agora. The project's initiator, Peisianax, was a contemporary and a good friend of Pericles. The Painted Porch, built in the fifth century BC and destroyed in

27 Almagia (1956: 58).
28 Chatzidakis (2017: 187).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

late antiquity, must have been familiar to Ligorio from his reading of ancient authors, such as Pliny the Elder, Plutarch, and Pausanias, and is mentioned repeatedly in his writings.[29] Its function as an ancient picture gallery must have particularly fuelled his imagination. Among the episodes depicted, the one that stood out represented the victory of the Athenians over the Persians in the battle of Marathon, which was the most celebrated moment of Greek ancient history. Ligorio attributed the painting of the battle to the Thasian painter Polygnotus. According to Pausanias, the latter was involved in the decoration programme of the Painted Porch, but Micon and Panaenus, who also participated in the project, remain, strangely enough, unmentioned by the Neapolitan antiquarian. In his discussion of the Painted Porch, Ligorio again shows a non-visual, more "theoretical" or philological approach to Greek antiquity which is much closer to Guarino of Verona's (1374–1460) than to Cyriac's. The way in which Guarino imagined Corinth in a letter to Giovanni Quirino, for instance, was exclusively based on his reading of Pausanias: his notion of the city was philologically informed and bore no conscious relation with the existing archaeological remains.[30]

Ligorio showed great interest in ancient artists in his writings, although he did not refrain from committing mistakes in attributions and factual details. These were partially due to his incorrect understanding of the ancient sources (foremost Pliny the Elder).[31] His discussion of the famous fifth-century sculptor Polycleitus is particularly interesting in this respect. Ligorio's "Polycleitus" article in his alphabetical encyclopaedia in Turin locates the sculptor's roots in Thasos rather than Argos; moreover, it contains information which has hardly anything to do with the ancient sculptor.[32] Besides, Ligorio seems to have shared the widespread but mistaken opinion, widely shared among artists and

29 BNN, MS XIII, B. 7, fol. 187^{v}, p. 406 (Schreurs 2000: 233, 452) with Appendix no. 432; Ligorio (2008: 358); AST, MS a. II. 10. J. 23 (vol. 23), *Libro* 44, fols. 30^{v} (43^{r}), 37^{r} (56^{r}), 66^{v} (111^{r}), 197^{v} (570^{v}) (Schreurs 2000: 233, 243, 435–36); Ligorio (2005a: 35, 45, 92, 279); AST, MS a. II. 7. J. 20 (vol. 20), *Libro* 22, fol. 30^{v} (Ligorio 2005c: 51–52); AST, MS a. II. 1. J. 14 (vol. 14), *Libro* 15, fol. 3^{r}, alphabetical encyclopaedia, entry "Pisianactium" (Schreurs 2000: 233, 452–53) with Appendix no. 434. On the "Poikile Stoa", see Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 35.59; Diogenes Laertius, *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers* 6.1.5; Isidore of Seville, *Origins* 8.6.8; Plutarch, *Life of Kimon* 4.5–6; Suda *s.v.* "Zenon"; Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 1.1. 1–1.16.1. On its localisation in the Agora and on the archaeological evidence, see Meritt (1970).

30 See Guarino of Verona (1915: 125–26); Baxandall (1965: 185–86); Beschi (2003: 47). Cf. Chatzidakis (2017: 27–28).

31 Anna Schreurs has dealt extensively with this aspect of Ligorio's involvement with ancient Greek art. Schreurs (2000: 241–51).

32 Wrede (1990: 224, 229–32). Cf. Schreurs (2000: 247, 453–54) with Appendix no. 438.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

humanists of his time, that Polycleitus was the inventor of ancient relief art rather than brass foundry or the statuary, to judge from Ligorio's unquestioned attribution of the famous so-called "Letto di Policleto" relief to the sculptor.[33] In this respect Ligorio agrees with Cyriac, who, under the heading of "opus Polycleti" in a famous autograph drawing preserved in a manuscript at the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan, attributed to the Argivian a series of marble reliefs which he saw during his Peloponnesian travels. Both attributions—Cyriac's as well as Ligorio's—were certainly not based upon a profound and specific knowledge of the stylistic characteristics of Polycleitus's art. However, if we compare the methodological approaches of both antiquarians, we see an interesting difference in the way they attribute works of art to ancient sculptors. Anna Schreurs has shown that Ligorio arrived at his Polycleitian attributions, starting from descriptions of the depicted scenes, by consulting Pliny the Elder;[34] Cyriac's Polycleitian attributions, on the other hand, are characterised by the tendency to attribute to the sculptor works of art from Argos, i.e., from his region of origin.[35] Cyriac and Ligorio thus linked the names of artists which they found in the ancient sources with actual works of art in very different ways.

In other cases though, Ligorio followed Cyriac, albeit unwittingly. In the autumn of 1444, Cyriac had come across a highly weathered ancient bust from Thasian marble on the island of Samothrace. He made a drawing of the piece and conjectured that the person depicted was the Greek philosopher Aristotle. The dense hairstyle, the baldness, the small eyes, and the circumstances in which the bust was discovered, in relative proximity to Aristotle's place of birth, Stagira, seemed to affirm the suggested identification.[36] Following Cyriac's discovery, the alleged portrait of Aristotle was silently accepted as the only authentic portrait of the philosopher surviving from antiquity. The depiction of the Greek philosopher in profile, hooded, and with long hair and whiskers was hence shaped by this specific iconographic type and became diffused, without exception, in all possible artistic media: from terracotta reproductions

33 As Henning Wrede explained, the reason for this misunderstanding is a misreading of the information given by Pliny the Elder concerning the *ars toreutica*, supposedly invented by Phidias and practised by Polycleitus, which was equated with relief art. See on this Wrede (1989: 387 n. 57) and Wrede (1990: 224–34). Cf. Koch (2004: 251–52). On the "Letto di Policleto", see Schlosser (1903: 125–59); Bober (1995); Schreurs (2000: 246–48).

34 Schreurs (2000: 242).

35 More detailed on this: Chatzidakis (2017: 58–61).

36 Lehmann-Hartleben (1943: esp. 125–26); Williams-Lehmann (1973: esp. 17–18).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

through medals to illuminated manuscripts.[37] In 1570 Cyriac's "Aristotle" still served as a source of inspiration for Fulvio Orsini's (1529–1600) portrait of the philosopher in his *Imagines et elogia virorum illustrium*, combining depictions of authentic headless herms of Aristotle with the alleged Samothrace bust of the philosopher.[38] This type was followed by later iconographers, including Ligorio himself. This is shown, for instance, by one of Ligorio's drawings, to be found on fol. 414^{r} in the Codex XIII. B. 7 in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples.[39] The drawing shows a fragmentary preserved ancient herm "reconstructed" by adding the idealised (and now falsified) head of Aristotle.

3 Ligorio's Use of Ancient Artefacts, Gems, and Coins

Ligorio sought to compensate for his lack of first-hand eyewitness knowledge of Greek art and architecture by immersing himself as much as possible in the ancient written sources,[40] and by taking into account more easily accessible material evidence of the ancient minor arts, particularly gems and coins. His usage of ancient gems is confirmed indirectly by the testimony of Girolamo Mercuriale (1530–1606), who reports that Ligorio had put at his disposal drawings, inspired by depictions on ancient gems, for the illustrations of ancient sport practices in the second edition of his treatise on ancient gymnastic exercises (*De arte gymnastica libri sex*, Venice, 1573).[41] The same drawings would also serve as models for the ceiling decoration of the so-called "Saletta dei Giochi" in the palace of the Este family in Ferrara: the iconographic programme of this salon consisted of eleven large frescoes with illustrations

37 On the reception history of the "Aristotle" from Samothrace, see the overview of Williams-Lehmann (1973: 22–24).

38 Orsini (1570: 57). See Mandowsky & Mitchell (1963: 90–91, no. 75). Cf. Studniczka (1908: 3–4); Williams-Lehmann (1973: 24–25) with Fig. 17 there.

39 Cf. also AST, MS a. II. 10. J. 23 (vol. 23), fol. 41^{r}, *Libro* 44, of his encyclopaedia in Turin. See Mandowsky & Mitchell (1963: 90–91) with Pl. 38, 45 a, d; Palma Venetucci (1992: 66–71) with Fig. 108 there (Paola Baldassarri); Ligorio (2005a: 47–51) with Fig. 35 there. Cf. also Studniczka (1908: 3–4) and Williams-Lehmann (1973: 24–25) with Fig. 18 there. Another Aristotle portrait type handed down by Ligorio instead shows the philosopher unhooded and with a band in his hair (AST, MS a. II. 10. J. 23 (vol. 23), *Libro* 44, fol. 40^{r}). This type does not seem to have enjoyed any diffusion. See Palma Venetucci (1992: 69) with Fig. 107 (Paola Baldassarri); Ligorio (2005a: 47–51) with Fig. 33 there.

40 AST, MS a. II. 3. J. 16 (vol. 16), *Libro* 18, contains on fols. 89^{r}–114^{r} a long list of Greek and Latin authors consulted by Ligorio.

41 Mercuriale (1573: 126): *Et ut certior possit formae huiusce exercitationis notitia haberi, adponendas curavimus halteristarum imagines quas ex gemmis antiquis sculptis acceptas ad nos misit Pyrrhus Ligorius*.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

predominantly of scenes with ancient athletic competitions.[42] However, Ligorio's ancient sources are not always easy to pinpoint, and it seems that at least in some cases he interpreted Greek antiquity looking through the lens of Roman art.

This is, for example, the case with the depiction of the *halteristarii* (Fig. 14.3), for which Mercuriale specifically acknowledged Ligorio's help.[43] In Greek antiquity, the *halteristarii* were Penthatlon athletes, who used to bounce weights in order to obtain a forceful momentum before practising the long jump. Strangely enough, the *halteristarii* in Mercuriale's woodcuts (Fig. 14.3) show only a faint resemblance to the pair of nude weightlifters on Ligorio's drawing (Fig. 14.4), which he used as his model.[44] Moreover, the depictions of Ligorio and Mercuriale do not have much in common with Sebastiano Filippi's (Bastianino, 1532–1606) interpretation of the same subject in the ceiling fresco at the castle in Ferrara, dated to the 1570s (Fig. 14.5).[45] It remains an enigma exactly which sources Ligorio could have tapped for his knowledge about these athletes, especially since representations of this type of sport do not seem to occur on minor artefacts from ancient Greece that are known to us today.[46] A search in Ligorio's thirtieth Turin volume (see n. 1 above), dedicated for the most part to the study of the *antichi intagli*, has not yielded results.[47] In both Mercuriale's woodcuts (Fig. 14.3) and Ligorio's drawing (Fig. 14.4), the cylindrical representation of the lifting of free weights notably diverges from the canonical basic form—either piston-shaped and oblong, or spherical—of

42 Coffin (1955: 176–78); Cavicchi (1987: 140–43); Vagenheim (1988: 242–45); Coffin (2004: 122–25). On the iconography of the ceiling and for colour illustrations of all scenes, see Bentini & Spezzaferro (1987: 93–120).

43 Mercuriale (1573: 120, 127). There are two illustrated versions of this subject in the treatise.

44 See n. 42. On Ligorio's drawing in Turin (AST 30, 18r), see Ligorio (1994: 108–09, no. 30).

45 See Coffin (1955: 177–78); Bentini & Spezzaferro (1987: 100); Cavicchi (1987: 143); Coffin (2004: 122–25).

46 See Klose & Stumpf (1996: 54): "Der Weitsprung, die zweite Disziplin des Pentathlon kommt auf Münzbildern nicht vor". The informative exhibition catalogue *Lockender Lorbeer*, in which the long jump and its depictions in ancient art are treated exhaustively (Wünsche & Knauß 2004: 118–27), does not contain a single example from the minor arts. Equally unsuccessful proved the search in the most important reference works on ancient gems by Furtwängler (1900); Zazoff (1983); Zwierlein-Diehl (2007).

47 AST, MS a. II. J. 17 (vol. 30), Libri 49–50. The manuscript was brought to the attention of scholars for the first time by Vagenheim. See Vagenheim (1988), with a description of its different parts. I have consulted the Census copy. The gems with young boys wrestling or indulging in exercises, illustrated in Gori's *Gemmae antiquae ex thesauro Mediceo* (1732: 131, Pl. 83, Nos. 2 and 4), and cited by Coffin (1955: 178 n. 64) as possible sources of inspiration for other scenes, are ineligible for the *halteristarii*.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

the ancient *halteres* with thumb holes, which are well-known to us from numerous examples and particularly from the ancient red-figured vase paintings, such as the column crater of the painter Myson in the Getty Museum (Fig. 14.6).[48] More importantly, however, Pausanias, whose work Ligorio demonstrably knew well, provides us with an accurate, detailed description of this specific piece of sports equipment.[49] Ligorio's cylindrical *halteres* instead remind us more of modern dumbbells. Interestingly, typologically comparable forms of *halteres* make their appearance in ancient art only in the Roman period, more specifically in the first century.[50] We encounter them, for example, in a stone *halter* from Kamiros at the British Museum[51] as well as in the famous mosaic of the so-called "bikini girls" in the villa Romana del Casale in the Piazza Armerina in Sicily (Fig. 14.7).[52] Whatever Ligorio's ancient source of inspiration may have been, the cylindrical form of the *halteres* in his drawing provides a crucial hint that in this case, he interpreted a topic of ancient Greek art through the lens of Roman antiquity.

There are more examples that indicate Ligorio's handling of ancient artefacts, and the difficulties involved in identifying his precise sources. Another drawing by Ligorio preserved in Turin (Fig. 14.8) shows the *askoliazontes* (ἀσκωλιάζοντες): dancers jumping on a greased wineskin.[53] Depictions of this practice, which traditionally took place during the Dionysiac festival in ancient Greece, do indeed exist in gems.[54] It seems useless, however, to search for the concrete source of inspiration, since Ligorio had freely adapted and modified it. The ancient gem illustrated in the classical study on the subject by Raponi and Krause shows a faun, who balances on the wineskin in a much more static composition compared to Ligorio's solution, while two aiding figures on both sides are depicted as being ready to render help in the case of a potential fall

48 For numerous examples from ancient art, see Fig. 14.4 on p. 120 in Wünsche & Knauß (2004). Many more examples from red-figured vase paintings are to be found in Wünsche & Knauß (2004: 118–27). Cf. Klose & Stumpf (1996) with the figures between pp. 100–101 and pp. 176–77; Miller (2004: 64–65) with Figs. 115–19 there. On the vase in the Getty Museum, see Grossman (2002: 30).

49 Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 5.26.3.

50 Wünsche & Knauß (2004: 120).

51 Miller (2004: 65) with Fig. 120; Wünsche & Knauß (2004: 120) with Fig. 14.6.

52 Gentili (1999: III, 66–69, Fig. 2); Lee (1984); Wünsche & Knauß (2004: 120 n. 7; 278) with Fig. 27.1. The Villa Armerina complex seems nevertheless not to have been rediscovered until the late eighteenth century. A comparable depiction of this piece of sport equipment is also encountered in another mosaic from Tusculum. See Wünsche & Knauß (2004: 19) with Fig. 2.10.

53 On Ligorio's drawing (AST, MS a. II. J. 17 (vol. 30), fol. 51^{r}), see Ligorio (1994: 172–73, no. 75).

54 On the *askoliasmos*, see Krause (1971: 399–400, 911).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

120 LIBER
PLVMBEA
TALA
PLVMB.
CALCHVLVM
BEI
P.XXX
An ea pōdera dūtaxat ad maiorē exercitationē faciēdā īſeruirēt, ita
exiſtimo, ijs, q gr̄a valetudinis exercebanť, hūc finē habuiſſe. At alijs
ad gloriā quādā inanē potius tēdebāt, qđ. ſ. q maioribus pōderibus
onerati longius, & altius ſaltarēt, ij maioribus p̄mijs, atq. honoribus

FIGURE 14.3 Ancient athletes bouncing weights (*halteristarii*) in Mercuriale's *De arte gymnastica libri sex* (Venice: Giunta, 1573), p. 120

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

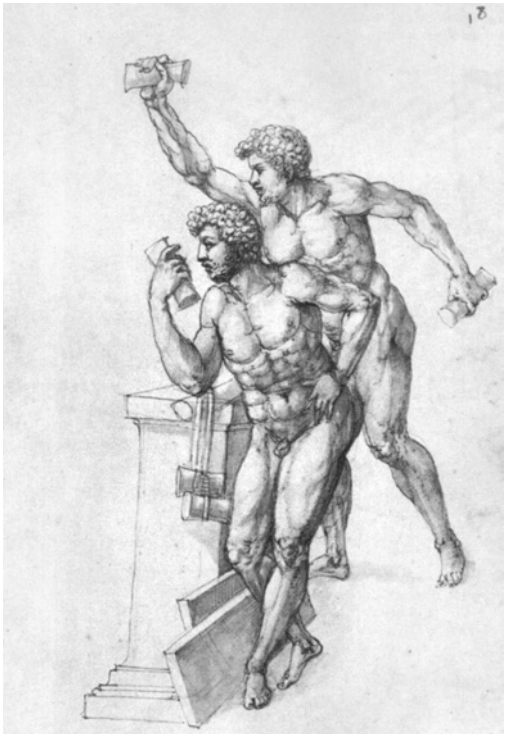


FIGURE 14.4
Pirro Ligorio's drawing of the *halteristarii*. Archivio di Stato di Torino, MS a. II. J. 17 (Vol. 30), fol. 18r

FIGURE 14.5 Sebastiano Filippi's fresco showing *halteristarii* (*c.*1570–1575) in the "Salone dei Giochi" of the Castello Estense in Ferrara

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

FIGURE 14.6 Attic red-figure column crater, attributed to the painter Myson, *c.*480 BC. Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum

(Fig. 14.9).[55] The *askoliasmos* (ἀσκωλιασμός) is also depicted on a famous mosaic from Ostia from the second century, now preserved in the Altes Museum in Berlin.[56] The affinities with Ligorio's version of the subject are strictly limited to the number of the participants in the scene, though, while in the performative part Ligorio's dancers produce a much more lively effect. His composition, which again must have served as a model for Bastianino's "giocco degli orti" in the "Saletta dei Giochi",[57] gives the impression that the illustrated scene, with its standing, falling, slipping, and dancing men, offered the Neapolitan the opportunity to demonstrate his high artistic skills by representing heroic nudity in a variety of different, anatomically daring, and difficult poses.

55 See Raponi (1786: Pl. XI, Fig. 14), reproduced in Krause (1971: 399).
56 Krause (1971: 911).
57 Bentini & Spezzaferro (1987: 118).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

FIGURE 14.7 Mosaic of the "bikini girls", 4th cent. Villa Romana del Casale, Piazza Armerina, Sicily

Ligorio's usage of ancient gems and coins as witnesses of history becomes even more apparent in his alphabetical encyclopaedia preserved in the Archivio di Stato in Turin. In this monumental endeavour, which was initiated after his removal from Rome to Ferrara and was dedicated to his new patron Duke Alfonso d'Este, Ligorio sought to elaborate on the antique world, organising his material in alphabetical order instead of according to subject matter. He thereby regarded ancient gems and coins as reliable documentary evidence. Thus, for example, on the reverse of Aetolian coins, Ligorio recognised Meleager's hunt of the Calydonian boar.[58] Moreover, the dedication of the sanctuary in Brauron to the goddess Diana is confirmed—according to Ligorio—by the alleged existence of coins depicting the goddess with bow and quiver and bearing the inscription *Brauronia Artemis sotera* (Βραυρώνια Ἄρτεμις Σωτήρα: Artemis saviour of Brauron),[59] while the maritime iconography on a supposed (and falsified?) coin from the island of Cythera is discussed as proof of the Athenian conquest by Nicias in the year 424 BC, as reported by Thucydides.[60] In the encyclopaedia entries dealing with the Meander River and "Maeandropoli",

58 AST, MS a. III. 3. J. 1, 1, *Libro* 1, fol. 142^{v}: "Aetolia".

59 AST, MS a. III. 9. J. 7, *Libro* 2, fol. 89^{v}: "Brauron".

60 AST, MS a. III. 10. J. 8, *Libro* 3, fols. 184^{v}–185^{r}: "Cythera".

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

FIGURE 14.8 Pirro Ligorio's drawing of the *askoliazontes* (ἀσκωλιάζοντες). Archivio di Stato di Torino, MS a. II. J. 17 (Vol. 30), fol. 51r

Ligorio once again brings local and, this time, actual, coins to the discussion as material evidence (from Magnesia, and/or "Micalean" ones—most probably referring to a Priene provenance); in his discussion he connects the natural loops of the river with the zigzag meander ornament on the coins, which enjoyed great popularity in ancient architecture as well as in the art of his own time. Ligorio, also an architect by profession, incorporates a drawing of the decorative pattern in the middle of his text on fol. 12v.[61] In all the cases cited, the motifs engraved upon the ancient artefacts seemed to confirm some facts known to Ligorio from his reading of the ancient authors.

61 AST, MS a. III. 12. J. 10, *Libro* 12, fols. 12r–13r: "Maeandro" and "Maeandropoli".

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

FIGURE 14.9 Ancient gem with the *askoliazontes* in Ignazio Maria Raponi's *Recueil des pierres antiques gravées* (Rome: Bouchard & Gravier, 1786), Pl. XI, Fig. 14

4 Concluding Remarks

One could carry on *ad infinitum* with a list of such examples. In conclusion, it can be noted that Ligorio's reception of Greek antiquity, in direct contrast to that of Cyriac of Ancona, remained predominantly philological in that he mainly relied on exhaustive consultation of the ancient written authorities available to him. The motives behind the decision of publishing a large-sized cartographical work on Greece do not seem to have been scientific-cultural reasons or an interest in presenting topographical accuracy; rather, they

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

probably were the recognition of a lucrative opportunity. Furthermore, it was not the still preserved Parthenon temple at the Acropolis but rather the destroyed painted porch of Peisianax in the ancient Agora in Athens, with its monumental paintings from the battle of Marathon, that seems to have stirred Ligorio's imagination. Occasionally, he relied on artworks, mostly the more easily accessible minor art forms, such as gems and coins, as in the case of the *askoliazontes*, and incidentally also indirectly via Roman artworks, as in the case of the *halteristarii*. Here, we should reckon with the possibility that Ligorio himself, too, was active as a forger of ancient artefacts, which would be one of the many avenues for further research.[62] But most importantly, only a thorough textual and cultural-historical analysis of the alphabetical encyclopaedia and the Neapolitan and Turin volumes dealing with ancient coins would supply valuable insights into Ligorio's treatment of ancient numismatics, helping us consequently to gain a more complete understanding of Ligorio's methodological approach to ancient Hellas and its culture.[63]

62 Dressel (1900: 206) quotes Pompeo Ugonio (d. 1614) on Ligorio as a forger of ancient coins: "Si dilettava delle medaglie antiche, et ne fece improntare molte di nuovo dandoli una ruggine verde, o altro fuco accio paressero antiche, delle quali ne fece, o contrafece gran quantita, che hanno ingannato molti" ("He took delight in ancient medals, and had many coined anew, giving them a green rust or some other deceit, so that they would look ancient, lots of them he made, or counterfeited, that deceived many"). Many of the thousands of coins illustrated in the encyclopaedia must nevertheless have been authentic. Ligorio must have had a well-stocked coin collection, which in 1567, compelled by severe financial difficulties, he was forced to sell to the cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520–1589). On this, see Schreurs (2000: 13).

63 So far, only the 21st Turin volume has been edited, which deals with the coins of the Roman emperors. Ian Campbell has repeatedly called attention to the importance of numismatics for Ligorio's working practices. See, for instance, Campbell (1988) and Campbell (2013). Coins, mostly Greek, emerge occasionally in his alphabetical encyclopaedia. Volumes 1 (BNN, MS XIII. B. 1), 5 (BNN, MS XIII. B. 5), and 6 (BNN, MS XIII. B. 6) in Naples and volumes 19 (AST, MS a. II. 6. J. 19), 21 (AST, MS a. II. 8. J. 21), 22 (AST, MS a. II. 9. J. 22), and 27 (AST, MS a. II. 14. J. 27) in Turin deal with ancient coins. In addition to this, volume 1 in Naples and volume 27 in Turin are dedicated exclusively to the ancient Greek coins. Cf. Schreurs (1993: 58, and n. 8).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

CHAPTER 15

Ancient Coins and the Use of Greek History in *Sicilia et Magna Graecia* by Hubertus Goltzius (1526–1583)

Maria Luisa Napolitano

With his *Sicilia et Magna Graecia*, printed in 1576, Hubertus Goltzius (1526–1583) published the first European monographic study on "Greek" Sicily and Italy, introducing the ancient notion of *Magna Graecia* to early modern scholarship. Yet, even if present-day historiography has incidentally acknowledged Goltzius's leading role in the study of "Greek Italy", it has not shown any interest in a systematic examination of his work, only making brief references to its numismatic content.[1] This paper analyses the structure and some specific aspects of *Sicilia et Magna Graecia*, focusing on its innovative features and importance in the early modern study of history and antiquity, and especially numismatics. Studying the work will also allow us to shed light on the figure and interests of Hubertus Goltzius, who was actively involved in the cultural and artistic life of his times: as a humanist, artist, engraver, scholar of various aspects of the ancient world, historian, antiquarian, and collector. As a numismatist, he was a pioneer in the scholarly nature of the subject, relentlessly searching for coins, epigraphs, ancient manuscripts, and maps during his European tours. He established contacts with European and Italian scholars, intellectuals, artists, rulers, and figures of power, promoting artistic and cultural relations at an extremely high level. Evidence of Goltzius's relationships with these circles can be found in his dedications to the most important figures of his times. Further evidence can be found in the in the writings of his *amici*—in both prose and poetry—referring to Goltzius; they were all scholars and enthusiasts of art, history, numismatics, and Greek and Roman literature, who shared a passion for antiquity and humanist ideals of life.

1 Modern bibliography on *Sicilia et Magna Graecia* comprises solely bibliographic records and brief mentions: e.g., Panessa (1977: 2); Le Loup (1983: 140–41); Ampolo (1985: 52); Dekesel (1988: 87–89); Prontera (1996: 265); Ceserani (2012: 39, 103–04). This is also the reason why I decided to expand on my study of this work in one of my previous books (Napolitano: 2012) and in this paper.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2020 | DOI:10.1163/9789004402461_017
Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

1 Background: Hubertus Goltzius (1526–1583) and Hellenism

Hubertus Goltzius (Hubert or Hubrecht Goltz) was born in Venlo, the Netherlands, in 1526, into an artistic family.[2] At the age of eighteen, he attended the Romanesque art school of the artist Lambert Lombard (1505–1566), in Liège. In 1546, he moved to Antwerp and became an artist and engraver of the Guild of St Luke, where he established a close friendship with the great cartographer Abraham Ortelius (1528–98), also a member of the Guild, who was to become the leading geographer of the king of Spain. Goltzius shared research, ideals, business dealings, collecting, friendships, and personal relations with Ortelius. In Ortelius's Antwerp circle, he also got to know the leading publisher and bookseller Christopher Plantin (1520–1589), who would become a friend and supporter of Goltzius before becoming Philip II's *prototypographus.* During that period, while religious wars raged through Flanders, Ortelius and Plantin were involved in promoting their irenic ideals for the reconciliation of religions: Ortelius was linked to the Familist religious sect,[3] which was irenic and in favour of helping Protestants and Reformists.

In addition to the Antwerp bookshop, which was primarily used for the services of Philip II and the Catholic world, Plantin opened a second shop in Leiden which worked for the Reformists. His Leiden branch was mostly operated by his son-in-law and adopted son Frans Raphelengen (1539–1597), a humanist and professor of Hebrew at Leiden University[4] who also was interested in the Familists' *concordia mundi* project. Goltzius developed close relationships in this circle of men. He completed his own study thanks to his meeting—once again in Antwerp—the Catholic Marc Laurin (1525–1581), lord of Watervliet, humanist from Bruges, and a generous and rich friend of Ortelius

2 On Goltzius, his life and work, see Weale (1866–1870); Panessa (1977); Le Loup (1983); Ampolo (1985: 47–84, 53); Dekesel (1988); Dekesel (1997); Dekesel (2005); Callataÿ (2006: 31–37, 31–33); Napolitano (2010); Ceserani (2012: 39, 103–04); Napolitano (2012); Hollstein (2013); Kagan (2013: 57–70); Wrede (2013). His mother, Katharina Goltz, born in Venlo, was the daughter of the painter and artist Hubrecht Goltz, who was active in the town from 1495 to 1524 (Hendriks 1968: 321), and the sister of the sculptor Sybregt. His father, Roger van Weertsburg (de Wurtzbourg, or Rutgheer Wirtzburger), a painter of Bavarian origin, was registered for the first time in 1530 (Hendriks 1968: 325, no. 6) in the records of the town of Venlo, where he had moved to (Weale 1866–1870: 246 and no. 1).

3 Regarding relations with the Reformist and Lutheran world, the Familist faith of Ortelius and the sect called "Family of Love", see Harris (2004: 90–93) and Mangani (2006: 69–73, 85–146).

4 A Hebrew translation of Calvin's Catechism was also dedicated to Raphelengen: Fuks & Fuks-Mansfeld (1984: 16–19, 23, 24, 29, 30–31) and Mangani (2006: 29).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

and Plantin.[5] Laurin belonged to a noble and liberal family from Bruges that had already arranged meetings with intellectuals such as Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466/1467/1469–1536),[6] for whom Bruges was a second home, and Thomas More (1478–1535), a close friend of Erasmus whom he had also met in Bruges.[7] Both of them were spiritual models for Ortelius.[8] During the 1540s, the Catholic George Cassander (1513–1566) had also taught there before moving to Ghent, and his project for reconciling the Catholic and Reformed churches was close to the Familists' plan, and also to Ortelius's vision.[9] Cassander considered the study of the Greek language as being singularly important,[10] and Goltzius appreciated his teachings. Having been baptised a Catholic, he embraced a conciliatory religious position which was at the limits of orthodoxy.[11]

5 Goltzius's work was republished in 1618 in Antwerp, featuring scholia by Andreas Schott of the Society of Jesus (see Napolitano, 2012: 248–53); in 1644, again in Antwerp, Balthasar Moretus reprinted the treatise as part of Goltzius's *opera omnia* (*Romanae et Graecae antiquitatis monumenta e priscis numismatibus eruta per Hubertum Goltzium Herbipolitam Venlonianum Civem Romanum. IV: Siciliae et Magnae Graeciae Historia, ex antiquibus numismatibus illustrata*); in 1708, it was included in Verdussen's *Huberti Goltzi De re nummaria antiqua, Opera quae extant universa, Quinque voluminibus comprehensa*, also published in Antwerp: the *Tomus Quartus continens Siciliae et Magnae Graeciae historiam, ex antiquis numismatibus illustratam* once again reproduces the same edition, with Goltzius's title page, text, and plates and with Schott's scholia. Until the eighteenth century, the work was quoted, reused, and referenced, and it became a standard reference work for generations of scholars, who found useful the catalogues with numerous and accurate coin reproductions (Napolitano 2012: 383–92). However, following cruel criticism by Joseph H. Eckhel (1792: XXII, CXLI–CLIV), Goltzius's works were discredited and were almost forgotten in the history of numismatic and ancient studies.

6 Marc Laurin, an uncle bearing the same name as "our" Laurin, a canon (1488–1540), controlled the local church of Saint Donaas for more than twenty years and promoted intellectual and spiritual relations with innovative figures of the time that attended the leading club he set up, including names such as Erasmus of Rotterdam, who addressed some letters to him: Carton, Van de Putte, De Mersseman & Delepierre (1843–1849: I, 279); Nauwelaerts (1969: 12, 13, 22). See Erasmus (1906–1958: III, Ep. 717, 763, 789, 809), addressed to Marc Laurin.

7 On More in Bruges and his relationship with Erasmus, whom he most certainly met in the city in 1515 during his diplomatic mission to the Netherlands, see Hexter (1975: 23–25, 32, 44, 49–51, 99–104, 106–07, 122–24, 129–31).

8 Ortelius's epistolary (Ortelius 1969 [1887]) emblematically opens with a letter by Erasmus of Rotterdam, even if it is not addressed to Ortelius. Reference to Thomas More can also be found in Ortelius's cartographic representation of *Utopia* (Mangani 2006: 132 and Fig. 45), of which only one copy exists.

9 Mangani (2006: 21).

10 Tilmans (2002: 117–18).

11 In *Caius Iulius Caesar* (1563) Goltzius, by way of thanks, published a list of European figures who had been willing to show him their own numismatic collections in order

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

In 1560 Goltzius moved to Bruges, accepting Laurin's offer at the end of his European tour (1558–1560), which had been sponsored by the latter, and he remained in Bruges until the end of his life (1583). There he opened a printshop, and once the *Officina Goltziana* became operational—thanks, once again, to Laurin's support—Goltzius published his best-known and most prestigious works (*Caius Iulius Caesar*, 1563; *Fasti*, 1566; and *Caesar Augustus*, 1574, all dedicated to the Habsburgs). The last of this series of publications was the book under study here, *Sicilia et Magna Graecia*, which included a dedication to Philip II, king of Spain. In this work, inspired by Laurin in its subject matter,[12] Goltzius dealt for the first time with the history of ancient Greece, interrupting in this way his sequel on Roman history—which had originally been planned to continue with a work dedicated to Tiberius—and also abandoning the imperial Roman vision of his previous work.[13] Moreover, the work's focus is no longer on individual figures who had dominated history, nor is it on institutions, but is instead defined by a specific area. Laurin and Goltzius had originally envisaged a work on Greek numismatics comprising four volumes, which would include the history and coinage of the continental, Aegean, and Eastern Greek world.[14] Consultation of two unpublished manuscripts by Goltzius, entitled *Historiae urbium et populorum insulae Graeciae*, now housed at the Plantin-Moretus Museum in Antwerp (Flanders), shows how Goltzius continued to work on the project but never completed it.[15] Only the first of the four planned books, *Sicilia et Magna Graecia*, was published during the author's lifetime.

---

to study and draw them during his two best-known trips (1556 and 1558–60), during which he visited a total of 975 collections, including collections in Antwerp and Bruges. Systematically drawn up by Goltzius in accordance with the itinerary he followed and the cities he visited, it can also be obtained from Goltzius's notes in *Calendarium Historicum* of the *docteur en droit* Michel Beuther (Beuther 1557: Royal Library Albert I Brussels, II 38334). The figures are listed in order of social importance: the leading notables of each location: the emperor, the pope, the prince-electors, the Doge in Venice, the Medicean grand duke of Florence, the House of Este in Ferrara, the viceroy of Naples; and the most important prelates and jurists of each city, university teachers, intellectuals, and artists, but also members of the middle class and the most ordinary folk.

12 Goltzius (1576: C3).

13 The material collected for the work on Tiberius was later published in 1620 by Jerome Verdussen in a more extensive work with a commentary by L. Nonnius (Goltzius 1620).

14 The plan of the work, published in *Sicilia et Magna Graecia*, was as follows for the other three books: II: *Epirus, Peloponesus, Thessalia, Macedonia et Thracia*; III: *Insulae Graeciae*; IV: *Asia, Syria, Aegyptus et Africa*.

15 M 156–1, M 156–2: the first manuscript is dedicated to the Greek islands; the second is incomplete. Goltzius's Greek work was to be completed and published with the 1618–1620 edition (*GRAECIAE eiusque insularum et Asiae Minoris NOMISMATA, ab Huberto Goltzio quondam sculpta, Ludovici Nonni commentario illustrata*), promoted by the publisher Jacob de Bie with text by L. Nonnius that includes a large number of differences

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

In Goltzius's day, the teaching of Greek, the search for manuscripts, the steady publication of Greek writings in print, translation into Latin of Greek literary works, and study of ancient Greek, were promoted both by the Reformist circles of European humanism and by Catholic circles open to rediscovering ancient literature as a whole and interested in approaching Greek culture through the original Greek texts.[16] This was an approach and vision shared by Goltzius and by his trusted *amici*: Ortelius and his circle in Antwerp, the publisher Plantin (both in Antwerp and in Leiden[17]), and the brothers Marc and Guy Laurin (d. 1589), with their group of *typothecarii* in Bruges.[18] Starting in 1565 the so-called *Officina Goltziana*,[19] had already distinguished itself for two publications edited by Adolph Meetkercke (1528–1591).[20] The first focused on the correct pronunciation of ancient Greek, with an appendix on Greek accents (*De veteri et recta pronuntiatione linguae Graecae commentarius* [...] *Accessit appendix de Graecorum accentibus, cum scholiis*); it was republished by Plantin in 1576 in Antwerp. The second was the first European edition of the *Idyllia* by Moschus and Bion in Latin translation,[21] a work linking Northern humanism with the Florentine philological tradition, as the first translation of Moschus's first idyll had already been produced by Poliziano. This work, moreover, was to be republished in the Protestant and anti-Spanish University of Leiden, which was led by Goltzius's friend Janus Dousa (1545–1604):[22] indeed, a republication of the complete works of Moschus and Bion (with the addition of Dousa's translation of Bion's *Epitaph for Adonis*) was edited in 1584 by the

between manuscripts (Napolitano 2012: 248–53). Two more editions of *Opera omnia* by Goltzius were published in 1644 (Moretus) and 1708 (Verdussen).

16 Ampolo (1996: 1023–26); Napolitano (2012: 256–58).

17 Thanks to his son-in-law Frans Raphelengen (Franciscus Raphelengius), involved in the *Biblia sacra*, the multilingual Bible of Antwerp, head of the publishing agency and Plantinian library operating in Leiden, especially for Reformists; see Mangani (2006: 29) and above, p. 348.

18 As regards Plantin of Antwerp, who shared a mental affinity with the king of Spain, was a friend of Ortelius and a familist like he was, founder of the best-known publishing house of the century, with branches in Leiden—initially thanks to his son-in-law, Raphelengius—and in Paris, editor of the *Biblia Polyglotta* and close to Reformists: Sabbe (1923); Voet (1969–1972); and Bowen & Imhof (2008). On the brothers Marc and Guy Laurin and their circle in Bruges, see Napolitano (2012: 65–87) and above; on the *thypothecarii* see below, p. 373.

19 Fontaine Verwey (1972: 296–98).

20 Also a friend and assistant of Abraham Ortelius, officially converted to Protestantism, Meetkercke was to take on important positions in politics and diplomatic missions in Bruges and abroad; see below.

21 Meetkercke (1565).

22 Lord of Noordwyck. About Janus Dousa, see Heesakkers (1976).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Bruges-born Bonaventura Vulcanius (1538–1614), with a dedication to Dousa.[23] As acknowledged in Meetkercke's dedicatory epistle, the edition of the *Idyllia* had been requested by Laurin, whose humanist generosity and sensitivity were praised by the editor. In the epistle, Laurin was described as a collector of Latin and Greek manuscripts "with untiring efforts and huge expense" (*invicto labore maximoque sumptu*), and of "countless coins" (*innumera nomismata*) and epigraphs "from all the corners of the world" (*ex omnibus orbis partibus*).[24]

2 Goltzius's *Sicilia et Magna Graecia*: Structure, Scope, Purpose

In his dedication of his *Thesaurus rei antiquariae huberrimus* (Antwerp, 1579) to Count Marc Függer (1529–1597), a man of culture and a member of the leading banking family, Goltzius recalled his previous work, *Sicilia et Magna Graecia*, published in 1576, with the following words:

> Singularem laboris mei et diligentiae fructum capio, quod hoc tempore, veluti post longam saeculorum seriem,[25] ab oblivione atque silentio Siciliae et Magnae Graeciae memoriam, res gestas, situm, descriptionemque ex antiquitatis arcanis, et numismatum epigrammatumque monumentis restituerim; et antiqua, quibus illae floruerunt, ornamenta renovarim.[26]
>
> I am reaping the extraordinary rewards of my work and efforts, at this time, as if after a long series of centuries, I have retrieved the memory, the feats, the place, and the description of Sicily and *Magna Graecia* from oblivion and silence, from the secret abodes of ancient times, and from the accounts of coins and epigraphs; and I have restored their ancient honour thanks to which they flourished.

In these few lines, Goltzius expressed the cultural project that he had brought to maturity over the course of his entire life. As he himself saw it, with this book he had brought to life the memory of the past thanks to his great commitment

23 Vulcanius (1584). See Conley (2010: 337–50, 338, 348). The volume also includes the aforementioned translation by Poliziano and some idylls by Moschus and Bion translated by Henri Estienne (Henricus Stephanus).

24 Meetkercke (1565: 3–4).

25 Tacitus, *Histories* 1.2.2. Cf. Justin, *Epitome of Pompeius Trogus* 44.2.7; Apuleius, *On the Universe* 22; *Declamatio maior* 4.13.

26 Goltzius (1579), *Inclyto Heroi D. Marco Fuggero Domino et Comiti in Kirchperg et Weissenhorn,* [...] *Epistola dedicatoria*.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

(*labor et diligentia*), consequently gathering *singularem fructum* for his "Greek" work, and annulling the oblivion of past centuries (*longa saeculorum series, oblivio, silentium*). In his opinion, too, he succeeded in re-establishing the memory of Sicily and *Magna Graecia*: the feats, locations, and descriptions of these regions, from the secret places of antiquity (*ex antiquitatis arcanis*), with reference to literary sources and to *monumenta* comprising coins and epigraphs.

Goltzius did not choose the institutional history of famous cities like Athens as the subject of his *Sicilia et Magna Graecia*, but rather a space which was geographically peripheral to the first volume of his great work dedicated to Hellenism.[27] The full title of the work, *Sicilia et Magna Graecia, sive historiae urbium et populorum Graeciae ex antiquis numismatibus restitutae, liber primus*, gives a clear idea of the contents and scope of the book. First of all, it signifies a geographical space: Sicily and *Magna Graecia*. The term *Sicilia et Magna Graecia* reiterates a distinction already known in antiquity, with Sicily holding cultural and historical priority. Secondly, Goltzius's title defines the kind of history his book covers, concentrating on the "history of cities and the peoples of Greece" (*historiae urbium et populorum Graeciae*). Thirdly, the title highlights Goltzius's historiographical method, since it indicates the use of ancient coinage as a major source (*ex antiquis numismatibus restitutae*)—an emphasis also found in his previous "Roman" works.[28] Goltzius's appreciation of numismatics, confirmed in programmatic statements in the introductions and testimonies of his friends in their *laudationes*, is equally well reflected in the numerous and orderly arranged plates, which precede the historical part and show coins from the communities under study.[29] These plates also conveniently articulate the structure of the book: the communities whose coins are represented are discussed in the text in the exact order in which they appear in the plates.

Notwithstanding his proclaimed interest in ancient coinage as a historical source, Goltzius did not define himself as a scholar of numismatics, strictly speaking. For him, numismatics was one aspect of his expertise as a historian. In an inscription, dating from 1576 and included in the portrait of the Flemish painter Antonio Moro (1516/1520–1576), Goltzius is described as *Civis Romanus, Historicus et totius antiquitatis Restaurator insignis* ("Roman Citizen, Historian, and illustrious Restorer of All of Antiquity"). The portrait was a gift from Moro

27 Regarding the editions of the work: Dekesel (1988: 87–89, 101); Napolitano (2012: 270, 385–91); Kagan (2013: 67).

28 Goltzius (1557); Goltzius (1563); Goltzius (1566); Goltzius (1574).

29 *Tabulae* I–XIV (Sicily), XV–XXXVII (Magna Graecia).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

in exchange for Goltzius's *Fasti* (1566), and it is most likely that before its publication the two men had discussed the inscription. In any case, the inscription features around the author's portrait in *Sicilia et Magna Graecia*, which is a reproduction of the portrait offered by Moro, most probably by his friend Philip Galle (1537–1612).[30] In a letter included by Goltzius, his friend Ortelius addresses the author as follows: *Huberto Goltzio, Civi Romano, Historico, Antiquario, ac prisci saeculi Instauratori diligentissimo* ("To Hubertus Goltzius, Roman Citizen, Historian, Antiquarian, and highly diligent Restorer of ancient times"). Likewise, in his own works Goltzius referred to himself as a *Pictor* drawing with a *penicillum historicum* (*Imagines*, 1557), *Historiae imperatorum* […] *Auctor*, and even *Sculptor* (*C. Iulius Caesar*, 1563; *Caesar Augustus*, 1574; *Sicilia et Magna Graecia*, 1576), as well as *Civis Romanus* (*Sicilia et Magna Graecia* and *Thesaurus*). These multifarious self-designations show that Goltzius did not assign a privileged role to numismatics, which he included among his other abilities as a scholar of antiquity. Thus, in *Sicilia et Magna Graecia* Goltzius defined himself as "author and engraver" (*auctore et sculptore*), assigning importance first to his qualities as a historian and then to his ability to reproduce ancient coins and hence make them known through his printed work.

As to the structure of the work, the volume opens with three *coronae* of encomia and explanatory texts in rhyme by Goltzius's *amici*, mainly from the circle in Bruges and Antwerp. First, his portrait is praised in verse by his revered assistant Johannes Castelius (Jean van de Casteele, *c.*1520–1581/1584); the doctors and humanists Guilelmus Pantinus (Guillaume Pantin, 1520?–1583) and Victor Giselinus (Gislain or Ghyselink, 1543–1591); the humanist, jurisconsult, and poet Franciscus Modius (François de Maulde, 1546?–1597); and the Englishman Daniel Rogersius (Daniel Rogers, 1538/1540–1591), all of whom were also linked to Ortelius.[31] Second, the title page is explained by Modius and the historian and elegiac poet from Antwerp Melchior Barlaeus (1540–1584). Last but not least, the work itself is discussed and praised in texts by

30 Dekesel (1988: 93).

31 Castelius: Ortelius (1969b: 120–21 n. 51, 31.07.1574) and Ortelius (1969a: 90, fol. 116^{v}, 1574); Pantinus was included in Ortelius's *Album amicorum* (Ortelius 1969a: 30, fol. 28^{r}); Giselinus: Ortelius (1969a: 48–50, fols. 58^{v}, 59^{r}, 59^{v}) and Ortelius (1969a: 112–15 nn. 47, 48, 1574); Modius: Ortelius (1969a: 47, fols. 55^{v}, 56^{r}); Rogersius: Ortelius (1969a: 1^{v}–3^{r}; 12–14, 34–5, 37), Ortelius (1969b: 42 from 1572, 76 from 1578, 92 from 1580), see also Dorsten (1962: 3–5, 22, 26–27, 61, 203). On Castelius, see Bostoen (2010: 227–43). He probably is the author of an anti-Catholic satirical pamphlet against the preacher Cornelius: *Epistolae monitoriae, in quibus curam religionis ad magistratum pertinere, et qua ratione missa in veteri ecclesia celebrata fuerit, ostenditur*. The work, published in Bruges in 1567 by *Officina Goltziana* under the pseudonym of Stephanus Lindius, appeared in the List of Prohibited Books in 1568 (on this, see Fontaine Verwey 1972: 302).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Andreas Papius (Andries de Paep, 1552?–1581), a Hellenist, linguist, and historian from Ghent, as well as the historian Jacobus Marchantius (1537–1609), Aegidius and Justus Witsius (or Wijts, *antiquarius* and chancellor of the University of Bruges),[32] and finally Cornelius Brinctius (or Brinctus) Amorfortius (of Amersford), a friend of Ortelius who offers a lengthy ode in both Greek and in Latin.[33]

Four prose texts follow: the epistle dedicated to Philip II; the preface for Marc Laurin; a reproduction of the decree granting the author honorary Roman citizenship (1567); and Ortelius's letter. The introductory section ends with an encomiastic epigram by the above-mentioned Daniel Rogers, dedicated to the author, and a useful index, entitled *Elenchus urbium, populorum et regum quorum numismata et historiae hoc libro exhibentur*.

The work itself opens with tables (*Tabulae*) exhibiting reproductions of coins belonging to individual cities. These are followed by the author's introduction to the reader and two separate historical-geographical maps, placed side by side and depicting the areas under study: Sicily and southern Italy (or *Magna Graecia*), in addition to Marseille and Antibes. The work's two geographical sections have symmetrical structures, and each opens with its own historical introduction, followed by individual chapters dedicated to the history of specific cities. They are rounded off with a general conclusion entitled *De coloniis Graecorum*.[34] At Laurin's suggestion, the presentation of the material relied on a geographical structure following the criteria of proximity,[35] from east to west, as a virtual itinerary for the humanist, both reader and *viator*. These sections mainly consist of historical reconstruction, which relied on Goltzius's close re-examination of the literary sources, ordered following the chronology of events. In his discussion of Sicily, for instance, Goltzius covers the island's history city by city, *in primis* Syracuse but also Elymian and Punic locations. Additionally, individual, short chapters are dedicated to the Sicilian tyrants.

After a short epigraphic section and indexes, the work closes with an additional series of poetic encomia regarding the work and the author.

32 Cossa (1893: 155).

33 Brinctius dedicates some verses in Latin and Greek to Ortelius *perpetuae amicitiae ergo* in Ortelius's *Album amicorum* (Ortelius 1969a: 63–64, fols. 81–82).

34 Napolitano (2012: 338–43); Ceserani (2012: 104).

35 For example: ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ—NEAPOLIS, ΠΥΤΕΟΛΙΤΩΝ—PUTEOLI, ΚΥΜΑΙΩΝ—CUMAE, ΣΙΝΥΕΣΣΑΝΩΝ, MINTURNENSIUM; or ΚΡΟΤΩΝΙΑΤΑΝ—CROTON, ΣΥΒΑΡΙΤΩΝ—SYBARIS, ΜΕΤΑΠΟΝΤΙΩΝ—METAPONTUS (*sic*), ΣΑΛΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ, ΤΑΡΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ—TARENTUM).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

These are written by Johannes Vivianus (a friend of Ortelius, *c.*1560–1620);[36] Daniel Rogers, mentioned earlier; Adolph Meetkercke of Bruges (Adolphus Mekerchus, 1528–1591),[37] humanist and jurist, and a shared friend of Laurin and Ortelius; Nicolaus Colvius of Bruges; Melchior Barlaeus, and Jacobus Crucquius, jurist and humanist, and also Cassander's successor in Bruges, who wrote on the *nomen/omen* Hubertus Goltzius and printer's mark: Abundance with the horn of plenty, surrounded by the words HUBERTAS AUREA SAECULI.[38]

At the end of the work, as a kind of self-standing appendix that is marked off from the rest of the book by its own title page, Goltzius added a section on Sicilian history from Emperor Augustus to the present, which testifies to his desire to link the past with the present, even if the nature of the work did not demand the connection.[39] Another epigram by Rogers, with Goltzius's printer's mark, concludes the entire volume.

The book's thematic focus is on Sicily: it precedes Italy's Greek colonies in the title and in the work, also occupying greater space in both the historical section and the part dealing with numismatics. The priority awarded to Sicily is also evident from the book's splendid front cover, for which an interpretation is suggested in two *explicationes*, produced by Goltzius's friends Franciscus Modius and Melchior Barlaeus, interpreting all divinities, characters, symbols, and locations evoked on the front cover as referring to Greek Sicily. In the centre, there is a depiction of a Greek temple with Neptune, *rector pelagi*, and

36 Ortelius and Vivianus (1584: 20). Ortelius and Vivianus offer an account of their joint "archaeological" trip through Belgian Gaul, in the form of a letter to the geographer Gerardus Mercator, with whom Ortelius was very close, dated 7 October 1575. Vivianus is included in Ortelius's *Album amicorum* (Ortelius 1969a: 60, fols. 75^{v}–76^{r}) with the dedication of a work in rhyme, dated 1574, which incites moderation, and of a drawing with the mottos *Recti conscientia—Beata Tranquillitas*, to which he adds a verse in Hebrew (Ps. 73: 28), which states "But as for me, it is good to be near God".

37 Meetkercke was the author of the explanatory short poem opening Ortelius's *Theatrum* (1570) and is also represented in Ortelius's *Album amicorum* (Ortelius 1969a: 31, fols. 30^{v}–31^{r}). During the religious conflict of that period, Meetkercke sided with the Reformists and with the states fighting against Spanish repression. He was assigned to diplomatic missions in England at the court of Queen Elizabeth I and against Don John of Austria, and took part in the pacification of 1580, becoming president of the Council of Flanders (Tracy 2008: 218). He wrote numerous celebratory odes for Goltzius.

38 Jacob Cruucke or Jacques De Crucque (*c.*1520–1584), a scholar of Horace's manuscript tradition, published various volumes of his work with Goltzius and with Plantin (Verbeke 2009).

39 Title: *Siciliae Historia Posterior, sive eorum quae post pacem sub Augusto terra marique partam usque ad hoc saeculum gesta sunt, compendiosa narratio* [...] (Bruges, 1576).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Diana; at the top, we find the *triskelion* (a triple spiral figure exhibiting rotational symmetry, with the design representing three bent human legs), recalling Sicily's three main promontories. On the left, the rape of Persephone by Pluto is shown as being located in the vicinity of Etna, while on the right we see Demeter on her chariot on the lookout for her daughter. Scylla is represented on the pediment. The healthy thermal waters of Terme near Himera can be found depicted on the base to the left, and on the right we see Etna erupting, with Messina depicted below it; lastly, in the middle of the front cover, personifications of Alpheus at sea and the fountain Arethusa are included.

The emphasis on Sicily can be seen in connection with Goltzius's attempt to gain the patronage of the king of Spain. In the dedication to the king, Sicily is presented as being superior to the rest of Italy, and Goltzius claims that the ancient tribe of the Sicanians (*Sicani*) were the first settlers in Sicily. More specifically, he argued that they stemmed from the same area of Spain as Philip's dynasty. Evoking Thucydides's authority, he claimed that they settled permanently on the island in ancient times, prior even to the diaspora of Greeks and Trojans after the fall of Troy.[40] According to the Greek historian, the fleeing Trojans had settled in Sicily after the Sicanians, who subsequently became Elymians and Phocians during their *nostos*. It had been the *Sicani*, Goltzius wrote, who had called the island *Sicania* after themselves and had dominated it completely, before eventually withdrawing to the west. Only much later, still according to his version of history, did Greek colonists settle in Sicily, and these Greek settlers are the true protagonists of Goltzius's work insofar as they were the founders of the *urbes et populorum Graecorum*. As the *Sicani* were believed to be of Spanish extraction, originating from the same area of Aragon[41] which was the birthplace of Ferdinand of Aragon, maternal grandfather of Charles V (Philip II's father), their proclaimed position of primacy over the

40 Thucydides, *Histories* 6.2.2–3: "The Sicanians appear to have been the next settlers, although they pretend to have been the first of all and aborigines; but the facts show that they were Iberians, driven by the Ligurians from the river Sicanus in Iberia. It was from them that the island, before called Trinacria, took its name of Sicania, and to the present day they inhabit the west of Sicily. On the fall of Ilium, some of the Trojans escaped from the Achaeans, came in ships to Sicily, and settled next to the Sicanians under the general name of Elymi; their towns being called Eryx and Egesta. With them settled some of the Phocians carried on their way from Troy by a storm, first to Libya, and afterwards from thence to Sicily" (transl. by R. Crawley).

41 Goltzius states that the Sicanians originally settled near the River Sicoris (now known as the River Segro), subsequently moving to the area known at that time as Arragonia; and that they arrived in Sicily from there, the first settlements. Cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 22.2, and Servius's commentary on Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.557.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

other *antiquae gentes* settling in Sicily helped to legitimise Spanish claims to royal sovereignty over the island from a (pseudo-)historical perspective.

3 Goltzius's Choice of Subject: Sources of Inspiration

In the context in which he worked, Goltzius's emphasis on the Greek history of Italy was perhaps not as self-evident as it may seem to us, at least at first sight. The ancient world that Europe's strong powers—the Spanish monarchy, the Holy Roman Empire, and the Papal States—held dearest generally was the Roman world, not Hellas. Greek civilisation was less esteemed, considered less suitable for rendering either the majesty of monarchical and imperial power or the prestige of the pope, the last representative of Rome's history—republican, imperial, and Catholic.[42] As stated above, the four major works published by Goltzius before *Sicilia et Magna Graecia*, which were dedicated to the Habsburgs and Roman Senate (*Fasti*), had as their object the Roman world.[43] Goltzius also reiterated the link between the ancient Roman emperors and the exponents of imperial families from the Middle Ages to the present in his *Imperatorum imagines* (1557).

However, even though Rome rather than ancient Greece played a dominant role in early modern cultural politics, Hellenism was brought to life in specific contexts, such as Naples under its Aragonese rulers.[44] A lively and dynamic ideologisation supported by the teaching of Greek, and the study of Greek culture and history more generally, flourished in Venice and in Medicean Florence,

42 Viroli (1992: 113–14, 162, 276); Tuck (1993: 12–30). But while in these circles Greek models were less appreciated, ancient Greece inspired Venice and Florence as an example of autonomous politics and strong cultural identity.

43 Goltzius (1557); Goltzius (1563); Goltzius (1566); Goltzius (1574). These works were inspired and promoted by Marc Laurin.

44 Alfonso V of Aragon was a protector of Greek studies. The work of the translators, often Greek, of the classics of Greek literature was promoted at his court. These translators included men of culture, such as George of Trebizond and Theodore Gaza (Bentley 1995: 56, 70, 174). In 1441 the humanist Leonardo Bruni prepared for King Alfonso a copy of his translation of Aristotle's *Politics* (Bentley 1995: 71), and Giovanni Albino edited a volume with the Latin translation of some of Plutarch's biographies for Alfonso's son, Ferdinand I of Aragon (Bentley 1995: 86). Lorenzo Valla was also active in Naples, where he insisted on translations of the New Testament from Greek in accordance with his philological criteria (Bentley 1995: 126), while Bartolomeo Facio was assigned to translate into Latin Arrianus's *Life of Alexander*, improving on a much-criticised translation by Pier Paolo Vergerio (Bentley 1995: 121). Enea Silvio Piccolomini who, inter alia, had sent this translation to King Alfonso and the Greek Cardinal Bessarion, was in Naples from 1456 to 1457 (Bentley 1995: 70).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

the self-proclaimed *novae Athenae* of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[45] Florence, for example, opened its doors to Greek cultural heritage, almost as if it wanted to contrast itself with Rome, the heir of *Romanitas*, putting itself forward as the new Athens and its history as a continuation of Greek history. Similarly, Goltzius's emphasis on the Greek world of Sicily and southern Italy probably enabled him to evoke the glorious pre-Roman history of these areas, which would, of course, flatter the current leaders of the area, who were also the dedicatees of his book: the Aragonese.

Notwithstanding Goltzius's emphasis on ancient Greek history, Rome did maintain its relevance for the historian, even in his discussion of Italy's Greek world. Every episode of Greek history under study eventually flowed into the history of Rome. In his discussion of *Magna Graecia*, for instance, Goltzius started from Greek Neapolis (Naples) and, perhaps surprisingly, travelled northwards as far as Lazio and Rome (Fig. 15.1). From there, he moved back southwards to Campania, with Capua, Nola, and Velia, as far south as Rhegium, then followed Italy's Ionian coast, with the Greek colonies (and Hellenised populations) on the coasts of Calabria, Basilicata, and Puglia, before returning once more to central Italy. Although Goltzius could not embark on a work focusing on Greek Italy and Sicily with Rome as the starting point, his desire to include Rome, a non-Greek city, among the leading locations of "Greek Italy" is clear: he reiterated the theory of the city's remote pre-Trojan and Trojan *origines Graecae*, put forward by Dionysius of Halicarnassus,[46] whom he specifically mentioned. Although Rome did not have a past as a Greek city, it boasted a Hellenising cultural tradition that referred to a Hellenism older than the Trojan War. By presenting each individual community's Greek history as being prior to Rome, Goltzius sought to reconcile his personal interest in and preference for Hellenism with humanist Italy's traditional "Romanness".[47]

There were, however, antecedents for Goltzius's interest in Greek history and, more specifically, the Greek history of Italy. Two works by Joachim Camerarius (1500–1574) and Wolfgang Lazius (1514–1565), originating from the "enlightened" court of Emperor Ferdinand I and his son Maximilian II of Habsburg,

45 For Florence, see Reszler (2007: XXXIII, 13, 16–30). For Venice, *alterae Athenae* in Aldo's formulation, see Nicolai (2009: 122).

46 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 1.11–12: the Aborigenes, led by Enotrus and Peucetius, emigrated to Rome from Arcadia, preceded by the Pelasgians from Thessalia in Italy. Then the Greeks came from Arcadia, led by the hero Evander, founder of the future Palatine; then, the Arcadians on the Capitol led by Hercules, with the Trojans from Laomedon. Lastly, Aeneas arrived from Troy ablaze.

47 For a more detailed analysis of the work's content, I refer to Napolitano (2012: 209–15, 261–344).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

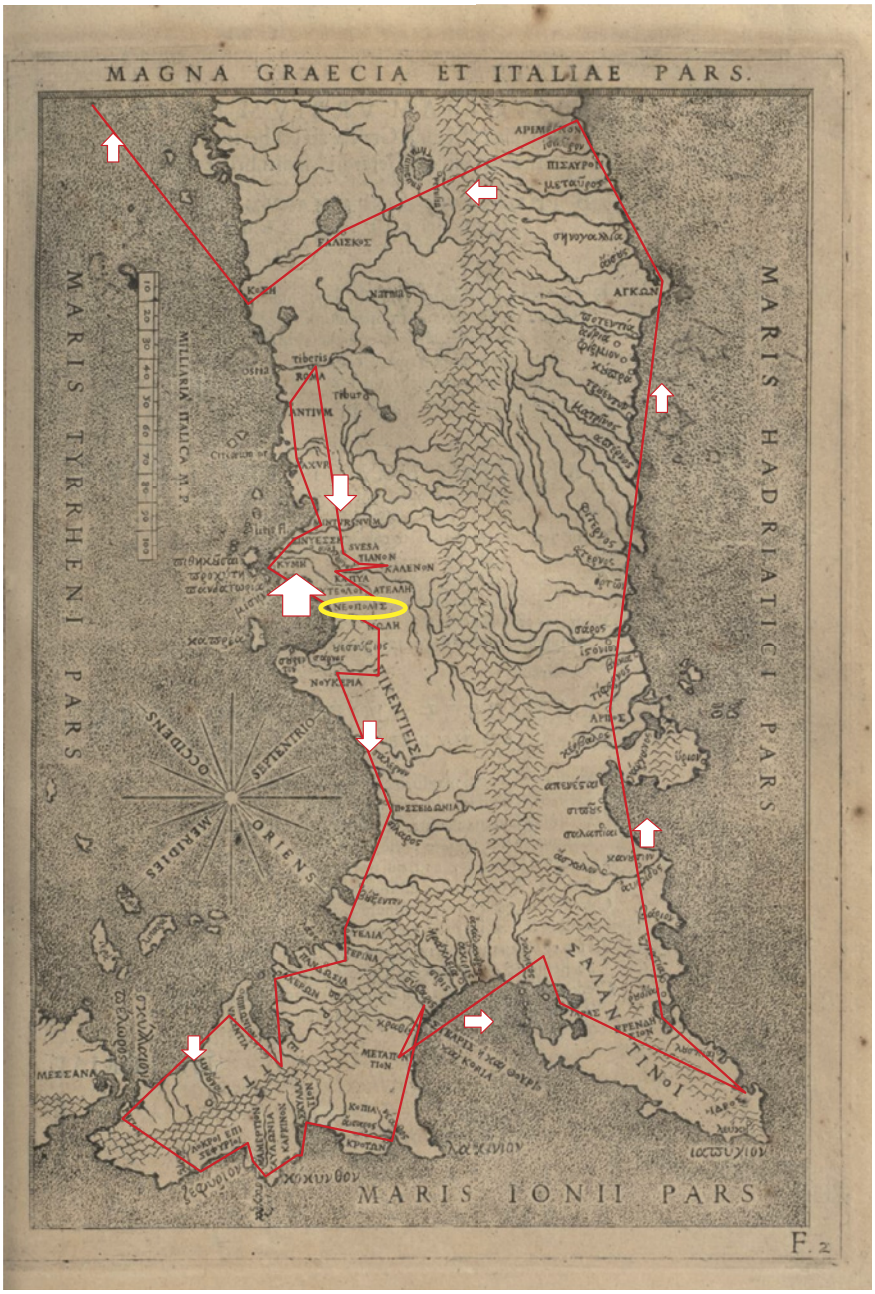


FIGURE 15.1 Hubertus Goltzius's map "Magna Graecia et Italiae pars" in *Sicilia et Magna Graecia* (Bruges: H. Goltzius, 1576)

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

represent important examples preceding Goltzius's approach to ancient Greece.[48] Camerarius's *De tractandis equis sive Hippocomicus* [...] *Historiola rei nummariae* (1539) and Lazius's *Commentariorum rerum Graecarum libri II* (1558) reassessed the history and numismatics of the ancient Greek world, and they constitute works of reference for the Greek innovation of Laurin and Goltzius. In Italy, the history of the Greek world was studied by the Modena-born Carlo Sigonio (1524–1584), in the Venetian context, concentrating on Athenian institutions.[49] Later, in Northern Europe, the Lutheran historian and geographer Ubbo Emmius (1547–1625), the Dutch scholar Johannes Meursius (1579–1639, later active in Denmark), the famous Leiden professor Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484–1558), and the Dutch scholar Isaac Vossius (1618–1689), who also acted as librarian for Queen Christina of Sweden (1626–1689), all significantly contributed to the study of ancient Greek history.[50]

As regards the Greek history of Italy and Sicily specifically, humanist and ancient historiography also offered antecedents, specifically works on regional history by Tommaso Fazello (1498–1570), Antonio De Ferrariis (il Galateo, 1444–1517), and Gabriele Barrio (1506–1577), which were well known to Flemish humanists and scholars of antiquity.[51] Ortelius, for example, mentioned these and other sources in his introductory pieces to the maps of his famous *Theatrum* (1571), with the clear intent of substantiating the relationship between antiquity and the cultural and geographical situation of his own day, also including the names among his *auctores*.[52]

We can infer that Goltzius knew at least some of these works. He most certainly knew the writings of Fazello,[53] whose Sicilian itinerary he followed in his discussions of individual places as well as in the last, self-standing section of the book dealing with Sicilian history from the time of Emperor Augustus

48 Camerarius (1539) and Lazius (1558). Both works were for the Emperor Ferdinand of Habsburg and his entourage: Napolitano (2012: 171–72, 243, 256–57).

49 Between 1564 and 1565, Sigonio wrote a monograph about Athens (1564b) dedicated to Pier Donato Cesi, papal nuncio in Venice. In addition to numerous works dedicated to the ancient Roman world, Sigonio also published studies of Attic and Lacedaemon chronology (1564a) dedicated to the Veneto patrician Andrea Loredan (Lauredanus). About Sigonio's Greek works, see Ampolo (1996: 1022–24) and Napolitano (2012: 110, 256).

50 Ampolo (1996: 224–27).

51 Fazello (1558); De Ferrariis (1558); Barrio (1571). As regards the significance of said works in the European cultural climate, see Ampolo (1985: 47–48).

52 Ortelius (1570), with numerous publications, supplements, additions, and republications. As regards *Theatrum*, see Mangani (2006). In Ortelius's *Theatrum*, each map is preceded by an overview of Ortelius's ancient and recent sources, while a *Catalogus auctorum tabularum geographicarum* introduces the volume.

53 Napolitano (2012: 262, 331–34).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

onwards (the idea for which he probably derived from Fazello). The content and order of the appendix are the same as Fazello's, even though Goltzius's presentation is more synthetic, for which the author apologises in his preface.[54]

It is most likely that Goltzius was also familiar with the *Descrittione di tutta Italia* (first printed in Bologna in 1550) by the Dominican friar Leandro Alberti (1479–1552), fashioned after the example of Biondo Flavio's *Italia illustrata* and explicitly quoted by Ortelius among his sources for the *Theatrum*, a work Goltzius knew well. Alberti's work, written in the vernacular and encompassing the history of nineteen regions from antiquity to the present day, also included *Magna Graecia*. As he discussed ancient sources together with the current historical-geographical situation of the regions under discussion, Alberti created the impression of a historical *continuum* from ancient times into the present. In contrast with this, Goltzius's editorial and thematic choices were not influenced either by such a fluid, overall vision oscillating between past and present, or by the methodology combining texts and *realia*, or by the local viewpoint of Fazello and others. In his *restauratio*, Goltzius exclusively acknowledged the Greek and Roman literary traditions, coins, and ancient inscriptions as sources, which he regarded as the only valid and accessible documentation for scholars and historians of antiquity.[55] Indeed, his use of ancient Greek coins to reconstruct the history of "Greek Italy" is one of the most interesting aspects of Goltzius's work, and it is to this feature that we will now turn.

4 Goltzius's Use of Numismatics

In his preface to Laurin, Goltzius discussed the method he had used to select numismatic material that he had seen during his study trips and that he now reproduced in his work. He specifically recalled the advice he had received

54 The work contains lists of *Reges Siciliae ultra Pharum* and *Reges Neapolitani sive Siciliae cis Pharum*, from the Aragonese to the last kings *utriusque Siciliae*, Ferdinand the Catholic, Charles v, and Philip ii. This is followed by a list of leading figures, philosophers, orators, poets, musicians, and doctors, all of whom were Sicilian. There is also a similar list of leading figures for the section dedicated to *Magna Graecia* and Italy.

55 The sources of Goltzius's historical reconstruction are the *auctores* of ancient historical-geographical tradition (for example, Strabo, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Diodorus Siculus, Livy, Pliny, and Pausanias); the coins of the individual ancient communities, reproduced in the *Tabulae*; and the limited Latin and Roman inscriptions (with the exception of one Greek-Latin) originating from Central-Southern Italy, collected in a separate section.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

from *antiquarii nobilissimi* during his Italian sojourn. This concerned the criteria for choosing and reproducing examples of coins. According to this method, a typology of coins was established on the basis of the *facies et simulacra*, i.e. faces and representations of divinities, nymphs, heroes, and heroines, depicted on the pieces, which were then ordered on the basis of epithets. However, Goltzius continued, he decided to diverge from their advice. If he were to have followed this practice, he further explained, he would have overlooked exemplars "of numerous regions and cities which did not represent symbols or resemblances of divinities" (*multarum regionum et urbium* [...] *quae neque symbola neque facies Divorum ac Divarum exprimebant*).

On the other hand, Goltzius designed a more inclusive typology that also included coins with "numerous other symbols (*nota*) of fertility" or "stamped either for any region or for a specific territory", and so he proceeded to list wheat, *vinum*, herbs and shrubs, fish, rivers, and springs. Thus, Goltzius not only acknowledged theomorphic and anthropomorphic categories of representation, but also phytomorphic categories, referring to the freshwater world, as well as theriomorphic ones, such as the ear and grains of barley, the celery leaf (*selinon*),[56] dolphins and fish, the crab, the bull looking backwards with its horns down, the lion, and others.[57] This approach was both original and innovative, as the types of coins provided philological and documentary criteria of interpretation, and Goltzius furthered his understanding of antiquity by comparing the coins to what he found in the literary sources. Coins for him represented the main *realia* of antiquity (epigraphs are, by contrast, seldom reproduced in the work), direct and tangible witnesses of a world to be rediscovered, an intact link between the past and present, talking "signs"[58] of the *mos Graecorum*.

In previous numismatic studies,[59] images of coins had either illustrated the accompanying text or indicated the subject matter of the sections in which they occurred. In such cases, the selection of categories met specific purposes such as the catalogues of illustrious families, historical characters, ancient divinities, and so forth. If the *imagines* represented the subject of the work, authors generally favoured figures or divinities whose traits could be derived from numismatics and sculpture; in addition to these, there were often comments containing biographical-literary information and possibly also historical data.

56 Metcalf (2012: 145). The celery leaf, symbol of the city, can be found on the coins of Selinunte from the middle of the sixth century BC and for all of the fifth century BC.

57 Wrede (2013: 98).

58 Caccamo Caltabiano (2007) and Caccamo Caltabiano (2013: 17–27).

59 For example, Fulvio (1517); Huttichius (1534); Micyllus (1544); Panvinius (1557); Erizzo (1559); Orsini (1570); Orsini (1577).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Ancient times were usually connected with the present by mixing iconographies of past and present or constructing continuities that "glued together" the classical world and the present; the latter increased its value thanks to its connection with the ancient world. Thus, in the specific historical and cultural perspective adopted by each author in linking the past and present, the image-coins "spoke", illustrating history and restoring portraits obtained from coins and sculptures of historical figures and deities. In these works, real coins with their own specific characteristics were not important, nor was any distinction made between coins and medals.[60]

In contrast to what was customary in the scholarship of his day, Goltzius provided precise data and evidence regarding the coins he included. He included both the obverse and the reverse of the selected coins. Moreover, in his analysis he numbered the coins carefully according to their typology, with precise technical data for blanks and metals. As he explained in a marginal note at the end of the preface (Fig. 15.2), he used Greek letters to indicate the die measurement (α, β, γ, δ, ε, ζ, θ), whereas he used other letter combinations to denote the kind of metal used (*AU, AR, AE*).[61] Goltzius's choice to favour a more scientific approach is also reflected in the blank coin planchet (Fig. 15.3),[62] which he included in order to be able to add even more examples to the overview in due course.[63] But notwithstanding the overall scholarly approach Goltzius took, he incidentally also redesigned coins for artistic purposes. The planchets are perfectly stylised and they all have the same dimensions, irrespective of their real size (Goltzius did state the real size consistently, though). The purpose of the reproduction was not realism in our sense of the word: rather, the orderly and precise drawing transmits the harmony and balance Goltzius wanted to see in the coin. Consequently, neither the condition of the examples, nor the imperfections or the state of wear, can be assessed from the engravings. Similarly, Goltzius incidentally also adapted the iconography of the coins, sometimes for aesthetic reasons (for instance, when

60 Another area of study concerns the origins, metrology, and technical characteristics of ancient coins: see Bassoli (1985: 7–17); Cunnally (1999: 3–9, 34–37).

61 Kagan (2013: 61).

62 *Tabula septima*: VI, ΤΥΝΔΑΡΙΕΩΝ; *Tabula nona*: II, ΦΙΝΤΙΑΣ; *Tabula XII*: VIII, ΜΗΝΑΝΙΝΩΝ; *Tabula XIII*: IIII, ΓΕΛΩΝΟΣ; *Tabula XIIII*: VIII–IX, ΙΕΡΩΝΥΜΟΥ; *Tabula XVII*: VI, MINTVRNENS; *Tabula XX*: VI, ΑΤΕΛΛΑΝΩΝ; *Tabula XXI*: II, ΠΙΚΕΝΤΙΕΩΝ; *Tabula XXIII*: VIII, ΤΕΡΙΝΑΙΩΝ; *Tabula XXV*: IIII, ΒΡΕΤΤΙΩΝ; *XXV*: VIII, ΙΠΠΩΝΙΕΩΝ; *Tabula XXVI*: VI, ΖΕΦΥΡΙΕΩΝ; *Tabula XXVIII*: VI, ΣΚΥΛΛΑΤΙΩΝ; *Tabula XXXIII*: VI, ΥΔΡΩΝΤΙΝΩΝ; *Tabula XXXIIII*: IIII, ΑΓΚΩΝΙΤΩΝ; *XXXIIII*: IX, ΑΡΙΜΕΙΝΕΩΝ; *Tabula XXXVI*: VIII, ΚΟΣΩΝ.

63 Cunnally (1999: 103 n. 14). The use can be found in other contemporary works (for instance, Orsini's *Familiae Romanae*).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

AVCTOR LECTORI.

Characteres Græci quos in tabellis numiſmatibus ſubiectis videbis; vtpote α. β. γ. δ. ε. ζ. θ. amplitudinem ſiue exilitatem ipſius nūmi oſtendunt, ita vt intelligas numiſma, cui talis character adſcriptus ſit, tanta eſſe magnitudine quantū eſt interuallū in figura hîc ad calcem, quæ ex circulis alijs alio maioribus conſtat, intra ſuprema omnium lineam circularem, & alteram, cui idem ille character, quem nummo additū cōſpicis, ſupraſcriptus eſt. Alij verò characteres qui in ijſdem tabellis nummo ſubiunctis adparent, metallum ex quo quiſque nummus cuſus ſit indicant; ita vt N auro, R argento, Æ ære nummum ſignatum demonſtret. Et hoc obſeruabis eaſdem tabellas, auerſam & aduerſam numiſmatum partem coniungere. Vale.

FIGURE 15.2 Hubertus Goltzius's address to the reader in *Sicilia et Magna Graecia* (Bruges: H. Goltzius, 1567), p. C4

he adapted the twisting of the bust of Apollo of Caulon: Fig. 15.6a,b) or because he misunderstood the original iconography (for instance, when he misrepresented the *bucranium* (oxhead) on the coins of Metapontum as a helmet: Fig. 15.4a,b).[64] Nevertheless, these are exceptions rather than the rule. Generally speaking, the reproductions are plausible and the categories correspond to the examples known today. For example, the selection of Syracuse (*Tabulae* I–V), consisting of forty examples, starts with the well-known decadrachms and tetradrachms, which are largely comparable with the documented examples.[65] As to *Magna Graecia*, the coins of Croton, Metapontum, and Thurii more or less correspond to the evidence we have.[66]

64 Goltzius (1576: *Tabula XXXI*). See also Noe (1984: 310) and Lazzarini (2009: 74).

65 For example, see *Tabula prima*; cf. Head (1967: 171–87 and Pl. VII 9–VIII 11); Kraay & Hirmer (1966: Pl. 23–51).

66 *Tabulae XVIII–XIX, XXIX, XXX*. Compare: Head (1967: 94–100 and Pl. V, 1–3 Croton; 85–88, Pl. IV 7–8 Thurii); Kraay & Hirmer (1966: Pl. 92–94 Croton; 86–88 Thurii).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

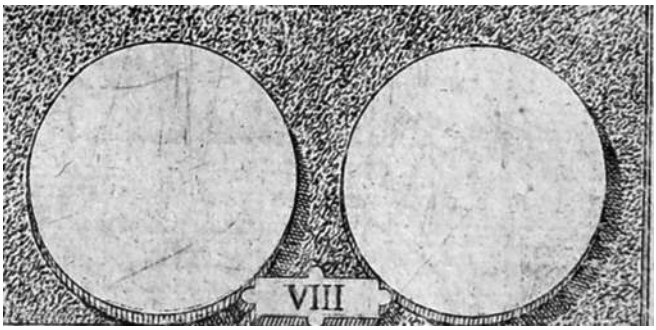


FIGURE 15.3 Goltzius, "Tabula XXIII: VIII, TEPINAIΩN" in *Sicilia et Magna Graecia* (1576), p. xxv

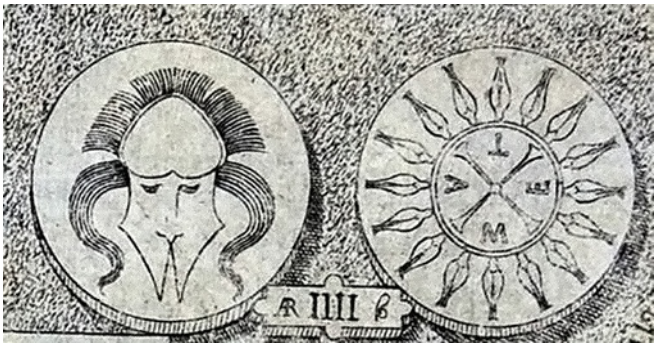


FIGURE 15.4 Goltzius, "Tabula XXXI: IIII, METAΠONTIΩN" in *Sicilia et Magna Graecia* (1576), p. xxxiii

The case of the Achaean city Caulon in particular illuminates Goltzius's working method. In the chapter on the city[67] Goltzius wrote that the Caulon coins he had examined featured the effigy of a beardless Zeus on the reverse, and on the obverse they showed the image of a deer grazing on a shrub called dittany (possibly evoking the Dikteon Cave).[68] He added that to his knowledge, the Cretans had used the reverse of the Caulon coin, which can be explained from the popularity of the mythographic tradition which brought the education of Zeus down to Crete. So, he continued, it seemed possible that "the Cretans first inhabited Caulon", and that Achaean colonists later expelled them. At the same time, in the *Tabulae*, Goltzius reproduced two

67 Goltzius (1576: 272–73).

68 *Tabula XXVIII*. Compare: Kraay & Hirmer (1966: Pl. 91); Head (1967: 94); Kraay (1976: 644–49); Rutter (2001: 164–66).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

(1)

(2)

(3)

(4)

(5)

FIGURE 15.5A Goltzius, "Tabulae XXVIII–XXIX: VII,VIII, I, X, II, III, KPOTΩNIATAN" in *Sicilia et Magna Graecia* (1576), pp. xxx–xxxi

silver *staters* with a male figure commonly identified nowadays as "Apollo Daphnephoros", "the Laurel Bearer" (or "Katharsios", "the Purifier"), holding a laurel purifying branch in his right hand (Fig. 15.6a). Goltzius, however, interpreted this branch as Zeus's bundle of lightning bolts. A comparison with examples that have survived to date clearly shows how, in his drawing, Goltzius transformed the original branches of Apollo into the lightning bolts of a beardless Zeus.[69] The reinterpretation was, nevertheless, the result of a criticism—albeit a rudimental one—of sources and of comparison of numismatic data, both with each other and with the literary tradition. After all, for the examples just mentioned, coin iconography was related to the characteristics and events of the city, just as it was for many others: Arethusa and the Sicilian tyrants for Syracuse; the ear of Metapontum for the fertility of the land and for

69 The cult of Zeus in Caulon, to which the coin type of the eagle is generally linked, is documented epigraphically: see Ampolo (2014: 123–24); Ampolo, Parra & Rosamilia (2014: VII–XI, 72–80).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

FIGURE 15.5B LRTB: ***1.*** Stater (430–370 BC). Obv.: Hera frontal. Rev.: Hercules, seated on rock covered with lion-skin; holding cup and club; below, bow. ***2.*** Stater (430–370 BC). Obv.: Hera frontal. Rev.: Hercules, seated on rock covered with lion-skin; holding cup; tripod, bow and club. ***3.*** Stater (400–375 BC). Obv.: Apollo. Rev.: Tripod, filleted branch. ***4.*** Stater (430–300 BC). Obv.: Hera wearing polos decorated with forepart of griffin and palmettes. Rev.: Hercules seated on rock covered with lion's skin; holds cap in extended r. hand and club in l.; below, bow. ***5.*** Stater (530–430 BC). Obv.: Tripod. Rev.: Tripod incuse. ***6.*** Stater (400–375 BC). Obv.: Apollo r. Rev.: Hercules, on cushions, strangling snakes

the tradition of Nestor's Pylians;[70] the head of Athena for the action of the Athenians in Thurii, and so forth.

Taking into account these considerations, Goltzius's reproductions can be defined as reliable on the whole, insofar as they correspond to original coins which can be retrieved and evaluated, albeit with possible personal reinterpretations and amendments, resulting from the ancient literary tradition or observation of the numismatic evidence. In addition to the care taken when reproducing types, we can also observe an almost philological attention to the symbols, legends, and division of the field where the exergue can often be clearly distinguished.

70 Strabo, *Geography* 6.1.15.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

(1)

(2)

FIGURE 15.6A
Goltzius, "Tabulae XXVIII: I–II, KAYΛΩNIATAN" in *Sicilia et Magna Graecia* (1576), p. xxx

(1)

(2)

FIGURE 15.6B Stater from Caulonia (530–470 BC). Obv.: Apollo Catharsius, holding lustral branch in right hand and running figure on outstreached left; to the right, stag on a base. Rev.: Stag, ranch

The big portrait coins of emperors that Goltzius had included in his first work (1557)[71] (Fig. 15.7) were a distant memory.[72] The work's iconographic index (133 portraits in the form of coin reproductions, with short biographies)

71 In 1557, Hubertus Goltzius published at his own expense *Imperatorum Imagines, a C. Iulio Caesare usque ad Carolum 5. et Ferdinandum eius fratrem* [...] for the publisher Gillis Coppens van Diest of Antwerp, who was to publish Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1570). The work was in Latin but was also translated and published in Italian, Tuscan, French, German, and Spanish, prepared for print by Goltzius himself who, in addition to writing the original in Latin and the German translation, personally did the drawings using original techniques, availing himself of the services of the engraver Joris or Joos Giet-Leughen, a painter from Courtrai, according to van Mander (2000: 237). It is supposed that the engraver prepared blocks of wood with the engravings of coins as dies (Fontaine Verwey 1972: 296). According to Dekesel (1988: 16–18, 19–21), Goltzius personally engraved the plates using techniques that were unknown at that time. It is likely that the front cover and medals were produced in several phases and using diverse techniques: the three shades of colour and the special *chiaroscuro* effect, listed as a characteristic of Goltzius's engraving, were obtained thanks to several wooden, and possibly also metal, dies. The extreme detail in the engraving, mixed techniques and overlapping of colour lend the reproductions a portrait effect.

72 Preceded by Huttichius and contemporary to Panvinius (see above, n. 59).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

.v.
NON EODEM MODO A PVLICE ET FERA
BELVA CAVERI OPORTET.
TI · CLAVDIVS · CAESAR · AVG · P · M · TR · P · IMP · P · P
Anno ætatis .lx., Imperij .xiiii. toxico ſublatus eſt.

FIGURE 15.7 Goltzius's portrait of Emperor Claudius in *Vivae omnium fere imperatorum imagines* (Antwerp: Gilies Coppents van Dienst, 1557), p. v

covered emperors from Julius Caesar to Charles V and Ferdinand I of Habsburg. The emperors' heads were enlarged and inserted into large coin planchets topped off by a *sententia* referring to the figure's distinctive features. Using innovative, realistic, *chiaroscuro* artistic techniques, the representations emphasised the physiognomy of the individual faces, with realistic characteristics, so as to attract the reader's attention. The iconographies thus expressed the forceful representation of imperial power in an emblematic form, from ancient Rome through to the present day. This method was also reflected in Ortelius's work on numismatics, published in 1573 under the title *Deorum dearumque capita ex antiquis numismatibus collecta* and based on the portrait images of ancient divinities, without any scientific aim or attention to the ancient finds

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

per se.[73] Ortelius's friend Philip Galle had reproduced anthropomorphic iconographies of divinities in this work, which he took both from ancient coins from Ortelius's collection,[74] and from images of different origins, such as the drawing of the Egyptian god Canopus, which, Ortelius recorded, had been drawn *ex tabula hieroglyphica Petri Bembi*, probably referring to the *Tabula Bembina*.[75]

In his work on Greek coinage, discussed here, Goltzius changed his approach: he distanced himself from the idea of the portrait coin. His criteria had become more precise and, if I may say so, scholarly. The progressive transformation of Goltzius's methodological perspective reached its full maturity in his work on Western Hellenism, as I hope to have shown here: he evaluated coins and categories with regard to their technical and iconographical specificities; he published coins that were not primarily interesting for their portraits, often coins that were highly similar, and added comparisons with the historical and literary tradition. However, for Goltzius, as a *historicus* and *totius antiquitatis restaurator*, ancient writings remained the primary source of knowledge of the past, widely paraphrased and recalled, often with specific citations of authors. References to numismatic data, when present, are sporadic and are not systematically integrated into the narratives of the historical chapters which form the core of the work.

Ex antiquitatis arcanis memoriam restitui ("I retrieved memory from the secret places of antiquity"): this expression aptly summarises Goltzius's commitment and aims. With his Greek work, he aimed to "bring back to light and life many cities that were once quite famous" (*in lucem et vitam revocare tot urbes olim nobilissimas*), saving a world otherwise destined to disappear from view forever. In the European *respublica litterarum* which Goltzius felt he represented, the retrieval of the ancient past, *antiquitatis memoria*, was often

73 Examples of the genre represented by the work can be found in Italy (Vincenzo Cartari) and in France (Guillaume du Choul): see Dekesel (1988: 182). The Roman coins dating from the republican and imperial ages belonged to Ortelius's personal collection, while the reproductions belonged to his friend and engraver Philip Galle. The work is dedicated to the humanist Johannes Sambucus, also a friend of Goltzius and author of the work *Emblemata* (1564), who was employed at the Habsburg court in Austria. Ortelius entitled each reproduction occupying a page with a theonym, a reproduction of the head of ancient divinities featured inside a coin planchet. This was followed by information and traditions related to the divinity depicted and mention of ancient sources. The work ended with the seal of ecclesiastical approval, a guarantee of substantial innocuousness for religious orthodoxy.

74 Wrede (2013: 95).

75 For the *Tabula Bembina* or *Mensa Isiaca*, see Westcott (1887) and Leospo (1978).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

contrasted with the decline of time, the *temporis ruina* or *iniuria temporum.*[76] Goltzius studied ancient Greece and Rome as a contrast to and inspiration of what to strive for, in the contemporary climate. He made optimal use of literary and numismatic sources, bringing to light the ancient world on the basis of ancient material, subsequently voicing his own opinion regarding the indications, teachings, and events of the past that were comparable with, and useful to, the present day.

5 Conclusion: Hellenism and Irenicism

Officially a Catholic,[77] Goltzius, just like the Laurin brothers, showed himself to be in favour of reconciliation with the Reformists, who also featured among the Bruges-based circle of his *Officina*. The guiding value shared by all was *virtus*—individual virtue and value—modelled on ancient examples: indeed, *aeterna virtus* and *virtus in arduo* were the Laurin brothers' mottoes.[78] The perspective was universal and irenic, shared by humanists and scholars of antiquity, citizens of an ideal "tolerant and interdenominational" republic in a barrier-free Europe where they tirelessly travelled around in order to view, gather, exchange, and reproduce ancient finds and documents.[79] This was a Europe whose unquestionable points of reference for culture and art were in Rome and in Italy. Ortelius, Philip II's leading printmaker, constantly travelled around Europe in search of geographical maps, manuscripts, ancient coins, and other finds; Plantin, the leading printmaker at the Spanish court, had commissions throughout Europe; Goltzius, during his most famous

76 From *Sicilia et Magna Graecia: Epistola dedicatoria* to Philip II, *Praefatio ad Laurinum* (c3, c4); from *Thesaurus*: dedication for Marc Függer.

77 See below, n. 85.

78 Marc Laurin was also known for his bookbinding, with geometrical leather designs with the wording M. LAURINI ET AMICORUM embossed on the cover and the motto *virtus in arduo* (Foot 1978: 222–27) on the back. The Laurin brothers dedicated two ornamental designs for Ortelius's *Album amicorum* in 1574, the same year of Goltzius's dedication, apparently visiting Bruges at that time (Ortelius 1969a: Marc Laurin, 28, fol. 23^{r}; Guy Laurin, 29, fol. 25^{r}; Hubert Goltzius 34, fols. 35^{v}–36^{r}). The relationship with Ortelius is recalled in the designs with the dedication (*D. Abrahamo Ortelio φιλιαι μνημοσινου* [sic] [Marc]; *Abrahamo Ortelio Hisp. Reg. Geographo amicitiae symbolon scribebat* [Guy]). The motto is in the central medallion surrounded by laurel: *Virtus in arduo* (Marc) and *Aeterna virtus* (Guy), almost a presage of the difficulties to come. A few years later, between 1578 and 1584, the Laurin brothers were forced to flee once the Protestant municipality was established in Bruges and they lost their home (*Laurocorinthius*) and assets. Marc subsequently died in Calais.

79 Cf. Canfora (2002: 73).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

trips—the first (1556) and the second (1558–1560)—traversed Europe, including Italy as far as Naples. This ongoing movement of scholars sharing a passion for the classical world, mutual interests, and business contrasted with the tragic religious wars that had developed between France and Spain in that specific period of history,[80] with the support of the Holy See against the revolting Reformers. Goltzius, who dedicated his work on "Greek Italy" to Philip II at an especially difficult time for the king, chose a less traditional topic that was more in line with the sensitivity of humanists, both Reformists and reconciliatory Catholics, and was moreover in keeping with the intellectual circles of Florence and Venice, where Greek language and culture carried great importance and ideological value. In Catholic Bruges of the second half of the century—the city that Erasmus had loved and spent time in, often staying with the Laurin family[81]—Goltzius had to profess the Catholic faith,[82] but, with Laurin's approval, he welcomed Catholic and Reformist humanists alike into the *Officina Goltziana*, e.g. the *thypothecarii* Nansius (1525–1595), Raevardus (1534–1568), and the above-mentioned Meetkercke. In line with this approach to confessional diversity, it seems that he possibly also authorised the printing of a pamphlet against an intransigent Catholic priest preaching in the city (Brother Cornelis) in a volume containing a translation of a blacklisted text into Dutch.[83] Goltzius, who was anti-extremist, has been defined as "crypto-Calvinist"[84] but also as a Catholic, close to the position of the Cassandrists[85] insofar as he was a supporter of the teachings of Cassander, together with Laurin. The two statements are not mutually exclusive. As I said above, George Cassander had been a teacher of theology and literature in Bruges until 1549.[86]

80 In a letter of 1595, a French friend of Ortelius complained about the serious problems with reciprocal communication and exchange of documents "a cause des dangers des chemins et la guerre qui entre vostre pays et le nostre […]", an unacceptable cause of division (Ortelius 1969b: no. 279, 1–2).

81 Napolitano (2012: 69), with previous bibliography.

82 In order to open the *Officina Goltziana* in Bruges Goltzius had to provide guarantees of religious orthodoxy to the local municipality which indeed in 1561 certified his Catholic faith, approving citizenship for the following year and final consent for his publishing (1562): Weale (1866–70: 257) lists the wording of the decree from the Municipal Archives of Bruges; see also Le Loup (1983: 12, 90–91).

83 [Goltzius] (1569). The volume is considered to have been printed in Bruges. The publisher is not listed, but it is assumed to be Hubertus Goltzius, asserted by Fontaine Verwey (1972: 302–04); Le Loup (1983: 98–99).

84 Dekesel (2005: 263).

85 Fontaine Verwey (1972: 302–03); Mangani (2006: 20–21, 101, 237).

86 Cassander sided against the excesses of both Reformists and the Catholic Church. The emperor and some German princes supported his stance, with a view to reconciling contrasts (Remer 1996: 104–06).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

A Catholic, he had theorised the reconciliation of the two faiths, a project that was similar in many ways to that of Erasmus and close to the Familist pacification stance, but nonetheless unpopular with the city's intransigent Catholics.

Interest in the Greek world and the embracing of Hellenism in Goltzius's *Officina* resulted in the search for and examination of manuscripts, publication of classics, study of the Greek language, and classification of numismatic finds, and comparison of these with literary sources, used for historical reconstruction. Knowledge of the Greek past helped in the formulation of models to interpret and understand the present. For example, in *Sicilia et Magna Graecia*, in his dedication to Philip II and in the chapter entitled *De coloniis Graecorum*,[87] Goltzius examined the constant movement of populations over the ages, starting with the colonies in ancient times, their changing areas of settlement and denominations in a never-ending osmosis which mixes bloodlines and cultures, preventing bloodlines from remaining intact and "pure". A contemporary example of such movement, in keeping with the work's encomiastic intent, could be found in the king of Spain's dispatch of men to the New World and the Indies in order to quash conflicts and promote loyalty and respect for sovereign authority. Another example used by Goltzius is the Jewish diaspora, with the Jews symbolising human dispersion throughout the world's most disparate regions.

Actively involved in the cultural and political and religious life of Bruges, constantly interacting with Antwerp, Leiden, and other Italian and European centres of culture and learning, and maintaining relations with the leading figures of the Catholic, Protestant, and anti-Spanish world,[88] a protector of Catholic, Protestant, and Reformist intellectuals, Goltzius showed his openness to the prospect of reconciliation of religions, along with his dearest *amici*: Ortelius, the cartographer, secretly involved in the "Family of Love" sect promoting the reconciliation of religions, a supporter of Reformist and persecuted humanists;[89] Plantin, publisher of the *Biblia Polyglotta*; Laurin, the Catholic and Erasmus-style humanist;[90] and also Dousa, the fiercely anti-Spanish

87 Goltzius (1576: C2, 325).

88 Among others: Jacobus Susius in Malines; Lamoral, count of Egmont in Brussels; William of Nassau, prince of Orange, in Breda (1556); Sebastian Münster in Basel; prince-elector Otho Henricus; a Lutheran in Heidelberg; the members of Manutius's philhellenic circle in Venice; and the Medici's circle in Florence: list and bibliography in Napolitano (2012: 103–22).

89 See above, n. 3.

90 The depth of relations between Laurin and Ortelius is also documented by a dedication to Marc Laurin, lord of Watervliet, in 1564, of Ortelius's cordiform map projection of the world. The map falls into the list of heart-shaped representations of the *orbis terrarum* (one of these, a dual cordiform projection, was also produced by Mercator, Ortelius's

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

FIGURE 15.8
Goltzius's inscription in the *Album amicorum* of Janus Dousa (1545–1604) (Bruges, 1576). Leiden University Library, BPL 1406, fol. 94r

Leiden scholar, philologist, and historian. In Janus Dousa's *Album amicorum*, in Bruges (1576), Goltzius penned a dedication to his friend: *mnemosynon amicitiae*, memory of a friendship, *numquam moritura*, destined never to die (Fig. 15.8).[91]

In 1569, the duke of Alba ordered a search of the *Officina Goltziana*, and the business ended a few years later. Following the advent of the Protestant municipality in the city (1578), the anti-Catholic reprisal was to upset the city's confessional equilibrium, causing many leading figures, including the Laurin brothers, to flee and go into exile. The experience of the *Officina Goltziana* was to come to an end in 1578, and as a result Goltzius's desire to complete his major work focusing on ancient Greece ran aground.

---

teacher, in 1538), the result of a geometric construction but also emblematic of mutual spiritual and religious values: the heart is the throbbing centre of the universe and the world complies with divine inspiration (Mangani 2006: 247–74). As regards relations between Ortelius and the Laurin brothers, see also Napolitano (2012: 70–73).

91 The *Album* can be consulted in digital format on the University of Leiden website (<socrates.leidenuniv.nl>). Goltzius's dedication corresponds to fol. 94r and dates from December 1576, as do the other dedications of Bruges-born authors (V. Giselinus, fol. 29v; M. Laurinus, fol. 32v; F. Modius, fol. 38r; J. Cruquius, fol. 39r).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Humanist Greek and the Reformation

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

CHAPTER 16

Graecia transvolavit Alpes: Humanist Greek Writing in Germany (15th–17th Centuries) Through the Eyes of Georg Lizel (1694–1761)

Stefan Weise

The early modern practice of writing in ancient Greek which originated in Italy at the end of the fifteenth century,[1] rapidly crossed the Alps and spread throughout Northern Europe, where it was introduced by Johannes Reuchlin (1455–1522)[2] and Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466/1467/1469–1536).[3] It was soon to be promoted intensively by Protestant humanists,[4] especially Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560),[5] Joachim Camerarius (1500–1574),[6] Michael Neander (1525–1595)[7] and Martin Crusius (1526–1607).[8] These scholars argued that, since Greek had been chosen by God for the New Testament, it was the only language granting direct access to the original text (*ad fontes*). They also argued that Greek is essential for learning Latin and has a civilizatory effect at that.[9] After Greek had been established at Lutheran schools and universities, the number of major works written in the ancient language increased after the 1540s. The popularity of Greek writing seems to have peaked around 1600, when the three most prominent Greek poets of the time published their poems:[10]

1 An excellent survey of Greek literature in Italy is presented by Pontani (2017).

2 For Greek poems by Reuchlin, see Rhein (1989: 70–79) and Dörner (2013: 596–97).

3 For Greek poems by Erasmus, see Vredeveld (2008: 733, 736–37).

4 For the confessional view of Greek, see esp. Ben-Tov (2009).

5 For Stefan Rhein's edition of his Greek poems, with a commentary, see Melanchton (1987), For Melanchthon's influence on his pupils in Greek versification, see Rhein (2017). See also Ben-Tov (2009: 135–48).

6 For Camerarius's Greek poetry, see the edition of Mundt, Schäfer & Orth (2004); *VL16*: I, 425–38 (431); Weise (2016: 155).

7 See *VL16*: IV, 585–96 (588, 590).

8 Ludwig (2017: 125–31). Cf. Wendebourg (1986: *passim*, esp. 47–52); Ludwig (1998: 28–82); Ben-Tov (2009: 150–57); *VL16*: II, 58–63 (60–61).

9 See in more detail Ben-Tov (2009: 133–58) discussing texts by Melanchthon, Michael Neander, and Martin Crusius. Luther especially recommended Greek and Hebrew as necessary to understand the Bible in his memorandum *An die Rathherren aller Städte deutsches Lands* (1524). See Luther (1899: 27–53, esp. 36–43). For Luther's changing attitudes towards the *studia humanitatis*, see also Mennecke-Haustein (2001).

10 See Ludwig (2017).

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2020 | DOI:10.1163/9789004402461_018
Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Martin Crusius, Lorenz Rhodoman (1546–1606)[11] and Nicolaus Reusner (1545–1602).[12] Walther Ludwig has previously argued that this climax was connected to Protestant hopes of uniting with the Orthodox Church and of incorporating Greece into the Holy Roman Empire.[13] But notwithstanding its popularity in the Renaissance, towards the middle of the eighteenth century, Greek, like Latin, gave way to the vernacular.[14]

As a cultural crisis often comes with attempts to gather what is perceived of as being in danger, the most detailed overview of Greek writing produced in Germany from the Renaissance onwards dates to the early decades of the eighteenth century. I am referring to the *Historia poetarum Graecorum Germaniae a renatis literis ad nostra usque tempora ubi eorum vitae, poemata et in priscos poetas Graecos merita recensentur*, published in 1730 by the Baroque scholar Georg Lizel (1694–1761). In this chapter, I will take Lizel's discussion of Greek poetry in Germany as a starting point to gain a clearer image of the uses of ancient Greek in the German Lands from the sixteenth to the beginning of the eighteenth century.[15] Apart from examining how Lizel's work can help us to better understand the phenomenon, I will also discuss how the author organised his material. As such, this chapter will present a brief introduction to Germany's "ancient Greek" literature in early modern times before concluding with an outline of future research perspectives.[16]

---

11 Ludwig (2017: 131–37). For Rhodoman's Greek poetry, see further *VL16*: V, 300–310; Gärtner (2017); Ludwig (1998: 56); Ludwig (2014).

12 Ludwig (2017: 137–41). See also Ludwig (1998: 55); *VL16*: V, 261; Weise (2016: 144, 153–54).

13 See Ludwig (2017). Cf. Paulsen (1885: 252). Greek scholars and émigrés also revived Greek literature in the context of liberating Greece from the Ottoman Turks, if we only recall Musurus's *Ode to Plato* or Antonius Eparchus's letter to Melanchthon. Cf. Benz (1971: 4–33); Wendebourg (1986: 21).

14 For the different reasons, see Stroh (2007: 228–48); Korenjak (2016: 89–92). There seems to be a gap between Lizel and the revival of Greek writing at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries. Cf. Ludwig (1998: 59). As *VD18* is not yet as comprehensive as *VD16* and 17, I could only find one collection of Greek poems in the second half of the eighteenth century. There are certainly more, but it is significant that they are difficult to find. The collection mentioned, written by Renatus Karl von Senkenberg, is entitled *Polydori Nemeaei, Carmina varia selecta, Latina et Graeca* (1785) (*VD18* 1161000X). Johann Just von Einem, who followed shortly after Lizel and depended on his work, published an even more complete list of Greek poets from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century. He integrated not only German poets but also foreigners and, therefore, starts from Chrysoloras. See Einem (1736).

15 Cf. Ludwig (1998: 53).

16 There are different terms used in recent papers. Some prefer "Neualtgriechisch" (to include literature after 1800) (Weise 2011 and Weise 2016); others prefer "Humanistengriechisch"

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

1 Status Quaestionis

Since the late 1980s, humanist Greek writing has received increasing attention, whereas before then, it was approached with reservation, if it was not completely neglected.[17] On the academic level, two scholars in particular intiated new research into humanist Greek literature in Germany: Dieter Harlfinger in his *Graecogermania* (1989) and Walther Ludwig in his *Hellas in Deutschland* (1998).[18] We may add also the monumental catalogue *'Εν Βασιλείᾳ πόλει τῆς Γερμανίας—Griechischer Geist aus Basler Pressen* (1992) by Frank Hieronymus. These works revived and focused biographical research and the history of classical studies which had started in the nineteenth century. Lizel's *Historia* is an important document in this history.

Although Gottlieb Jöcher mentioned Lizel's *Historia* in his *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon* (1750–1751), it was for the most part forgotten.[19] References to Greek poetry by humanist scholars in general were later included in many of the biographies in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*,[20] and Melanchthon's Greek pieces were even published in the *Corpus reformatorum*. From the last decade of the nineteenth century onwards, humanist Greek poetry became increasingly more prominent in scholarship. Even though Conrad Bursian omitted Lizel from his *Geschichte der classischen Philologie in Deutschland* (1883), he does show general awareness of Greek writing in the Renaissance.[21] Concerning Lorenz Rhodoman, probably the most famous of the humanist Greek *Dichterphilologen*, Bursian for instance observes:

(Päll 2010 with reference to Roberto Weiss). In English literature, the term "Neo-Greek" has also been used (Johnson 2006: 208).

17 For opposition against humanist poetry (esp. Neo-Latin) in general and the reasons for this resistence, see Hess (1979). Cf. also Rhein (1989: 51–52); Kühlmann & Wiegand (1993: 157).

18 Also relevant is the doctoral thesis by Stefan Rhein about Philipp Melanchthon's Greek poems (Rhein 1987) and Dorothea Wendebourg's volume *Reformation und Orthodoxie* (Wendebourg 1986).

19 An exception is Kinderling (1792: 27–41).

20 See, for example, *ADB*: IV, 633–34 (634) for Martin Crusius; *ADB*: XI, 715–18 (716) for Christoph Helwig; *ADB*: XVIII, 58f. (58) for Johann Lauremberg; *ADB*: XXIII, 295 for Antonius Niger; *ADB*: XXI, 21, 183–85 (184) for Hieronymus Megiser; *ADB*: XXIII, 341–45 (343–44) for Michael Neander; *ADB*: XXVI, 460–61 (461) for Johannes Posselius; *ADB*: XXVI, 447–49 (448) for Aemilius Portus; *ADB*: XXVIII, 698–701 (700) for Conrad Rittershausen; *ADB*: XXXI, 253–55 (255) for Christoph Schilling; *ADB*: XXXII, 27–28 (27) for Erasmus Schmid; *ADB*: XXXIV, 642 for Christoph Sonntag; *ADB*: XL, 391–92 (392) for Justus Vultejus.

21 For Bursian, see also Ludwig (1998: 7–9).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

> Er war einer der fruchtbarsten und gewandtesten griechischen Dichter der Neuzeit, wie seine sehr zahlreichen griechischen Gedichte beweisen, in denen er theils moderne, theils antike mythische Stoffe zwar ohne eigentlich poetischen Geist, aber mit großer Fertigkeit in der Handhabung der Form, besonders der Sprache der späteren griechischen Epiker, die er mit Vorliebe studirte, behandelt.[22]
>
> He was one of the most productive and skillful Greek poets of modern times, as is proved by his very numerous Greek poems, in which he treats partly modern, partly ancient mythological themes, not with real poetic spirit, but with great ability in handling the form, especially the language of later Greek epicists, whom he used to study with predilection.

Although Bursian shows some caution with regard to the poetic value of Rhodoman's work, his discussion apparently relied on personal reading and offers more detailed information than previous scholars.[23] Not long before Bursian published his *Geschichte*, in the middle of the nineteenth century, a complete German translation of one of Rhodoman's poems had already appeared in the *Schulprogramm* of the *Pädagogium* at Ilfeld, where the poet had himself learnt Greek under the guidance of Michael Neander.[24]

After Jöcher, Friedrich Paulsen refers directly to Lizel when he recalls Rhodoman in his *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts* (1885), presenting a small overview with special regard to the praxis in teaching.[25] Friedrich August Eckstein, who published a *Nomenclator philologorum* (1871) and contributed to the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, also cites Lizel in his *Lateinischer und griechischer Unterricht* (1887).[26]

Before World War II, the interest in modern Greek writing peaked in a collection of nineteenth-century German translations into Greek by Eberhard Richtsteig (1892–1962). This collection is of special interest to our present purpose since Richtsteig not only tries to demonstrate the historical and intellectual contexts of these translations but also points out some affiliations between teachers and their pupils. Lizel is also mentioned in this volume.[27]

22 Bursian (1883: 235).

23 Cf. Hess (1979: 512).

24 See Volckmar (1854). For Rhodoman, see also Kinderling (1792: 31–36). A detailed biography of Rhodoman is also in Klippel (1853: 207–25).

25 See Paulsen (1885: 251–57).

26 See Eckstein (1887: 487 n. 1).

27 Richtsteig (1927: 9).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

After World War II, Richtsteig's studies were continued in several articles by Karl-Ludwig Weitzel (1911–1996), who published his contributions in the periodical *Alindethra*.

Finally, Walther Ludwig uses Lizel's *Historia* more extensively in *Hellas in Deutschland*, where he presents a short survey of Greek writing within a European context and states that Lizel's volume is "excellent and still unreplaced".[28] Lizel's importance for literary studies is now also recognised in Wilhelm Kühlmann's *Literaturwissenschaftliches Verfasserlexikon* (*VL16*). And most recently, since the 2000s, an increasing number of excellent studies in English about various aspects of German early modern Hellenism (Johnson 2006; Ben-Tov 2009; Päll 2017b) have appeared.

2 Short Biographical Sketch of Georg Lizel[29]

Before we start analysing Lizel's work, it is important to briefly introduce him since he is not commonly known today. Georg Lizel was born in 1694 in Ulm. He studied philosophy, theology and poetry at Strasbourg, where he first published his text, *Das doppelte Jubelfest der teutschen Poesie*, which is a rhymed speech for the bicentenary of the Reformation in 1717. Shortly afterwards, in 1721,[30] he was crowned poet laureate and promoted to the rank of *magister*. He started a Greek translation of Virgil's whole *Aeneid*, which he however never published entirely although he used his translation in his *Historia*, where he refers to it as a work of an anonymous author.[31] The following lines, a translation of *Aeneid* 3, 655–9 that appeared in the *Historia* (p. 328), offer an impression of Lizel's Greek writing:

> Vix ea fatus erat summo cum monte videmus
> ipsum inter pecudes vasta se mole moventem
> pastorem Polyphemum et litora nota petentem,
> monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum.
> trunca manum pinus regit et vestigia firmat.

28 See Ludwig (1998: 53).

29 For Lizel's biography, see esp. Milster (1826) and *ADB s.v.* "Lizel, Georg" (22–23).

30 Cf. Flood (2006: III, 1159–9).

31 See Lizel (1814). Milster (1826: 14) also mentions other poems in Greek by Lizel; however, these seem to be lost.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Ταῦτα μόγις προσέειφ' ὅταν εἴδομεν ἐκ ῥίου ἄκρου
Εἰν ὀΐεσσιν ἑῇσι μέγαν μεγαλωστὶ βιβάντα
Ποιμένα τὸν Πολύφημον ἐφ' ὕδωρ γνωστὸν ἰόντα·
Σμερδαλέον τέρας, ἀλλόκοτον, μέγ' ἀφώτιστόν τε·
Χεῖρα πίτυς κολόβη στέλλει, ἴχνη τε βεβαιοῖ.[32]

When he had finished his Greek translation of the *Aeneid*, Lizel set out for a visit to the universities of Leipzig, Jena, Halle, Wittenberg, Altdorf, and Tübingen.[33] In Jena, he became member of the "Deutsche Gesellschaft" and published several writings about German poetry, and also his *Historia*. In 1732,[34] he returned to Ulm, and after a short period as pastor in Steinenkirch, he was offered a position as conrector of the Gymnasium at Speyer, where he remained until his death in 1761.

Besides his works about German literary history and poetry, which were inspired by Gottlieb Stolle (1673–1744) at Jena,[35] he was especially interested in German *Alterthümer* ("antiquities"). This predilection led him to publish some antiquarian writings on topics such as Roman urns, a Roman fort, a Jewish gravestone, and the synagogue at Speyer.[36] Furthermore, he had strong reservations about Catholics; thus, he signed some of his minor treatises with "in museo Trutzpfaff".[37]

32 There is one Homeric echo: μέγαν μεγαλωστί (Homer, *Iliad* 16.776). ἄφωτιστος is used in poetry by Nonnus (*Dionysiaca* 6.91). However, κολοβός (note the accent) and βεβαιοῦν are prosaic words. Also, we may note that ὅταν is used with indicative, which is typical in humanist Greek writing (cf. e.g. Weise 2017b: 96, 154). For comparison, we add the Greek translation by Eugenius Bulgaris from 1791 (accents slightly adapted): Οὔπω πᾶν εἴρητο ἔπος, καὶ δὴ ἀπὸ οὔρεος ἄκρου | Ἠνὶ μὶν ἐν πώεσσ' αἰνὸν σοβέοντα ὁρῶμεν, | Ποιμενικὸν Πολύφημον, ἰόντ' ἀκτάς δε [= ἀκτάσδε] συνήθεις. | Φρικτὸν δή τι πέλωρ, μέγ', ἄμορφόν τ', ἠδ' ἀλαωπόν. | Τοῦ κορμὸς πίτυος χεῖρ' ἦγεν, ἔρειδέ τε ἴχνος (see Bulgaris 1791: 253).

33 We know two entries by Lizel from that time in the *album amicorum* of Johann Michael Frick (HAAB, MS Stb 107, p. 181) and Tobias Roschmann (HAAB, MS Stb 23, p. 81). Both *alba* have been digitised and are available online via the digital collection of the Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek (Weimar).

34 Dates differ between Milster (1732) and *ADB* (1734). I follow Milster, who presumably had better access to biographical sources.

35 For Stolle, see *ADB*: XXXVI, *s.v.* "Stolle, Gottlieb" (408–09).

36 Cf. Milster (1826: 15).

37 See *ADB*: IXX, *s.v.* "Lizel, Georg" (23).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

3 General Principles, Predecessors, and Sources of Lizel's *Historia*

With his interests in literary history and antiquities, Lizel is a typical representative of Baroque polyhistorism and philology. We may recall, for example, Johann Albert Fabricius's monumental *Bibliotheca Graeca* (1705–1728).[38] In many ways, however, Lizel's *Historia* is also a work that sits at the crossroads of two eras. Lizel himself observed that the interest in Greek and Greek studies was in decay in his own time. He complains: *Nostro quidem tempore rariora sunt reddita, incertum qua de caussa, expeditorum in Graeca literatura hominum exempla* ("In our time, for some reason, examples of men trained in Greek literature have become increasingly rare").[39] This is only partly true: Greek studies continued to flourish in the eighteenth century, even though they were no longer synonymous with great learning.[40] Acknowledgements of erudition now also included vernacular culture.

This trend is apparent in Lizel's *Historia*, which cites and integrates many vernacular sources in the otherwise Latin text, making it a rather "postmodern" mixture of languages.[41] As a passionate collector, Lizel eagerly noted down his sources, indicating where he was in doubt or lacked specific knowledge. This careful treatment of sources is what makes his work so valuable today, even if it is not free of errors.

At the same time, Lizel's book is not exactly what we might expect a literary history to be today. Even though Lizel had mastered the Latin style and knew how to vary his expressions (especially in indicating dates) and entertain his readers, his *Historia* in fact boils down to a mere list of authors who are presented in chronological order by their dates of birth (for the most part) with concise bio-bibliographical accounts for each one.[42] The reason for this discrepancy with modern literary history is that, as a genre, *historia literaria* or *Litterärgeschichte* was not yet conceived in a historical sense but rather was viewed as an extensive collection of learning.[43] Lizel, therefore, situates

38 See Bursian (1883: 360–72); Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1927: 33–34, 41–42).

39 Lizel (1730: 312). Cf. Lizel (1730: 261, 272–73, 307).

40 Cf. Pfeiffer (1982: 178, 203).

41 Lizel also has some other features in common with postmodern writings, such as his practice of citing himself as "Anonymus" in his own book.

42 For an eighteenth-century special interest in literary history, cf. Bursian (1883: 357–69). See also IJsewijn & Sacré (1998: 197–99) about Neo-Latin literary history as a specific scholarly genre.

43 For Baroque *Historia Literaria*, see esp. Gierl (2007: 467): "Die H. L. sollte Inhalt, Literatur und Geschichte der gelehrten Disziplinen vermitteln, zugleich aber auch Auskunft über gelehrte Institutionen (wie Gelehrtengesellschaften und insbes. Bibliotheken) geben. Sie war als großes Orientierungsorgan der sich im 17. Jh. zur Gelehrtenrepublik

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

his *Historia poetica* as part of the *Historia literaria* at the beginning of his *Prolegomena*.

To get an idea of Lizel's work and working method, let us first take a closer look at his selection of authors and the way he discusses them. Lizel starts with Johannes Reuchlin and concludes in his own time with Johann Theophil Walz, a so far unknown student at Tübingen who recited a polyglottic speech in front of the university's auditory in 1728.[44] Altogether, Lizel compiles an impressive list of 145 scholars (see Appendix 1), which clearly demonstrates the breadth of Greek writing from the fifteenth- until the first half of the eighteenth century in Germany. To Lizel's list, we can even add other authors of Greek[45] including Conrad Celtis,[46] Beatus Rhenanus, Johannes Clajus the Elder,[47] Friedrich Sylburg,[48] Martin Engelbrecht (see *VD16* ZV 23970), Lampert Alard, Sebastian Mitternacht, Michael Wurzler, and David Bürger.[49] Apart from listing names and works, Lizel also tries to evaluate the authors and their Greek writings. He does so directly and indirectly. Directly, by inserting explicit judgements about the style and content of the poems. Indirectly, by treating some authors more extensively than others: the more intensively he treats an author, the more valuable and well-known the work appears to be. There are many authors whom Lizel knows only by a single book or a reference in other commentaries. These authors are only mentioned and discussed in half a page for the most part. Based on the space devoted to each author, Lizel apparently regards the following as the most important (in order of appearance in Lizel's work): Johannes Reuchlin (with 13 pages of discussion), Philipp Melanchthon

entwickelnden Gelehrsamkeit gedacht". For the development and problems of literary history in the modern sense, see Fohrmann (1993); IJsewijn & Sacré (1998: 198); Stockhorst (2008).

44 For Walz, see Lizel (1730: 330–33). In addition to Greek, the speech contained Latin, Hebrew, Chaldean, Samarian, Arabic, Ethiopian, Syrian, and German parts. The invitation by Johann Christian Klemm is preserved at the University Library of Tübingen. It is available online in the *Digitalisierte Bestände der Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen* (<idb.ub.uni-tuebingen.de>): Johannes Christianus Klemm, *S. Theologiae Professor Extraordinarius, Linguae Graecae, & Orientalium Ord. L. S. a S* (Tübingen, [1728]).

45 Lizel says in the *Prolegomena* that he did not include everybody but made a selection regarding quantity and quality: *Plures etiam data opera omisi, quorum unius aut duorum tantum distichorum copia videndi mihi data est, et de quibus dubitavi, an alia adhuc et plura scripserint. Eo modo evitavi derisiones, quibus ii digni sunt, qui ob unum vel duo disticha quendam inter Poëtas referent*. See Lizel (1730: Prol. § XV).

46 For Greek epigrams by Celtis, see Harlfinger (1989: 303) and Weise (2016: 118).

47 See Neuendorf (2017).

48 See Flogaus (2015a).

49 For Alard, Mitternacht, Wurzler and Bürger, see Hederich (1702: 15–16) and Päll (2017b: 352–56).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

(12 pages), Joachim Camerarius (10 pages), Paul Dolscius (10 pages),[50] Michael Neander (6 pages), Martin Crusius (12 pages), Johannes Posselius (6 pages),[51] Nicodemus Frischlin (20 pages),[52] Lorenz Rhodoman (20 pages), Johannes Caselius (8 pages),[53] Erasmus Schmid (7 pages), Johann Gottfried Herrichen (14 pages),[54] and Conrad Samuel Schurzfleisch (7 pages).[55]

Indeed, these authors were generally known already as Greek poets or at least propagators of Greek studies in Germany and certainly are to be reckoned among the most prominent ones.[56] Johannes Reuchlin considered himself to be the first one to have transferred knowledge of Greek to Germany.[57] Later authors accepted and spread that view. Beginning with the Byzantine émigrés, Lorenz Rhodoman, for example, first names Reuchlin together with Erasmus of Rotterdam in his academic speech *De lingua Graeca* (1605) before mentioning Petrus Mosellanus, Richard Croke, Joachim Camerarius, and Philipp Melanchthon; finally he adds Melanchthon's pupils David Chytraeus[58] and Michael Neander, both of whom were his own teachers in Greek.[59] Rhodomon's speech, however, seems to have been unknown to Lizel. In addition, there are the volumes of Franciscus Irenicus (1518), Martin Crusius (1585), and Johann Caspar Löscher (1697), which Walther Ludwig discussed in detail in *Hellas in Deutschland*. From these, Lizel only knew Crusius's volume.[60] In 1663, Johann Conrad Dieterich published an academic programme, entitled *Propagatio Graecarum literarum et Poeseos per Germaniam a Triumviris literariis Michaele Neandro, Martino Crusio et Laurentio Rhodomanno instituta* (Gießen 1663 = *VD17* 14:019401D).[61] Some poets, especially Johannes Posselius, were even included in different school curricula.[62] Shortly before Lizel's

50 For Dolscius, see Ludwig (1998: 56); Weise (2011: 404–05); Flogaus (2015b); Rhein (2017: 36–37).

51 For Posselius, see *VL16*: V, 133–35; Weise (2011: 403–04); Weise (2016: 129–30); and esp. Johnson (2006).

52 See *VL16*: II, 460–77; Weise (2016: 144).

53 See *VL16*: I, 478–98 (esp. 484 for his Greek poems).

54 For Herrichen as Greek poet, see Weise (2017a).

55 See Ludwig (1998: 59); Weise (2016: 137f.).

56 Numerically speaking, we only miss Nicolaus Reusner, to whom Lizel dedicates just 4 pages. For Reusner's poetic achievements in Greek, see Ludwig (1998: 55 and esp. 2017: 137–41); cf. also *VL16*: V, 261; Weise (2016: 144, 153–54).

57 Cf. Weise (2016: 117 n. 16 with further bibliography).

58 See *VL16*: I, 511–21.

59 See Rhodoman (1605: 27–32).

60 See Lizel (1730: 112, 166).

61 See also Ludwig (1998: 59).

62 Cf. Lizel (1730: 119); *VL16*: V, 133–34. For humanist Greek poetry in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century school regulations, see Wendebourg (1986: 49); Flogaus (2015b: 32); Weise (2016: 120).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Historia, Hieronymus Freyer published a school selection of Greek poems, titled *Fasciculus poematum Graecorum*, in which he integrates a considerable number of previous humanist poets.[63] Thus, it becomes apparent that in compiling his *Historia*, Lizel draws on some previous listings available to him.

If we consider Lizel's direct judgements about style and content, two criteria stand out. He praises poems either on the formal and aesthetic level for "being redolent of antiquity" (*redolentia antiquitatem*) and for their "sweetness" (e.g., *mellea, nitida*), or on the level of content for showing a pious attitude. For instance, he exalts the Greek poems of Erasmus Schmid, Conrad Horneius, Christian Gottlieb Schwarz, and Hieronymus Freyer for being *antiquitatem redolentia*,[64] while he praises the Greek works of Johannes Posselius, Lorenz Rhodoman, Bernhard Glaser, and Georg Leuschner for being particularly pious.[65] These criteria are consistent with the Melanchthonian ideal of *docta pietas*, which will be explained below.[66]

Only rarely does Lizel discuss either evolutions in the works of individual authors or connections between the works of various authors as we would expect in literary history today (e.g., under the aspect of intertextuality). An exception in this regard is his discussion of Georg Cocus's Greek paraphrase of the *Susanna*-history, where he does situate the piece within the context of previous treatments of the same subject matter:

> Primus, qui, teste EVSTATHIO in Dionysium, Historiam Susannae poëtice, et Graeco quidem sermone, tractavit, sine dubio est Nicolaus DAMASCENVS, qui tempore AVGVSTI OCTAVIANI vixit. Ab hoc usque ad Martinum CRVSIVM, de quo modo diximus, neminem scio, qui idem tentasset. Hunc autem non ita multo post insecutus est Georgius COCVS, Heringensis, qui Historiam Susannae Graeco heroico carmine transtulit.[67]

63 Olympia Morata, Johannes Mylius, Johannes Posselius, Aemilius Portus, Nicolaus Reusner, Martin Crusius, Erasmus Schmid, Georg Leuschner, Johann Gottfried Herrichen, as well as the contemporary poets Samuel Knauth, Georg Friedrich Thryllitzsch, Johann Heinrich Schulze, and himself. See Freyer (1715). Lizel often cites Freyer's volume and collects information from it. See Lizel (1730: 240, 261, 299, 318–21). Next to the German Greek poets listed above, Freyer included Jacobus Duportus, Henri Estienne, and Florent Chrestien. For a detailed analysis of Freyer's volume, see Weise (2011). There is also another collection combining ancient and recent pieces in Greek by Andreas Gravenhorst from 1726 (*VD18* 11001666).

64 See Lizel (1730: 240, 257, 316, 318).

65 See Lizel (1730: 120, 169, 261).

66 Cf. Rhein (1987: 33–34).

67 Lizel (1730: 113–14). For the supposed plays by Damascenus, see Christ, Stählin & Schmid (1920: 336, 375).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

> The first one treating the history of Susanna poetically and in Greek was, according to EUSTATHIUS'S commentary on Dionysius Periegeta[68] without any doubt Nicolaus DAMASCENUS, who lived in the time of AUGUSTUS OCTAVIANUS. From this time to Martin CRUSIUS [= *VD16* C 6140], which we treated just before, there is nobody I know, having tried the same thing. But Georg COCUS from Heringen followed him shortly after and translated the history of Susanna in a Greek epic poem.[69]

Here, Lizel at least attempts to establish literary connections and trace evolutions even if he does not elaborate on them.[70] It would, however, be unfair to accuse Lizel of superficiality: he has a different focus from that of modern literary historians and sees his main task as collecting the material available to him.[71]

In so doing, Lizel made distinctive progress in at least two respects. First, in the focus of his objective (the collection is limited by the use of Greek and the nationality of the writers).[72] And second, in the recording of bio-bibliographic information for each author discussed. To properly understand Lizel's contribution in these respects, it might be instructive to compare his work with Lorenzo Crasso's *Istoria de' Poeti Greci e di que' che' n Greca Lingua han poetato* (1678). Unlike Lizel's *Historia*, Crasso's book is an alphabetical lexicon that considers both ancient and contemporary Greek poets.[73] Although Crasso was writing in Italian, he also discussed a considerable number of German writers, if only in a few lines.[74] Moreover, in Crasso's work, there is little in terms of

68 Eustathius (1861: 387); Eustathius (1986: 311, 357–58).

69 University Library Erlangen-Nürnberg, Sign. H00/MISC 182.

70 Another interesting example is Lizel's discussion on a poem by Crusius which consists only of *verba plaustralia* (see below). Lizel recalls the use of such compounds in Attic and Roman comedy (Aristophanes, *Wasps* 505; Plautus, *Curculio* 561) and gives another example from his own *album amicorum*, where a friend refers to him as Ἀνατολικογλωσσερμηνευτικεξηγητικογραμματορητοροπραγματικοδιδακτικόσοφος. See Lizel (1730: 111–12).

71 Cf. Gierl (2007).

72 Lizel (1730: Prol. § XV) gives an interesting definition of how he interpretes the criterion "German" in his *Prolegomena*: *Indicavi eos, qui vel nativitate vel civitatis donatione Germani sunt* ("I noted those who are Germans either by birth or because citizenship was given to them").

73 Unfortunately, Crasso presents writers in alphabetical order by the first name.

74 Andreas Grundlerus (p. 35), Conrad Rittershausen (p. 125), David Chytraeus (p. 142), Erasmus of Rotterdam (p. 150), Eilard Lubin (p. 176), Eobanus Hessus (p. 178), Aemilius Portus (p. 181), Friedrich Sylburg (p. 224), Philipp Melanchthon (p. 234), Caspar Stiblinus (p. 250), Jacob Gretser (p. 254), Jacob Meiler (p. 254), Jacob Micyllus (p. 254), Joachim Camerarius (p. 258), Johannes Camerarius (p. 266), Johannes Lundorp (p. 271), Johannes Posselius (p. 273), Johannes Reuchlin (p. 273), Johannes Schirmer (p. 274), Justus Tetzler

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

solid evidence that he actually knew and had read the Greek works he cites; more often than not, Crasso refers to Georg Draudius's bibliographic companion *Bibliotheca classica* (1625) rather than the Greek works themselves (Lizel, for his part, takes pains to defend Crasso against those who had claimed that he did not know Greek at all).

Compared to Crasso's book, Lizel's volume reflects an entirely different approach. His *Historia* not only relies on a broader knowledge of information and sources[75] but also is easier to access because it combines chronological order with alphabetical arrangement in the index and is confined to one special area within a limited span of time.[76] Lizel thus constructs a history of German Greek literature, giving shape to a distinctive body of literature that had never been examined in such a focused and at the same time extensive way.

4 The Defence of Greek Literature in the "Querelle des anciens et des modernes"[77]

Having examined the principles and sources underlying Lizel's work, we may ask after the motives behind it and wonder why the scholar would address this admittedly curious subject at all. Lizel's reasons for delving into the history of Greek writing in Germany also help us to understand better the significance of Greek, and Greek literature, in the early modern German context. Importantly, he does not discuss Greek poets in Germany only for their own sake but rather situates his work in both a confessional and a patriotic context.[78] The confessional import of his book is reflected not only in its final words

(p. 288), Lorenz Rhodoman (p. 316), Martin Crusius (p. 327), Matthaeus Röseler (p. 329), Matthaeus Zuber (p. 329), Paul Dolscius (p. 402), Rudolf Agricola (p. 443), Sebastian Castellio (p. 453), Wolfgang Finckelthaus (p. 531).

75 Other sources used by Lizel include Lilio Gregorio Giraldi's *Dialogi duo de poetis nostrorum temporum* (1551), where the author makes Andreas Grundlerus (*c.*1516–1555), the husband of the famous Greek poetess Olympia Fulvia Morata, enumerating some German poets (see Giraldi 2011: 140–56; cf. Weise 2016: 118); Spachius (1598); Adam (1615); König (1678), as well as his handwritten *Elenchus materiarum variarum*; Bayle (1697); the *Bibliotheca Carpzoviana* (1700); Fabricius (1705–1728); and John (1728).

76 For chronological instead of alphabetical order, see also Stockhorst (2008: 950).

77 For the reception of the so-called *Querelle des anciens et des modernes* in Germany, see the excellent documentation by Kapitza (1981: esp. 161 and 427 for Lizel). For the *Querelle* in general, see Chihaia (2009).

78 Both discourses are also very present in Lizel (1731). Although Lizel has a prolific anti-Catholic attitude, he integrates some Catholics in his *Historia*: Caspar Ursinus Velius, Conrad Dinner, Jacob Gretser, Matth. Maierus, Arnoldus Angelus.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

(Δόξα Θεῷ Μόνῳ: "Glory to God alone")[79] but also in the fact that he dedicated it to the bicentenary of the *Confessio Augustana*, or Augsburg Confession. This was the primary confession of the Lutheran Church, first presented at the Diet of Augsburg on 25 June 1530. In his preface, Lizel celebrates Greek as a necessary precondition for the spread of the *lux evangelica*—that is the Lutheran Reformation—and mentions the Greek translation of the *confessio* by Paul Dolscius as an instrument for converting modern Greeks to Protestantism.[80] In this way, he explicitly connects the use of Greek to confessional issues and aspirations.[81]

Additionally, Lizel regards Greek as having particular prestige in the German lands. According to him, ancient Greece has now migrated to Germany, whereas modern Greece has by contrast degenerated, in his words, into barbarism (*barbaries*).[82] The *translatio artium* is a recurring idea in Lizel's text. So, Lizel refers to the then-famous anecdote about John Argyropoulos, one of the most famous Byzantine scholars teaching in Italy in the Quattrocento. According to Melanchthon, Argyropoulos was so impressed by Reuchlin's Greek knowledge that he exclaimed: *Graecia nostro exilio transvolavit Alpes!*[83] Lizel therefore calls his volume a *monumentum laetitiae* ("a monument of joy") to those who have been involved in transferring the Muses to Germany.

The idea of a *translatio artium* to the German lands originated in the late fifteenth century.[84] Concerning Latin poetry, we may recall the famous *Ode ad Apollinem repertorem poetices ut ab Italis cum lyra ad Germanos veniat* by Conrad Celtis (1486).[85] What Celtis intended as a prayer for a better future was later reinterpreted as an accomplished "fact". For the Greek context,

79 See Lizel (1730: 333).

80 For contacts between Protestant scholars and Orthodox Greeks, see Benz (1971); Wendebourg (1986).

81 See also Flogaus (2015a: 250–52) and Flogaus (2015b: 32–42).

82 We may compare the argumentation in Martin Crusius's *Germanograecia* (1585), which is presented in detail by Ludwig (1998: 29–33). Crusius says that Greece ἐξεβαρβάρωσεν ("became barbaric") through the Turkish occupation and that the erudite people left for Italy; thereafter Reuchlin transferred Greek knowledge to Germany, which now wants to recompensate this gift (ἀντιπελαργεῖν) by making Greece Hellenic (ἐξελληνίζειν) again. The term ἀντιπελαργεῖν may be inspired by a Greek epigram of Poliziano. See Pontani's edition of Poliziano's Greek poetry (Poliziano 2002: 191). For the perspective of the *dotti bizantini* in Italy and their reinvention of "Greekness", see Lamers (2015).

83 Melanchthon (1834–1860: XI, 207–08, 1005). See Lizel (1730: 6). Cf. Ludwig (1998: 32–33). For the intensive reception of this "foundation myth" of German Hellenism, see esp. Ben-Tov (2009: 193–210).

84 Cf. in detail Ben-Tov (2009: 187–212).

85 Cf. Kühlmann, Seidel & Wiegand (1996: 68–71: text and translation, 977–79: commentary); Huber-Rebenich (2006: 58–59); Ben-Tov (2009: 187–91).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Martin Crusius—one of the most prominent German Hellenists of the late sixteenth century—particularly emphasised the idea of a *translatio artium* in his *Germanograecia*, as is self-evident from the title, which means "German Greece" (i.e., "Greece in Germany").[86] Lizel is thus following in Crusius's footsteps with this argument. The prominent position of Germany in the *translatio artium* from Greece to the West is explained further in Lizel's *Prolegomena*. He first gives a small account of the dissemination of Greek throughout Europe, including the Middle Ages, which he interestingly thinks were not completely without Greek knowledge.[87] He also sums up the names of different European nations which, according to him, all have a Greek literature of their own:[88]

> Plurimos in Diariis meis notavi Gallos, Anglos, Belgas, Italos, Hispanos, Danos, Suecos, qui Graeca sua poemata in publicum emiserunt; et aeque conscribere possem Historias Poetarum Graecorum Galliae, Angliae, Belgii, Italiae, Hispaniae, Daniae, Sueciae, ac conscripsi Poetarum Graecorum Germaniae Historiam.[89]
>
> I have noted a great number of Frenchmen, Englishmen, people of the Low Countries ("Belgians"), Italians, Spaniards, Danes, and Swedes in my diaries, who published their Greek poems; so I could write Histories of Greek Poets of France, England, the Low Countries, Italy, Spain, Denmark and Sweden equally as I have written now a *History of Greek Poets* of Germany.

Notwithstanding the fact that so many areas participated in the revival of Greek literature, Lizel privileges Germany because he considers it to be *caput et splendor totius Europae* and, more importantly, regards it as Germany's

86 For a detailed analysis, see Ludwig (1998: 29–33) and Ben-Tov (2009: 201–08), taking into account paratexts. This patriotic character is also evident in the Greek writings of Lorenz Rhodoman, who planned to write an epic called *Germanis*. Cf. *VL16*: v, 306.

87 This is already a *topos* within earlier literature. See Ben-Tov (2009: 138–39, 211) for Melanchthon. For the fates of Greek learning in the Middle Ages, see esp. Berschin (1980) and Berschin (1988) and the references in the Introduction to this volume (esp. n. 6).

88 Obviously, this point was very important for Lizel, as one might see from the following *lemmata* in his index: *Angli Poësin Graecam excolunt, Belgarum plures carmina Graeca scribunt, Dani Graecam Poësin excolunt, Galli scribunt poëmata Graeca, Hispani Graece poëtantur, Italorum multi Graeca carmina cudunt, Suecia multos aluit Poëtas Graecos* (one should also note Lizel's constant desire for variation in Latin expression).

89 Lizel (1730: Prol. § VIII). Parts of Lizel's extensive notes and diaries, including those relevant for his *Historia* are still preserved in the library of the *Gymnasium am Kaiserdom Speyer*. They certainly are worth a closer inspection, especially the volumes with signatures AD 11, AD 12, AD 13, AD 14/3 and AD 15.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

proprium to nourish competence in Greek language and poetry—a claim he does not explain in further detail.[90]

Lizel's attitude towards Greek is, however, perfectly consistent with the patriotic tendencies of his time. These were connected, on the one hand, with the rise of the vernaculars as scholarly and literary languages[91] and, on the other, with anti-German statements from the French side in the so-called *Querelle des anciens et des modernes*.[92] In his *Prolegomena*, Lizel directly responds to contemporary French critics of Greek (and Latin) writing, especially Jean Leclerc (1657–1736) and François de Callières (1645–1717),[93] who dismissed contemporary Greek and Latin poets as imitators and "apes" who are by no means equal to their venerated models. Their poems are, according to de Callières, "amusemens de Pedans" that Apollo "banishes from the society of polished Nations ["Nations polies", i.e., France, Italy, and Spain] and relegates forever into the colleges of both the German people and other Nordic nations".[94]

Referring to writings by Johann Friedrich Cramer (1694) and Sebastian Kortholt (1703),[95] Lizel refutes Leclerc and de Callières with the following arguments in favour of writing Greek:

---

90 See also Kapitza (1981: 420). Lizel even cites a letter by a Greek scholar he does not know that testifies Mount Helicon is now deserted and the Muses have all migrated to Germany (Lizel 1730: Prol. § IX). This famous letter by Theodosius Zygomalas is also mentioned by Michael Neander and Johannes Posselius. See Johnson (2006: 187); Ben-Tov (2009: 208–09). Perhaps the letter also inspired Lorenz Rhodoman to include this idea in the modified beginning of the second edition of his Greek epic *Troica* (printed in his edition of Quintus Smyrnaeus of 1604).

91 Cf. Stroh (2007: 234–44) and Kapitza (1981: 388).

92 For patriotic tendencies in literary history of the time, cf. Fohrmann (1993: 33); Stockhorst (2008: 950–51).

93 Lizel cites from Leclerc's *Parrhasiana* (Leclerc 1701) and Callières's *Histoire poëtique* (Callières 1688). Cf. Kapitza (1981: 161).

94 "[…] il [sc. Apollo] met au plus bas étage du Parnasse, tous ceux qui au lieu de cultiver leur langue maternelle s'amusent à écrire en Vers Grecs ou Latins, declare tous ces ouvrages de contre-bande, ainsi que toutes *Anagrammes, Acrostiches*, & autres amusemens de Pedans, les bannit de la societé des Nations polies, & les relegue à perpetuité dans les Coleges & chez les Allemans & autres nations du Nord". See Callières (1688: 287). For the different evaluation of Greek writing by German and French critics, one might also compare the different judgements about the collected poems of Johann Gottfried Herrichen (1717) at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Whereas they were welcomed with enthusiasm in the leading German science periodical *Acta Eruditorum*; see *Acta Eruditorum* (1718: 132–34), the review of the same volume in the French *Journal des Sçavans* shows clear reservations: "[…] ceux qui ont du goût pour ce qui fait la veritable Poësie, seront surpris qu'on se soit donné la peine de recuëillir ces Pieces". See *Le Journal des Sçavans pour l'année* MDCCXX (Paris: Pierre Witte, 1720), p. 336. For the reception of Herrichen, see also Weise (2017a: 166–67).

95 For these writings, see Kapitza (1981: 50, 61–64).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

a) It would be disgraceful for a *vir sapiens* to give up Greek writing completely.[96]
b) There are different talents. Some persons are more talented in using the vernacular, whereas others succeed more easily in Greek or Latin poetry. All are free to choose the language of their preference.[97]
c) Imitation is necessary for every kind of poetry both in the vernacular and in ancient languages.
d) Modern poems in ancient Greek are sometimes as good as poems by ancient writers and are at times even better.[98]
e) Recent poems are often more useful than ancient ones for pupils and for erudite men (if we do not entirely neglect the reading of the ancient writers themselves, that is).[99]

On the basis of these arguments, Lizel concluded that Callières, by neglecting Latin and Greek poets of France and by relegating their efforts to the German people and "other Nordic men", reduced his own people to the level of *barbari* and *idiotae*.[100]

Although Lizel was writing in response to the *Querelle*, his arguments are also revealing for the uses and functions of Greek writing in early modern Germany in general because he adheres to humanist ideals—even if not exclusively.[101] In appealing to the ideal of the *vir sapiens*, Lizel obviously considers classical erudition to be a necessary sign and condition for anyone who wants to be part of the *nobilitas litteraria*.[102] In this respect, Latin and especially Greek writing serves as a distinguishing mark of humanist scholars,

96 Lizel (1730: Prol. § XI): *At a scriptione Graecorum et Latinorum carminum prorsus abstinere, res esset viro sapienti indigna et nunquam suadenda.*

97 Lizel (1730: Prol. § XI): [...] *diversa esse hominum ingenia, et hunc ad carmen Graecum, illum ad Latinum, istum ad vernaculum scribendum, aptum esse.* [...] *Cuicunque ergo vel in Graeca, vel in Latina, vel in sua lingua faventior poëtandi genius est, is, meo quidem judicio, in ea, si animum ad scribendum appellere velit, scribat.*

98 Lizel (1730: Prol § XI): *Habemus inter modernos, qui vel Graeca vel Latina carmina scripserunt, omnibus numeris absoluta, atque priscorum poëmatibus quandoque superiora, quandoque aequalia.*

99 Lizel (1730: Prol. § XI): *Modernorum carmina majore saepius utilitate juventus legere potest, quam plurium vetustorum poëmata. Leguntur etiam non a pueris tantum in scholis, verum etiam a viris eruditis magno cum fructu.*

100 See Lizel (1730: Prol. § XIV): *Dum autem CALLIERIUS hoc studium ad Germanos et alios Septentrionales homines, Anglos, Belgas aliosque releget, videtur mihi pessime sibi et suis consuluisse, ut nos solos Graece et Latine doctos velit, se autem et suos barbaros et idiotas.* Cf. also Kapitza (1981: 1730).

101 For functions of Greek writing, see also Weise (2016: 114–15).

102 For the concept of *nobilitas litteraria*, see esp. Trunz (1965); Kühlmann & Wiegand (1993: 151); Huber-Rebenich (2006).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

who are after all defined by their common linguistic and cultural knowledge. This aspect is also an important explanation for the great mass of dedications and occasional pieces in Greek representing humanists' social networking. Connected to this concept of *humanitas* is the notion of usefulness for pupils and erudite men more generally: contemporary Greek poetry is useful for them since by writing Greek they gain a deeper understanding of the language and participate in the *nobilitas litteraria*.[103] Thus, refuting the idea that the Germans are an uncultivated people, writing in ancient Greek should secure German humanists a place among the other civilised nations.[104] In Lizel's time, however, this attitude lost much of its appeal, and German vernacular literature began to compete with Latin and Greek writing (Lizel is eager to explain that German literature consists of a polyphony of voices and languages).[105] Later, other German intellectuals like Christian Adolph Klotz (1738–1771), a versatile and elegant Latin poet, accepted the French position and considered Greek verse composition in schools and universities to be "amusemens de Pedans" as well as a waste of time.[106]

5 Facts and Figures

Let us now turn to some facts and figures that can be distilled from Lizel's account.[107] These will give us a good impression of the range of literary production in Greek in the early modern German lands.

Thematically, Christian writings comprise the largest part of Lizel's selection of Greek writing from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries.[108] First

103 Johnson (2006) provides a very interesting perspective by analysing the intended readership of Greek writings by Johannes Posselius. See also Paulsen (1885: 256) and Neuendorf (2017).

104 See also IJsewijn (1990: 183).

105 Lizel (1730: Prol. § XIV): *Ad musicam non unum instrumentum, nec una vox sufficit; requiruntur plura instrumenta, et plures voces, si musica dulcis sit et composita. Musae non una et eadem semper lyra oberrant, sed diversa habent instrumenta, et quandoque canunt Graece, quandoque Latine, quandoque alia voce, namque "amant alterna Camoenae"* (cf. Virgil, *Eclogues* 3. 59).

106 See Klotz (1765: 342–43) for a review of Thomas Morell's *Thesaurus Graecae Poeseos sive Lexicon Graeco-Prosodiacum* [Eton, 1762]). For Klotz as a Latin poet, see Hess (1979: 511); Kühlmann & Wiegand (1993: 156); Aurnhammer (2009: 504). Considering Klotz as a witness, we have to impose the restriction that he wrote several satires about *mores eruditorum.* Cf. Aurnhammer (2009).

107 General overviews are given by Ludwig (1998: 54–59) and Weise (2016).

108 Lizel was planning a special volume named *Bibliotheca poetarum Biblicorum* (cf. Milster 1823: 13). After his *Historia*, he published further parts of this greater project: *De poetis*

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

are biblical paraphrases (since the 1550s; see Appendix 2)[109] and then come Greek versions of the Catechism (since the 1540s)[110] or other theological writings (e.g., the *Confessio Augustana*).[111] These are followed by some biographical accounts of important leaders of the Protestant movement as well as historiographical works (since the 1570s).[112] Then finally come the Greek versions of Lutheran songs (since the 1640s),[113] a genre that has Lizel's particular interest.[114]

This predominance of theological and Christian writings in the German lands generally is consistent with Melanchthon's concept of *docta pietas*, alluded to above.[115] Melanchthon emphasised the ethical value of poetry alongside its usefulness in linguistic training. The final and highest aim of poetry, according to Melanchthon, should be the praise of God.[116] This ideal of *docta pietas* also lurks behind the Lutheran humanists' interest in the many literary forms and genres established by Christian authors in Late Antiquity, such as the paraphrase of St John's Gospel attributed to Nonnus, the Homeric Psalter, and the poems by Gregory of Nazianzus.[117] We also should keep in mind that

---

medicis S. Scripturae interpretibus (Speyer, 1743) and *De poetis Catechismi Lutheri interpretibus* (Speyer, 1761).

109 Cf. Ludwig (1998: 55–56); Ludwig (2001b: 42–51) for contemporary tendencies in Neo-Latin literature; Weng (2003); Weise (2016: 160). Further metrical paraphrases are listed in Masch (1781: 333–44). For biblical themes and paraphrases in Neo-Latin epic, see IJsewijn & Sacré (1998: 29–31, 108).

110 Cf. Rhein (2017: 37).

111 For this kind of Greek writing, see esp. Flogaus (2015a). For brevity's sake, I will cite the works just by author and date; *VD16*, *VD17*, or *VD18* numbers, if determinable, are added in brackets for accurate identification: Joachim Camerarius (1545) (*VD16* C 355); Paul Dolscius (1559) (*VD16* C 4792); Georg Thym (1560) (*VD16* T 1227); Matthaeus Gothus (1574) (*VD16* ZV 21783); Martin Crusius (1582) (*VD16* H 973); Lorenz Rhodoman (1596) (*VD16* R 2107). Lizel neglects Johannes Martin (1573) (*VD16* L 5258) and Greek prose catechisms by Lucas Lossius (Wittenberg, 1545 = *VD16* L 2781) and Valentin Wagner (1550). See Flogaus (2015b: 32); Rhein (2017: 37).

112 Johannes Melas (1571) (*VD16* M 4437 and *VD16* M 4436); Lorenz Rhodoman (1579) (*VD16* R 2100). Historiographical works in a closer sense are mentioned by Ludwig (2017: 129 n. 16).

113 Heinrich Schmid (1643) (*VD17* 39:140802F); Georg Leuschner (1648) (*VD17* 39:148049B); Johann Georg Kettembeil (1688) (*VD17* 23:287318B).

114 Lizel himself made a Latin translation of Lutheran ecclesiastical songs, called *Studiosus modulans* (Strasbourg, 1727).

115 On *litterata pietas*, see Rhein (1987: 33f.) and Kühlmann & Wiegand (1993: 151); see also Huber-Rebenich (2006: 69–72), and esp. Ludwig (2001b). Cf. Weise (2016: 160).

116 See Rhein (1987: 34); Ludwig (2001b: 35–46).

117 Cf. Weng (2003); Weise (2011: 414); Ludwig (2014: 158), offering a list of authors studied by Rhodoman; and esp. Sieber (2015: 130–98). For the presence of Christian Greek poets in Greek writings by Italian humanists, see Pontani (2018). Cf. Pontani (2002: XLI); and for Neo-Latin Literature Kühlmann & Wiegand (1993: 152); Huber-Rebenich (2006: 71–72) on Georg Fabricius. Melanchthon himself published an edition of Nonnus's *Paraphrase*

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

the main argument for learning Greek in Protestant schools was that it would enable students to understand the New Testament in Greek.[118] Thus, most of these humanistic Greek paraphrases and catechisms, written in growing numbers since the 1540s, were intended to combine Greek learning with the concerns of a Christian education.[119] The beginning of Rhodoman's epic *Palaestina* (1589)—published as most of his greater poems with facing translation in Latin verse—provides an impressive example of how this ideal was realised at the highest level:

Ἀμφὶ Παλαιστίνης τεύχων ἔπος, οἷον ἀπ' ἀρχῆς
ἄχρις ἐφ' ἡμετέρης γενεῆς σάλον, εἶδος ἄμειψεν,
οὐρανίης διψῶ χάριτος ῥόον, ἢ μερόπεσσι
χεύει χρήσιμα πάντα, καὶ οὐρανὸν αὐτὸν ἀνοίγει.
καὶ νῦν μοι κρούνισμα φιλελλάδος εἰς φρένα μούσης
ἔνθεον ἐκπροχέοι, Χριστοῦ πολυκυδέα πάτρην
ὑμνῆσαι κατὰ μοῖραν, ὅπως ἀπόναιντο μαθηταὶ,
φωνῆς ἰσχανόωντες Ἀχαιΐδος: ἢ μέγ' ὀφέλλει
παντοίοισι λόγοισι θεοῦ λογοτερπέα ποίμνην,
ἔξοχα δ' εὐαγέεσσιν. ἐγὼ δὲ νέοισιν ὁδηγὸς
βαίνω τῷδε πόρῳ ζαθέων εἰς κεύθεα βίβλων.[120]

(*VD16* N 1828), which he recommended for being close to the original and explanatory as well (Melanchthon 1834–1860: I, 925–26). Lizel (1730: 279) records *Historiae sanctorum* as written by a certain "Matth. Maierus" from Konstanz, who is said to imitate Nonnus in his Greek verses. For the relevance of the Homeric Psalter, see Dolscius's preface to his Psalm-paraphrase (*VD16* B 3122).

118 See, for example, Melanchthon in his *Oratio de studiis linguae Graecae* (1549): *Ad cognoscendum igitur atque recte intelligendum novum Testamentum, quod continet Evangelium Christi, omnino opus est huius linguae auxilio* (Melanchthon 1834–1860: XI, 858). Cf. also Ben-Tov (2009: 140–45).

119 Cf. Johnson (2006: 202–03) on the *ecclesia litterata* as public; *VL16*: IV, 550, 552 for Mylius's Greek poems; *VL16*: V, 133–34 for Posselius's Greek writings; Rhein (2017: 37–38).

120 Rhodoman (1589: 24–25): *SACRA Palaestinae do carmina: qualiter ortu / A primo nostros habitum variarit ad annos. / Ergo Dei favor expetitur, qui fundit ab alto / Commoda cuncta homini, totum quoque pandit Olympum. / Is nunc Maeoniae dio me fonte Camaenae / Irriget, ut patriam non vano carmine Christi / Mellifluam celebrem: Graiae sed dedita linguae / Pectora fructum habeant: doctrinae haec flumine largo / Omnigenas emittit opes in ovilia Christi, / In primis sacras. Ideo dux ipse iuventae / Hoc iter ingredior sacrae in penetralia Musae.* Some literary notes: v. 5: for κρούνισμα, compare *Greek Anthology* 13.12.3; v. 6: for ἐκπροχέοι, compare *Argonautica Orphica* 573, *Greek Anthology* 7.201.2; v. 9: λογοτερπέα seems to be a creation by Rhodoman himself. For the conception of the Muse(s) in Protestant thinking, which emerges here, see Ludwig (2001).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

> While composing this epic about Palestine, and how it changed its fluctuating shape from the beginning until our generation, I am thirsty for the stream of divine grace, which pours all goods over mankind and opens heaven itself. And now the divine stream of the Philhellenic Muse may pour into my mind to sing the glorious homeland of Christ appropriately so that pupils longing for the Achaic voice may benefit. This language greatly educates God's herd, which enjoys his word, with all kinds of speeches, especially with pure ones. I myself, however, go now on this way as leader for the youth into the depths of the holy books.

Another form of training, especially concerning linguistic skills, is represented by Greek translations of ancient Roman Classics,[121] which also includes Lizel's translation of Virgil's *Aeneid*.[122] Other translations mentioned by Lizel include one of Horace by Jean Bénédict,[123] two of the *Disticha Catonis* by Johannes Mylius and Christoph Helwig, and one of Publilius Syrus's *Sententiae* by Matthias Furerus.[124] Both the *Disticha Catonis* and the *Sententiae* can be viewed easily in the context of a pedagogical aim paired with a demonstration of linguistic training.[125]

Finally, Lizel mentions a number of occasional pieces,[126] especially *epithalamia*[127] and *epicedia*.[128] Together these writings provide an overview of the

121 Cf. also Weise (2016: 165–66).

122 See Lizel (1730: 326–28). In this section, Lizel mentions Greek translations of Virgil by non-German authors, such as Daniel Halsworth, Joseph Justus Scaliger, Daniel Heinsius, Johannes Argolus, and the ancient author Arrian, whose work is only attested in the Suda-lexicon (Suda α 3867 Adler).

123 See Haag & Haag (1846–1859: II, 170).

124 A stimulus for this kind of works could perhaps also have been the Greek translations by the medieval Greek philologist Maximus Planudes. Erasmus published Planudes's Greek translation of the *Disticha Catonis* (*VD16* C 1673).

125 Cf. Huber-Rebenich (2006: 73) for the *Disticha Catonis; VL16*: IV, 552 for Mylius's *Cato*.

126 For the importance of occasional poetry as part of humanistic *amicitia*, see Trunz (1965: 170–72); Kühlmann & Wiegand (1993: 152).

127 Johannes Lonicer (1540) (*VD16* L 2444 / L 2432); Matthias Garbitius (Lizel: Flacius) Illyricus (1563) (*VD16* S 135 / S 115); Laurentius Ludovicus (1573); Johannes Ursinus (1598); Gothofredus Voigtius (1668); Georg Jacob Kehr (1711).

128 Joachim Camerarius (1541, 1563) (*VD16* T 925, S 135); Johannes Caselius (1563) (*VD16* S 135); Matthias Garbitius Illyricus (1563) (*VD16* S 135); Justus Vulteius (1567) (*VD16* G 1416); Matthaeus Dresserus (1574) (*VD16* D 2710); Georg Cracow (1586) (*VD16* L 2856); Johannes Rhellikan (1587) (*VD16* R 1427); Michael Neander / Lorenz Rhodoman (1602, 1603) (*VD17* 14:011574T, 12:123244W); Conrad Horneius (1614) (*VD17* 23:262278G); Johannes Gebhard (1646) (*VD17* 39:140454G); Johannes Brenneccius (1654) (*VD17* 14:068370Y); Johann Peter Reusch (1720).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

main groups of poetry we find in Lizel—namely biblical paraphrases, translations, and occasional pieces. Theatre pieces are conspicuously absent.[129]

The majority of this poetry is written either in hexameters or in elegiac couplets. Lizel names only some exceptions. For instance, we find some anacreontic verses by Christoph Pelargus (not identifiable), Georg Leuschner (*VD17* 3:314228U), and Christian Gottlieb Schwarz (*VD18* 12219088 and 1531328X-001).[130] Intriguing are some *Hipponactea Graeca* by a certain Nicolaus Rumannus (so far not identified).[131] Lizel also mentions Greek Pindaric odes by Johannes Gebhard (*VD17* 3:013506W, 39:140454G), Erasmus Schmid (VD 17 23:690149Z, 14:008614M) and Johann Erich Ostermann (perhaps *VD17* 14:051363F).[132] Another special form consists of Homeric centos by Jonas Latomus (*VD16* ZV 9471; not mentioned by Lizel: *VD16* 9472 and ZV 9473) and Johann Saubert (*VD17* 125:018715C). Further *paignia* mentioned by Lizel include a *distichon cancrinum* by Georg Leuschner and an epigram by Martin Crusius using only *verba plaustralia*.[133] Finally, there is a new form without ancient model: Greek poems with rhymes. This form was inspired by the different translations of Lutheran songs, mentioned above.[134]

In addition to single poems, Lizel also records collections of Greek poems (established since the 1560s). From a literary point of view, these collections are particularly important because they contain many special literary forms and certainly have more significance and weight than single, occasional pieces.[135]

129 Lizel only mentions a comedy planned by Frischlin, where one person was intended to be introduced speaking Greek, and a Greek comedy *De Tobia* by Christoph Helwig. See Lizel (1730: 115): *Scripsit enim "Terentium sacrum", seu "Eunuchum", "Adelphos", et "Heautontimorumenon", tres comoedias, in quibus omnis historia Josephi continetur, et hic, maxime in Adelphis, Graece loquens introducitur, servo ipsius Serapione, loco Simonis, interprete*, and Lizel (1730: 225): *anno autem aetatis decimo quinto Comoediam de Tobia perpolitis aetatemque superantibus Graecis versibus, exercitii privati causa, conscripsit*.

130 For Anacreontics by Johann Gottfried Herrichen, see Weise (2017a).

131 See Lizel (1730: 200).

132 For Greek Pindaric odes in general, see Päll (2017b).

133 For centos and other *paignia* in Estonian Greek literature, see Päll (2010: 131–35). Not mentioned by Lizel is a *carmen figuratum* by Georg Benedikt Faber for Daniel Wulfer and Georg Matthias König (see Faber 1693). Janika Päll (Tartu) mentioned another *figuratum* by Georg Höfichen (Gorlicii 1649 = *VD17* 39:152326K).

134 Cf. Weise (2016: 158f.). However, there is a rhymed Greek poem by Martin Crusius in *VD16* B 3791 (Tübingen 1571) before the seventeenth century. For the use of vernacular forms and songs in Neo-Latin literature, cf. Kühlmann, Seidel & Wiegand (1996: 908); Stroh (2007: 235).

135 Joachim Camerarius and Jacob Micyllus (1538) (*VD16* C 406); Martin Crusius (1567) (*VD16* C 6141); Johannes Mylius (1568) (*VD16* M 7392); Michael Retell (1571) (*VD16* ZV 13107); Michael Neander / Lorenz Rhodoman (1588) (*VD16* R 2088); Nicolaus Reusner (1593) (*VD16* R 1368); Johannes Caselius (1624) (*VD17* 23:296057C); Johann Raue (1632) (HAAB,

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Although prose pieces are less common than poems, theological subject matter dominates in prose as it does in poetry. A *curiosum* of this kind are the twelve seventeenth-century Greek theological dissertations by Christoph Sonntag in Altdorf.[136] Sonntag clearly cultivated the practice of speaking Greek, a phenomenon with which we are not concerned here but which Lizel also mentions in his *Prolegomena*.[137] In addition, Lizel refers to Greek letters and speeches.[138]

Finally, next to Greek writings *sensu proprio*, Lizel integrates in his overview many phrasebooks or lexica intended to help write Greek prose and verse.[139] These are relevant for this discussion because they are the main working tools of Greek humanist poets.[140] Lizel singles out Kirchner's *Prosodia* as especially recommendable. This prosodical lexicon is very interesting indeed since Kirchner not only used ancient poets as testimony for correct scansion but also referenced some humanists.[141] Interestingly, Kirchner does not really

---

Sign. 8° XXXVIII: 201); Elias Kolb (1639) (BSB, Sign: 999/Lat.rec.307(2)); Antonius Aemilius (1651); Arnoldus Angelus (1666); Johannes Caselius (²1672) (*VD17* 23:620811K); Conrad Samuel Schurzfleisch (1702) (*VD18* 14587173); Hieronymus Freyer (1715) (*VD18* 11380713); Johann Gottfried Herrichen (1717) (*VD18* 10207783). Not mentioned by Lizel are the Greek poem collections by Johannes Clajus the Elder (1570) (*VD16* C 3991) and Lampert Alard (1624) (*VD17* 3:316644G).

136 Until now, I have been able to verify only five of them in the *VD17*-catalogue: 75:704207D, 14:622806Z, 75:707432K, 75:707575P, 1:055923E. Cf. also Korhonen (2010) and Weise (2016: 127).

137 Curiously, Lizel does not know the Greek *colloquia* by Posselius, possibly one of the most successful early modern writings in ancient Greek. The *VD16* lists 11 editions from 1587 until 1654. See Johnson (2006: 190–93); *VL16*: V, 133; Weise (2016: 129–30). A more thorough study has been announced by Antoine Haaker (Wrocław).

138 Cf. Weise (2016: 125–27) for speeches and Weise (2016: 128–29) for letters. Next to the Greek speech by Crusius, known also to Lizel, we may add some others, such as those by David Hoeschel (*VD16* H 4098), Michael Neander (*VD16* N 400 and N 401), Johannes Posselius (*VD16* ZV 19291), Wilhelm Christian Justus Chrysander (*VD18* 10235167).

139 Neander and Volland (1582) (*VD16* N 415); Neander (1555) (*VD16* 1:414 and *VD16* 1:415); Posselius (1585) (*VD16* P 4405); Sidelmann (1587) (*VD16* M 7394); Dinner (1589) (*VD16* D 1770); Helwig (1610) (*VD17* 3:314373U); Coelemann (1611) (*VD17* 12:129545W); Kirchner (1643) (*VD17* 3:311969C and *VD17* 547:654723C). Cf. Paulsen (1885: 256). For the systematic conception of Posselius's didactic writings in Greek (*Οἰκεῖοι διάλογοι, Syntaxis Graeca*, and *Calligraphia oratoria*), see esp. Johnson (2006: 190–99).

140 They are also very important for the right treatment in editing and evaluating Greek texts written by humanists, as demonstrated by Rhein (1987: 39–50).

141 Kirchner lists in his *Catalogus Auctorum*: Joachim Camerarius, Scipio Carteromachus, Martin Crusius, Paul Dolscius, Georg Fabricius, Matthaeus Gothus, Daniel Heinsius, Matthias Illyricus, Maximus Margunius, Jacobus Meilerius, Jacobus Micyllus, Olympia Fulvia Morata, Marcus Musurus, Angelo Poliziano, Johannes Posselius, L. Rhodomannus, Josephus Scaliger, Fridericus Sylburgus, Henricus Stephanus, Johannes Vollandus, Carolus

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

differentiate between ancient and recent poets, which illustrates how he understood the unity of ancient and modern literature in agreement with Lizel and other humanists, such as the above-mentioned Crasso.

If we now extend our perspective from the texts themselves to their production process and context, we can observe that there clearly were some local centres of Greek writing, which can be inferred from the biographical information Lizel provides. This geographical approach to the material was already taken by Johann Caspar Löscher in 1697 in his dissertation *De meritis Germanorum in Graecas literas*, which was unknown to Lizel but is discussed in detail by Walther Ludwig.[142] If we systematically relate the authors Lizel mentions to the places where they worked or studied, the following centres emerge:

TABLE 16.1 Centres of Greek writing in Germany, according to Georg Lizel

City	Authors of Greek
Wittenberg[a]	Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560), Lorenz Rhodoman (1546–1606), Erasmus Schmid (1570–1637), Johann Erich Ostermann (1611–1668), Balthasar Stolberg (1640–1684), Conrad Samuel Schurzfleisch (1641–1708), Samuel Knauth (1665–1735), Georg Friedrich Thryllitzsch (1688–1715)
Ilfeld	Michael Neander (1525–1595), Johannes Mylius (1535–1575), Georg Cocus/Koch (2nd half of 16th cent.), Johann Volland (d. 1594), Lorenz Rhodoman (1546–1606), Wolfgang Finckelthaus (2nd half of 16th cent.), Johannes Martin (2nd half of 16th cent.), Matthaeus Gothus (1548–1619), Theodosius Fabricius (1560–1597), Heinrich Volckmar (d. 1599), Erasmus S(e)idelmann (d. 1635),[b] Heinrich Extormius/Eckstorm (1557–1622)[c]
Altdorf	Conrad Rittershausen (1560–1613), Jacob Tydaeus (1572–1654), Johann Saubert (1638–1688), Georg Matthias König (1616–1698), Christoph Sonntag (1654–1717), Christian Gottlieb Schwarz (1675–1751), Johann Heinrich Schulze (1687–1744)

Utenhovius, Matthaeus Zuberus. Conrad Dinner (see n. 139) also integrates *auctores recentiores* in his *Epithetorum Graecorum farrago*. These are, according to his *Catalogus Auctorum*, the following ones: Janus Lascaris, Marcus Musurus, Angelo Poliziano, Scipio Carteromachus, Johannes Baptista Camotius, Joachim Camerarius, Sebastian Castelio, Paulus Dolscius.

142 See Ludwig (1998: 83–104).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

TABLE 16.1 Centres of greek writing in Germany, according to Georg Lizel (*cont.*)

City	Authors of Greek
Tübingen	Johannes Reuchlin (1455–1522), Jacob Schegkius (1511–1587), Martin Crusius (1526–1607), David Friedrich Megerlin (d. 1778), Johann Theophil Walz (1st half of 18th cent.)
Rostock	Johannes Posselius (1528–1591), Johannes Caselius (1533–1613), Jonas Latomus (2nd half of 16th cent.)
Helmstedt	Johannes Caselius (1533–1613), Conrad Horneius (1590–1649), Johannes Brenneccius (1599–1655)
Gießen	Christoph Helwig (1581–1617), Johann Conrad Dieterich (1612–1667), Franciscus Sohstius (2nd half of 17th cent.)
Halle[d]	Paul Dolscius (1526–1589), Hieronymus Freyer (1675–1747), Johann Heinrich Schulze (1687–1744)
Leipzig[e]	Joachim Camerarius (1500–1574), Lampert Alard (1602–1672),[f] Johann Gottfried Herrichen (1629–1705)

a For Wittenberg, see especially Päll (2017b) and Rhein (2017).

b Martin (*VD16* L 5258), Volckmar (*VD16* ZV 338), and Fabricius (*VD16* F 499, B 4672) are unknown to Lizel, but they are recorded as pupils of Neander in Weidasch (1853: 9–12). Gothus and Seidelmann are mentioned but not as pupils of Neander.

c See *VD16* ZV 21752, *VD16* ZV 21753 (*Historia Beati Laurentii Martyris Graeco carmine conscripta*), *VD16* ZV 21755. Eckstorm (GND 128786167) is not mentioned by Lizel. See Ludwig (1998: 74).

d For Halle, see Weise (2011).

e For Leipzig as center of Greek studies, see Rhein (2017: 17–18).

f Alard is not mentioned by Lizel, but, in 1624, he published a collection of Greek poems entitled *Delitiae Atticae* (= *VD17* 3:316644G) in Leipzig. See Päll (2017b: 354).

This table (which is by no means exhaustive) should be further analysed through more detailed chronological and prosopographical research to create timelines and identify personal relationships and special networks, such as those of teachers and their pupils. Such networks can be exemplified by the case of Ilfeld, where Neander had a demonstrably lasting influence on his pupils Volland, Rhodoman, Mylius, Cocus, Gothus, Martin, Volckmar, Seidelmann, and Finckelthaus.[143] The same is true for Melanchthon's pupils, one of whom was Neander.[144] Networks also existed beyond the level of local circles. Crusius,

143 Cf. Wiedasch (1853: 9–12); Ludwig (1998: 74).

144 See esp. Rhein (2017).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

for example, established a far-reaching network of Hellenists, including Paul Dolscius, Michael Neander, Lorenz Rhodoman, and Nicolaus Reusner.[145]

From the books Lizel mentions we can also extract the names of some printers, who seem to have supported or even specialised in Greek writing in the German Protestant milieu. For the second half of the sixteenth century, we could name Hans Rambau the Elder[146] in Leipzig (see *VD16* numbers: B 4042, B 4673, M 7392, T 1227, ZV 1797, ZV 26783), Johannes Krafft/Crato (d. 1578) in Wittenberg (see *VD16* numbers: ZV 26017), Tobias Steinmann in Jena (see *VD16* numbers: R 1368, ZV 22446), and especially Johannes Oporin (1507–68) in Basel (see *VD16* numbers: B 3122, C 6141, I 414).

6 Future Perspectives[147]

The above has shown, I hope, that Lizel's volume is a very valuable source as it collects and groups material that would be very difficult to find otherwise. However, it can just be a starting point, having its obvious lacks and limits. First, we must remain aware that Lizel's list of authors and works is itself not complete. He excluded or neglected some authors, and Greek writing continued after his work. Thanks to digitalisation and linking among library catalogues, we are now in a far better position than Lizel to seek further information and connect the available data.[148] This will be especially important for showing the personal connections between authors because their Greek as well as Latin poems took part in social networking processes, such as the *res publica literaria*. Thus, we also must consider handwritten sources, which are much more difficult to find,[149] as well as contemporary re-editions and translations of Greek poems into Latin or even German.[150]

145 See Ludwig (1998: 28–82).

146 *ADB*: XXVIII, 370–71.

147 A point of reference here is what Heinz Hofmann said about tasks and perspectives of Neo-Latin studies in 2000. See Hofmann (2000).

148 The *VD16*- and *VD17*-Database is a very useful tool, as is the electronic platform *Deutsche Biographie* and the *Gemeinsame Normdatei: GND* (formerly *Personennamendatei: PND*), now accessible through the OGND (<swb.bsz-bw.de/DB=2.104>). These tools help us to identify persons and writings that Lizel knew only second-hand, such as Jonas Latomus (GND 120734354), Georg Molter (GND 119766035), Johann Treuner (GND 104091568), Johann Raue (GND 12124816X), Samuel Knauth (GND 128712937), and Georg Friedrich Thryllitzsch (GND 103149996).

149 See, for example, *VL16*: V, 300–10 and Gärtner (2017) (for a manuscript by Lorenz Rhodoman).

150 See, for example, *VL16*: V, 133–34 and *VL16*: V, 307 (on the reception of Rhodoman).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

There remains the special task of seeking differences and developments in the use of Greek writing from its inception in Germany to the nineteenth century and from the nineteenth century to the present. In this chapter, I could give only some hints and suggestions in this respect. Further attention should also be paid to the relationship of Greek writing to contemporary writing in Latin and the vernacular and to the historical context in general.[151]

Lizel has a strong confessional focus, so further studies should explore the Catholic areas in more detail to provide a more comprehensive perspective. It is reasonable to assume that there were more Catholic poets than Caspar Ursinus Velius, Conrad Dinner, Arnoldus Angelus, Jakob Gretser and Matth. Maierus, all of whom Lizel mentions.[152]

Furthermore, as Lizel indicates, Greek writing was not just a German practice but was popular all over Europe and later also in other parts of the world. Therefore, further research should explore Greek writing in other countries and examine the connections between Germany and its neighbours to get a better understanding of the phenomenon as a whole.

Finally, we need new, detailed studies on individual works,[153] as well as annotated editions, in order to get a more differentiated impression of this kind of literature and how to evaluate it.[154] The possible profits of future investigations in these directions could be broader perspectives on the European *res publica literaria*, deeper insights into the reception of Greek literature and, last but not least, the discovery of mostly unknown literature in Germany and beyond.

151 Cf. Hofmann (2000: 58); Weise (2017a).

152 This lack of knowledge was indicated by Ludwig (1998: 80–81, 103). For Catholic Greek writings, see also Flogaus (2015a: 249–50). For the specific regulations of Greek learning and writing in the Jesuits' *Ratio studiorum* (1599), see Pontani (2017: 323). Some research within the *VD16*- and *VD17*-catalogues revealed, for example, the following Catholic authors of Greek: Johannes Ritter (*VD16* R 2531); Kaspar Kirchmaier (*VD16* K 960; C 1129); and Georg Mayr (*VD17* 12:651188K, 12:128135P).

153 See, for example, Ludwig (2014).

154 Cf. Hofmann (2000: 78–88). Some good new editions have been published in Italy: Filelfo's Greek poems were published by Cortassa & Maltese (1997); Poliziano's by Pontani (2002); Tambroni's by Tosi (2011). For Germany, see esp. Rhein's edition of Melanchthon's poetry (Melanchthon 1987) as well as the edition of Camerarius's by Mundt, Schäfer & Orth (2004). Lexicographical, orthographical, grammatical, and metrical companions are still missing completely.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Appendix

1 *Alphabetical List of Greek Authors Treated by Lizel, with Dates of Birth and Death, Individualised Gemeinsame Normdatei-Numbers (GND), and Page-Number in Lizel*

Antonius **Aemilius** (1589–1660, GND 116009144; pp. 267f.), Tobias **Aleutner** (1574–1633, GND 123059186; pp. 227–29), Arnoldus **Angelus** (1620–1690, GND 128949694; pp. 279–81)

Jean **Bénédict** (d. 1664; pp. 216–21), Matthias **Bergius** (1536–1592, GND 124894062; pp. 125f.), Paul **Blocius** (1560–1639, GND 115850848; p. 233), Johannes **Brenneccius** (1599–1655, GND 104308761; p. 264), Rudolf **Burenneus** (1st half of 17th cent., GND: deest; p. 287),[155] Adam **Bythnerus/Büthner** (1589–1643, GND deest; p. 232)[156]

Joachim **Camerarius** (1500–1574, GND 118518569; pp. 38–47), Theophilus **Cannegießer** (GND 124971695; pp. 212f.), Johannes **Caselius** (1533–1613, GND 116118547; pp. 173–80), Sebastian **Castellio** (1515–1563, GND 118519565; pp. 51–55), Jacobus **Ceporinus** (1499–1529, GND 119870010; pp. 36–38), Caspar **Cnollius** (*c.*1605, GND deest, pp. 222f.), Georg **Cocus/Koch** (GND 119732238; pp. 113f.), Peter **Coelemann** (1st half of 17th cent., GND 121740234; pp. 231f.), Georg **Cracow** (1525–1575, GND 117664251; pp. 98f.),[157] Jakob **Crell** (16th cent., GND 100094945; p. 55), Martin **Crusius** (1526–1607, GND 118677446; pp. 102–13), Theodor **Crusius** (d. 1685; pp. 273f.)

Jakob **Degen/Schegkius** (1511–1587, GND 118606875; pp. 59f.), Johann Conrad **Dieterich** (1612–1667, GND 10010701X; pp. 247–49), Conrad **Dinner** (GND 116137827; pp. 199f.), Paul **Dolscius** (1526–1589, GND 100110517; pp. 81–91), Matthaeus **Dresserus** (1536–1607, GND 116218363; pp. 129–31)

Zachaeus **Faber** (1554–1628, GND 128515155; pp. 191f.), Georg **Fabricius** (1516–1571, GND 118531735; pp. 55–57), Wolfgang **Finckelthaus** (2nd half of 16th cent., GND 11967176X; pp. 123f.),[158] Matthias **Garbitius** (Lizel: Flacius) **Illyricus** (about 1505–1559, GND 11642043X; pp. 71–73),[159] Georg **Franck von Franckenau** (1643–1704, GND 102374031; pp. 287–89), Christoph **Frey** (2nd half of 16th cent., GND 104260408; p. 152), Hieronymus **Freyer** (1675–1747, GND 118535420; pp. 316–19), Nicodemus **Frischlin** (1547–1590, GND 118693719; pp. 132–52), Matthias **Führer/Furerus** (2nd half of 16th cent., GND 119671255; pp. 80f.)

Johannes **Gasmann** (mid 16th cent., GND 119681676; p. 98), Johannes **Gebhard** (17th cent., GND deest; pp. 262f.), Conrad **Gessner** (1516–1565, GND 118694413;

155 See Flood (2006: I, 262–63).

156 See Flood (2006: I, 273–74).

157 For Cracow, see Rhein (2017: 28–30).

158 See Wiedasch (1853: 14).

159 Lizel confused Matthias Garbitius with Matthias Flacius (1520–1575, GND 118533649), as both of them used the cognomen *Illyricus*. For Garbitius see Rhein (2017: 34).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

pp. 64f.), Bernhard **Glaser** (1561–1609, GND 124877362; pp. 221f.), Matthaeus **Gothus** (1548–1619, GND 120471442; pp. 128f.), David **Grafunder** (d. 1680, GND 124624278; pp. 270f.), Johann **Grassarus** (*c.*1600, GND deest; p. 212), Jakob **Gretser** (1562–1625, GND 118542087; pp. 213–16), Andreas **Grundlerus** (1506/1516–1555, GND 128370890; pp. 32f.)

Johann **Hartung** (1505–1579, GND 11950685 8; pp. 66–70), Georg **Hausmann** (1583–1639, GND 124596711; p. 241), Johann **Havinckhorstius/Havichorst** (16th cent., GND 124677657; pp. 57f.), Christoph **Helwig** (1581–1617, GND 100292208; pp. 223–27), Johann Gottfried **Herrichen** (1629–1705, GND 100098401; pp. 289–303), Jeremias **Hölzlin** (1583–1641, GND 124615155; pp. 242–45), Conrad **Horneius** (1590–1649, GND 116993901; pp. 254–57), Christoph **Hunnich** (1567–1623, GND 104375299; p. 201), Johannes **Hunold(t)** (2nd half of 17th cent., GND 12442046X; p. 287)

Paul **Jung** (2nd half of 16th cent., GND 119724855; pp. 131f)

Georg Jakob **Kehr** (1692–1760, GND 1032139404; pp. 322–24), Johann Georg **Kettembeil** (1624–1675, GND 104368624; pp. 272f.), Christoph **Kirchner** (1565–1635, GND 129423963; pp. 250f.), Samuel **Knauth** (1665–1735, GND 128712937; p. 319), Georg Matthias **König** (1616–1698, GND 11629213X; pp. 282–85), Elias **Kolb** (1619–1679, GND 121533727; pp. 252–54)

Johann Michael **Lange** (1664–1731, GND 100299962; pp. 304–06), Jonas (Lizel: Bartholomaeus) **Latomus** (2nd half of 16th cent., GND 120734354; p. 32), Johann **Lauremberg** (1590–1658, GND 118726714; pp. 257f.), Georg **Leuschner** (1589–1673, GND 102834571; pp. 259–62), Nicolaus **Leutinger** (1554–1612, GND 124869084; pp. 180–82), Johannes **Lonicer** (1497/1499–1569, GND 117212733; pp. 33–36), Laurentius **Ludovicus** (1536–1594, GND 128473460; pp. 126–28), Johannes **Lundorp** (2nd half of 16th cent., GND 119748630; p. 189), Ottmar **Luscinius/Nacht(i)gall** (1478/1480–1537, GND 117320005; pp. 28–32)

Hiob **Magdeburg** (1518–1595, GND 119544865; pp. 65f.), Martin **Mager von Schönberg** (1st half of 17th cent., GND 101045476; pp. 241f.), Matth. **Maierus** (GND deest; p. 279), David Friedrich **Megerlin** (1699–1778, GND 124269680; pp. 328–30), Hieronymus **Megiser** (*c.*1554–1619, GND 116992514; pp. 194f.), Jakob **Meiler** (2nd half of 16th cent., GND 104265868; pp. 211f.), Philipp **Melanchthon** (1497–1560, GND 118580485; pp. 13–24), Johannes **Melas** (mid 16th cent., GND 119758652; pp. 122f.), Jacob **Micyllus** (1503–1558, GND 100310281; pp. 47–51), Georg **Molter** (2nd half of 16th cent., GND 119766035; p. 114), Olympia Fulvia **Morata** (1526–1555, GND 118960636; p. 33),[160] Johannes **Mylius** (1535–1575, GND 129955639; pp. 114f.),[161] Henricus **Mylius** (mid 16th cent., GND 1055511008; pp. 70f.)

160 For Morata, see *VL16*: IV, 475–80 (477) and Niklas Holzberg in Weise (2017b: 47–62).

161 For Mylius, see *VL16*: IV, 550, 552.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Michael **Neander** (1525–1595, GND 116901675; pp. 92–97), Heinrich **Neumeister** (GND 119773244; p. 114), Adam Laurentius **Nicolai** (1645–1678, GND 130569496; pp. 281f.), Antonius **Niger** (*c.*1500–1555, GND 129424765; pp. 63f.)

Johann Erich **Ostermann** (1611–1668, GND 122262638; pp. 264–67)

Christoph **Pelargus** (1565–1633, GND 116074418; pp. 206f.), Philippus **Pizanius** (17th cent., GND 120279819; p. 241), Aemilius **Portus** (1550–1614, GND 124362427; pp. 183–87), Johannes **Posselius** (1528–1591, GND 116276967; pp. 117–22), Abdias **Praetorius** (1524–1573, GND 28621761; pp. 76–79)

Daniel **Rauchius** (1630–1683, GND deest; p. 262), Johann **Raue/Ravius** (1610–1679, GND 12124816X; p. 245), Michael **Retell** (1530–1576, GND 119802376; pp. 124f.), Johannes **Reuchlin** (1455–1522, GND 118744658; pp. 1–13), Johann Peter **Reusch** (1691–1758, GND 115536884; pp. 324f.), Nicolaus **Reusner** (1545–1602, GND 100069983; pp. 202–05), Johannes **Rhellikan/Müller** (1473–1542, GND 12471773X; p. 58), Lorenz **Rhodoman** (1546–1606, GND 11752705X; pp. 154–73), Conrad **Rittershausen** (1560–1613, GND 104288639; pp. 195–98),[162] Matthaeus **Ro(e)s(e)lerus** (1527/1528–1569, GND 122701933; p. 92),[163] Caspar **Rubiger** (2nd half of 16th cent.; GND 119811103; p. 190), Nicolaus **Rumannus** (2nd half of 16th cent., GND deest; p. 200)

Johann **Saubert** (1638–1688, GND 104142197; pp. 245–47), Johannes **Schelhammer** (1527–1605, GND 12388117X; pp. 229f.),[164] Christoph **Schilling** (d. 1583, GND 104176792; pp. 182f.), Johannes **Schirmer** (2nd half of 16th cent., GND 119820196; p. 190), Erasmus **Schmi(e)d(t)** (1570–1637, GND 117644161; pp. 234–40), Heinrich **Schmid** (1611–1653, GND 132007975; pp. 258f.), Johann Heinrich **Schulze** (1687–1744, GND 123165350; pp. 320–22), Conrad Samuel **Schurzfleisch** (1641–1708, GND 117316369; pp. 306–12), Christian Gottlieb **Schwarz** (1675–1751, GND 115661069; pp. 315f.), Erasmus **S(e)idelmann** (d. 1635, GND 118183117; pp. 198f.), Franciscus **Sohstius** (2nd half of 17th cent., GND 129277428; pp. 278f.), Christoph **Son(n)tag** (1654–1717, GND 117475890; pp. 312–15), Caspar **Stiblin** (1526–1563, GND 119268108; pp. 73–76), Balthasar **Stolberg** (1640–1684, GND 124439403; pp. 274–78)

Bernhardus **Tegederus** (1483–1526, GND deest; pp. 24f.), Justus **Tetzler** (16th cent., GND 104081422; p. 202), Georg Friedrich **Thryllitzsch** (1688–1715, GND 103149996; p. 320), Georg **Thym/Klee** (1520–1560, GND 119849410; p. 63), Sadrach **Tomann** (2nd half of 16th cent., GND 119850591; p. 132), Jacobus **Treter** (1573–1631, GND 117414786; p. 233), Johann **Treuner** (*c.*1600, GND 104091568; pp. 230f), Jakob **Tydaeus** (1572–1654, GND 117439525; p. 230)

162 For Rittershausen, see *VL16*: V, 316–24 (320).

163 For Röseler, see Rhein (2017: 29).

164 For Schelhammer, see Rhein (2017: 27).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Andreas **Unglen(c)k** (1632–1697, GND 124703879; pp. 268f.), Caspar **Ursinus Velius** (1493–1539, GND 120768542; pp. 25–28), Johannes **Ursinus** (1557–1609, GND 119855461 [?]; pp. 205f.), Zacharias Ursinus (1534–1583, GND 118803573; pp. 99–102)

Gothofredus **Voigtius** (1644–1682, GND 1055719962 [?]; pp. 269f.), Johann **Volland** (d. 1594, GND 128623845; pp. 187–89), Georg **Volkart** (1558–1628, GND 124940765; pp. 192f.), Justus **Vulteius** (1528–1575, GND 124906761; pp. 116f.)

Johann Theophil **Walz** (1st half of 18th cent., GND 122991249; pp. 330–33), Georg Wilhelm **von Werthern** (GND 120815435; pp. 271f.), Friedrich **Widebram** (1532–1585, GND 124543251; pp. 152–54), Andreas **Wilke** (1562–1631, GND 128565071; p. 202), Hieronymus **Wolf** (1516–1580, GND 100706460; pp. 60–62), Martin **Wolfart** (2nd half of 17th cent., GND 1030500436; pp. 303f.), Johann **Wulferus/Wülfer** (1651–1724, GND 117429732; p. 286)

Joachim **Zehner** (1566–1612, GND 117595276; pp. 190f.), Matthaeus **Zuber** (1570–1623, GND 117019801; pp. 207–11)

2 *List of Biblical Paraphrases Mentioned by Lizel*[165]

2a Paraphrases of the Old Testament

Chanticles: Georg Leuschner (1650) (*VD17* 3:314228U)

Daniel: Martin Crusius (1555) (*VD16* C 6140); Georg Cocus/Koch (1568) (Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg; Sign. H00/MISC 182); Zachaeus Faber (1583) (*VD16* ZV 30963)

Ecclesiastes: Paul Dolscius (1559) (*VD16* B 3639, D 2171)

Jeremy: Wolfgang Finckelthaus (1571) (*VD16* B 3791)

Jonas:[166] Joachim Zehner (1584);[167] Andreas Wilke (1590) (*VD16* ZV 17817)

Prayer of Manasseh: Johann Gottfried Herrichen (1691) (*VD17* 39:141036S)

Proverbs: Johannes Schirmer (1584) (*VD16* ZV 1755); Jacob Meil(l)er (1599)[168]

Psalms:[169] Antonius Niger (1552) (*VD16* B 3413); Paul Dolscius (1552, 1555) (*VD16* ZV 1624, B 3122); Matthaeus Röseler (1562) (*VD16* C 2580), Aemilius Portus (1581) (*VD16* B 3127); Caspar Rubiger (1584) (not identifiable); Theophilus Cannegießer (1610) (*VD17* 7:701148U); Martin Mager (1624) (not identifiable)

---

165 Works listed here have not been included in the General Bibliography. The bibliographical details can be found in the corresponding entries in the *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke* (*VD16*, *VD17*, and *VD18*), as referenced here.

166 Not mentioned by Lizel: Georg Cocus/Koch (1574) (*VD16* ZV 1797).

167 Cf. Kinderling (1792: 37).

168 Cf. Masch (1781: 338).

169 Other paraphrases not mentioned by Lizel are Jonas Latomus 1583 (*VD16* ZV 1630) and Matthias Furerus/Führer 1587 (*VD16* ZV 22446). For the special interest of Protestant humanists in psalm-paraphrases, see esp. Ludwig (2001b: 46–50).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Sirach: Paul Dolscius (1571) (*VD16* B 4042); Friedrich Widebram (not identifiable)
Others: Johann Treuner (1609) (*VD17* 7:701102X)

2b Paraphrases of the New Testament

Tim. 1: Michael Retell 1568 (*VD16* ZV 26783)
Gospels and letters of the church year: Martin Crusius (1567) (*VD16* C 6141), Johannes Posselius (1568) (*VD16* E 4524); Matthias Bergius (1580) (*VD16* B 1816) / *id.* (1662) (*VD17* 547:667221B); Johannes Lundorp (1582) (*VD16* L 3266 + L 3265); Johann Gottfried Herrichen (1688) (*VD17* 23:280624P); *id.* (1692) (*VD17* 23:664779K)
NT **in general or in parts:** Sebastian Castellio (1545) (*VD16* C 2133); Heinrich Neumeister (1566) (*VD16* ZV 6017), Georg Molter (1568) (*VD16* ZV 21220); Henrich Mylius (1569) (*VD16* B 4673); Matthaeus Gothus (1573) (*VD16* G 2678); Paul Jung (1574) (*VD16* B 4674); Justus Tetzler (1592) (*VD16* T 610); Jonas Latomus (1593) (*VD16* ZV 9471); Paulus Blocius (^{2}1618) (*VD17* 23:287018L)

2c Biblical History in General

Lorenz Rhodoman (1581) (VD16 R 2093); id. (1589) (VD16 2105)

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

CHAPTER 17

Hyperborean Flowers: Humanist Greek Around the Baltic Sea (16th–17th Centuries)

Janika Päll

This paper discusses the arrival of humanist Greek in the northernmost regions of Europe—the *Ultima Thule* of the Hellenizing world. The Nordic fascination with Greek arrived rather late, and long after the humanist golden age of Hellenism had already taken place in Italy and Central Europe.[1] It achieved its first peak by the middle of the seventeenth century, followed by a second, smaller peak towards the end of the century.[2] Thus, the dissemination of Greek culture in the northernmost regions of Europe roughly coincided with the rise and consolidation of the Swedish state as a pillar of Protestantism in the Baltic Sea between the reign of Gustav Vasa (1523–1560) and the end of the Great Nordic War (1700–1721). During this period, professors, students, and their ideas travelled over the Baltic Sea from west to east and back, but even more importantly, between Lutheran Germany and Northern Europe.[3] Students who had

1 The adjective "Nordic" is used in this chapter, in the modern socio-political sense, for the five traditional Nordic and three Baltic countries, as distinguished from Germany, the Low Countries, and England, which, being situated north of the Alps, are often referred to as "Northern" in discussions of humanism. The names "Swedish kingdom/state/territories" and "Great Sweden", as well as the adjective "Swedish", here refer to all areas which belonged to the Swedish kingdom in the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century; however, the short state names refer to modern borders, as in: Sweden, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, etc. Similarly, "German" refers to Germanophone regions, etc. As in the case of states, the modern names of towns are used, corresponding to the practice in respective states, so: Tallinn (Reval), Tartu (Dorpat), Turku (Åbo), Vilnius (Vilna), etc. The chapter has been written with the support of Estonian Research Agency's project PUT 132 (Päll) and Swedish Research Council's project 2016-01881 (Akujärvi).

2 Hellenism peaked in Italy in the second half of the fifteenth century and in the rest of Europe during the period between 1530 and 1560 (Saladin 2000: 231, 305). Especially in Lutheran countries, Greek studies peaked towards the end of the sixteenth century and first decade of the seventeenth century (Ludwig 1998; Ludwig 2014: 138; Ludwig 2017: 134). Greek teaching, however, climaxed much later, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and writing in Greek remained popular until the end of the century (Weise 2016: 120–21). In Italy, Greek writing continued on a high level during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (on this, see now Pontani 2017).

3 Tering (2007); Tering (2008); Asche (2007: 41, 48–50); Czaika (2002).

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2020 | DOI:10.1163/9789004402461_019
Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

studied abroad as well as newly arrived *litterati* from Germany filled the vacant posts in schools and churches, bringing with them knowledge of the Greek language, which was considered crucially important as a vehicle for Reformation and Lutheran education.[4] Although interest in Greek did initially not surpass the level of school humanism[5] and was mostly cast in the instrumental role of *ancilla theologiae*, humanist Greek literature flourished in the Nordic countries in the seventeenth century.

In my discussion of Nordic Hellenism, I will specifically concentrate on Greek compositions which were written in the Kingdom of Sweden, especially in its north-eastern regions (Estonia and Livonia), and dating to the period between the Reformation and the Livonian War (1558–1583), and the Great Nordic War (1700–1721).[6] In the middle of this period, during the Thirty Years War (1618–1648), the region of what is now Estonia and Latvia was a safe haven, enabling the development of a culture in which the Baltic German upper classes helped expand the German and Lutheran Greek traditions even more than they had been in Finland and Sweden itself.[7] This revival of Greek heritage and interest in humanist Greek literature in Swedish territories between the sixteenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries have received at least some scholarly attention from as early on as the eighteenth century. The interest in Nordic Hellenism has resulted in useful bibliographies and overviews of printing in several towns or regions, which form a basis for text corpora.[8] However, in order to understand the specifics of Nordic humanist Greek, such as the practice of writing Pindaric odes, orations, or disputations in Greek, we need to consider the phenomenon in its wider context and with special attention to its relation with the "Greek" tradition of the rest of Europe.

---

4 Ben-Tov (2009: 32–33, 135–58); and Saladin (2000: 395–96, 306).

5 Storchová (2014: 35–53). For the institutionalisation of the teaching of Greek in Central Europe, including Melanchthon's role, see Saladin (2000: 329–61).

6 Estonia and Livonia (corresponding to modern southern Estonian and northern Latvian territories) became part of the Russian empire in 1710; the empire also acquired Finland in 1809, and Curonia (in modern Latvia) in 1795. Norway and Demark require a separate discussion to do justice to their different historical situations.

7 Lindqvist (1992–2006: II, III, IV); Meyer (2013); Palmer (2006); Wittram (1973: 1–124); or Mühlen (1994a) and Mühlen (1994b).

8 Fant (1775–1786); Floderus (1785–1789); Korhonen (2004); Sironen (2018); Bērziņa (2018); Päll (2010); Päll (2018a); Šiško (2013); Laine & Nyqvist (1996); Jaanson (2000); Klöker (2005: II, 549–67); Garber (2001–2013); Melander (1951–1959: I); Vallinkoski (1962–1966); and Doria (<www.doria.fi>), which is a multi-institutional repository, finalised in September 2017 and maintained by the National Library of Finland. In this repository, which includes digitalisations of dissertations by the members of the Academia Regia Aboensis (founded in 1640 in Turku, from 1827 the University of Helsinki), Greek texts can be found by searching for "kriekankielinen".

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Apart from introducing the main features of Nordic Greek literature, this article also situates the phenomenon in its historical context. In particular, we need to understand the role of religion (and confession) in the development of humanist Greek literature. One of the goals of the education reforms in Sweden was to prepare well-educated Lutheran pastors; however, the flourishing of Greek which resulted from it, entailed much more knowledge and dedication to the language than that required of a clergyman. Without a comparison with the Central European and Italian traditions of Greek writing, it would be difficult to understand the originality of Nordic Greek humanism. Thus, in this paper I will seek to trace the path from the Hyperborean blossoms of Nordic Hellenism back to the Italian tree onto which Greek culture was grafted during the Renaissance, to recall a metaphor used by Jean-Christophe Saladin.[9] Against the background of the general interest in Greek literature and the instrumental use of the ancient Greek language in the Nordic countries, the colours of the rare and late flowers of Nordic Hellenism seem even brighter.

1 The Migration of Greek to the North in the Sixteenth Century

The travels of Swedish and Baltic students to German universities became more frequent after the Reformation, which in Sweden, Finland, Estonia, and Latvia gained ground gradually from the 1520s onwards.[10] At the same time, young graduates from Germany travelled north to find work. A Greek letter or poem not only testified to a student's progress in learning the language but could also be used as proof of excellence when applying for or entering into a professorship for Greek or poetics (or another discipline), or a position of pastor. Several extant application letters in humanist Greek (from the period between the 1550s and the early eighteenth century) testify to this.[11]

By closing down Catholic educational institutions, the Lutheran Reformation had dealt a serious blow to learning in the Swedish kingdom that took about a century to recover.[12] In Italy and, slightly later, the German and French humanist centres, interest in Greek had been defined mainly by a fascination with the

9 Saladin (2000: 50, 59, 139).

10 Asche (2007). The confession was officially accepted at the Uppsala Council in 1593 (Montgomery 1995).

11 On fellowship applications in Greek by Finnish students, see Korhonen (2004: 135–48); Klöker (2005: I, 111), mentioning a Greek letter by Franciscus Tetzelerus, preserved in TLA, MS 230.1.BO_10 9, fol. 54; Päll (2018a: 70–71), on a letter by Johann Adam Weigel dating to 1707 and preserved in RA, Livonica 11-417.

12 Lockhart (2004: 9).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Greek philosophers, poets, and Church fathers, and only later moved towards the translation of Bible into the vernaculars.[13] In Sweden and Finland, by contrast, Greek studies mainly started in the confessional context. Following Erasmus's *Novum Instrumentum* (1516) and Luther's German Bible (1522), vernacular translations of the New Testament appeared in Swedish (1526) and Finnish (1548). The translators Olaus Petri (1493–1552) and Mikael Agricola (1510–1557) had studied in Wittenberg with Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560), and Luther's Bible influenced their translations from Greek.[14]

In Estonia and Latvia (Livonia), the situation was slightly different, and the translations of the Bible followed only in the seventeenth century, after humanist school curricula had been established. This lateness was due to the fact that the peasants were largely illiterate, while the German-speaking pastors active there generally had too little knowledge of the so-called peasant vernaculars to be able to translate the Bible into the local languages, and thus had to use Luther's Bible. The full Estonian and Latvian translations of the New Testament were printed only at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, when parish schools had started spreading literacy, although not yet ancient languages.[15]

The teaching of introductory Greek in Swedish town schools began in 1571 by Laurentius Petri Gothus's (1529/1530–1579) school order; but at first printing in Greek, so crucial for the advancement of studies, was not yet available.[16] However, some pastors who had studied abroad followed Melanchthon's example of writing poems in Greek, including the above-mentioned Laurentius Petri Gothus and Olaus Martini (1557–1609) in Uppsala.[17] The first Swedish

13 Saladin (2000: 145).

14 See Montgomery (1995); Laine & Nyqvist (1996: no. 165); Heikkilä & Heininen (2016: 56–63). For the *Novum Instrumentum*, see Saladin (2000: 160–64, 190–93, 235).

15 Translations appeared in 1685 (Latvian), 1686 (southern Estonian), and 1715 (northern Estonian), on which see Beyer (2014); Paul (1999); Lotman (2014).

16 See Lindroth (1975: I, 211–14); Klemming & Nordin (1883); Korhonen (2004: 82–88). For the role of printing, see Saladin (2000: 305–29).

17 Laurentius Petri Gothus (professor of Greek in Uppsala and later the archbishop) had published a Greek dedication epigram to King Eric XIV (in Petri 1559), on which see Fant (1775: I, 19); Olaus Martini (also archbishop of Uppsala) had a Greek gratulation published in Rostock in 1584, for the *laurea magistralis* of Vyborg (Swedish Ingermannland in Finland, now Russia) student Christian Ruuth, see Fant (1775: I, 21–22). For the republication of their poems, see Nordgren (forthcoming). For Melanchthon's Greek poetry, see Rhein (1987). The Danish humanist Jakob Jespersen (first half of the sixteenth century) also published his poetry in Antwerp, but he probably never returned to his homeland (see, e.g., his collection of Latin and Greek poems: Jespersen 1544, with Harsting 2001). This is also the case for Niels Lauridsen (*alias* Nicolaus Laurentii Ripensis), who published his long Greek orations in Wittenberg (Lauridsen 1574, 1575).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

humanist Greek poems were therefore published abroad, in important German centres for Lutheranism and Greek studies, such as Wittenberg, and later Rostock, both important study destinations for Nordic and Baltic students, especially for Melanchthon and his students, such as Johannes Caselius (1533–1613) and Johannes Posselius the Elder (1528–1591).[18]

In Estonia, the same tendency can be discerned several decades later: in 1617, the Baltic-German student Ericus von Beeck (1588–1650) from Tallinn published in Rostock a Greek gratulatory piece for a compatriot that was based on a quotation from Homer's *Iliad*.[19] Thus, for all Nordic countries the overall tendency was the same: the first (sometimes the only) Greek poems by authors from the periphery were printed abroad, in bigger centres of education and printing, such as Wittenberg, Jena, or Rostock.[20]

2 The Struggle of Introducing Humanist Poetry in Estonia: the Case of Gregor Krüger Mesylanus

In the second half of the sixteenth century, newcomers from Germany and local *litterati* formed a so-called humanist circle around Riga Cathedral School that was mainly based on a common interest in Latin literature.[21] Literary life in Tallinn at that time was mainly reflected in poetry in High German, stimulated by the professors from Germany who had been invited to teach at the town school.[22] Apart from this there was also an emergent humanist culture, centring on classical education. A partially preserved tombstone (dating to

18 For the influence of Wittenberg and Rostock, see Rhein (1996) and Rhein (2017). Other important destinations were Jena, Greifswald, Marburg, and (mainly for the students from the remote areas of the Swedish kingdom, such as Finland) Uppsala; see Tering (2008). For a Greek oration by a Finnish student Gabriel Lagus in Greifswald, see Korhonen (2004: 400–04).

19 For a dissertation by the pastor of St Olaf in Reval, Heinrich Vestring, which can perhaps be dated to as early as 1614, see Klöker (2005: I, 647–48; II, nos. 032A, 032B).

20 This practice is closely connected to studying abroad, for example, the Danish-Swedish bishop of Skane Peder Winstrup (1605–1679) published his *Epigrammata* first in Jena (1632) and only afterwards in Copenhagen (1653). For Swedish students studying abroad, see Lindroth (1975: II, 60–65) (emphasising, apart from German universities, also the importance of the Low Countries, England, and France).

21 Founded in 1211, Riga Cathedral School was reorganised as Protestant gymnasium-type school in 1528, and it functioned as an academic gymnasium from 1631 to 1710. It is presently known as Riga State Gymnasium No. 1. See Stradiņš (2012); Schweder (1885: 1–2).

22 Klöker (2005: I, 99–117). Please note, however, that Klöker's remark on p. 109 about the spirit of humanism reaching Tallinn seems too optimistic, if the predilection for Greek language and culture is to be regarded as a defining feature of humanism.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

*c.*1600) with Greek and Latin inscriptions from the island of Saaremaa (in Estonia) reveals some knowledge of Greek, and Euripides in particular.[23] At least one humanist Greek poet aspired to go to the North: Gregor Krüger (Gregorius Crugerus/Krugerus) from Mittenwalde (in Brandenburg), who called himself—with a toponymic humanist Greek nickname—Mesylanus (a combination of μέσ- + ὕλη + *-anus*, meaning "the man from the middle of the wood").[24] He had studied theology in Wittenberg, and at the end of the 1540s had worked as a pastor in Tallinn. As his position was not permanent, he returned to Germany to study law and philosophy, even though his real passion was for preaching and the Greek language, as his Greek verses, sent in 1555 to the Tallinn City Council, testify.[25]

Between 1551 and 1557, Krüger published a Greek verse oration of 596 hexameters, titled *Carmen de dignitate et excellentia doctrinae coelestis*,[26] in Wittenberg, which probably was the equivalent of the *Meisterwerk* artisans submitted to enter the guild. He dedicated his poem to Heinrich von Galen (*c.*1480–1557), the Master of the Livonian Order, who was stationed in Riga (Latvia) and known for supporting Lutheranism.[27] In his Latin dedication in elegiac distichs, Krüger asks for Galen's support, probably in finding a post in Riga. The Greek oration which follows is essentially an encomium for the "true religion"; the poem, written in a blend of ancient, Byzantine, and humanist Greek, abounds in intense emotion but does not excel in adhering to the rules of *dispositio* or Homeric hexameters. After a reference to the poet's difficult task in praising the Trinity and Virgin Mary, Krüger focuses on Christ, the most important hero of humanist Greek hexameter orations in Protestant countries:[28]

---

23 The Greek part, Ο ΒΙΟΣ ΟΥ ΒΙΟΣ ΑΛΛΑ ΠΟΝΗΡΟΣ, is a modified quotation from Euripides, *Alcestis* v. 802, for which see Päll (2005: 88). The quotation was quite popular in vernacular and Latin funeral speeches (homilies) in seventeenth-century Sweden and Germany. See, for example, Gunnari Norcopensis (1634: A4^{r}) or Sturtz (1601: H4^{v}).

24 Cf. Harlfinger (1989: XVII). As Saladin (2000: 355) points out, the use of such names was peculiar to German humanists. For a brief starting point of a list of humanist Greek names, see Päll & Valper (2014: 40).

25 Päll (2010: 118–19); Päll (2015: 42–49); Päll (2018: 60–69).

26 Printed in Wittenberg by Hans Lufft. Apart from the above-mentioned works, at least one Greek epicedium (last recorded in Tallinn St Nicholas's Church in the nineteenth century) has been ascribed to him (Päll 2018: 60–69).

27 Krüger's reference to the love for the "true religion" (see v. 2: *quique colis verae relligionis opus*; v. 29: *cum purae verus sis relligionis amator*; and v. 37: *fidei relligionis amor*) implies von Galen's adherence to Lutheranism (although the Order itself remained firmly Catholic). See Krüger ([ca. 1555]: fols. A2^{v}–A3^{r}); and Kreem (2014: 139).

28 The hymns for the Virgin Mary were more popular in Catholic countries, see, for example Tito Prospero Martinengo's encomia for her: Martinengo (1582), with Pontani

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Ἀενάου θυμὸς κέλεταί με θεοῦ γενετῆρος
Εὐλογίαις κλείειν ζωαρκέα χεύματα μύθων.
Ἀλλ' ὁμφῆς τόσσῳ θεοπέμπτου χρῆμα βίη τε
Ἐστὶ μέν, ἤνγε βροτῶν οὐδεὶς ἐκφράσσαι ἂν οἶδεν,
Εἰ στόμ' ἐνείη ἄῤῥηκτον, καὶ χάλκεον ἦτορ,
Εἰ μὴ ἐνὶ φρεσὶν οὐρανίῃσι βολαῖς σελαγίζει
Πνεῦμα, θεοστόργων αἰὲν νοερὸν φάος ἀνδρῶν.
Οὐκοῦν ὀλβιόεργε πάτερ κύδιστε μέγιστε,
Ποικιλόδωρε ἄναξ, σύμπασιν ὃς ἐμβασιλεύεις,
Ἄχρονον ὃς γέννησας ἐν ἀῤῥήτῳ χρόνῳ υἱόν.
Καὶ σὺ ἐπουρανίων ἀδύτων ὑψίθρονε ποιμήν,
Ὦ Χρίστ' ὑψιγένεθλε, τοκῆος ὁμήλικος υἱεῦ,
Ἰσοφυὲς πατρός, καὶ ἀτέρμονι σύνθρονος ἕδρῃ,
Αὐτολόχευτος ἀνήρ, δίχα πατρὸς ἀεξιτόκοιο
Ὅ<σ>περ παρθενικῆς ἐγκύμονα γαστέρα δύνων
Σαρκώθης, μητρὸς Μαρίας σωτήριος ἔρνος,
Ὄφρα γένοιο ἁμαρτοσύνης αἰ<σ>χρούργου ἱκανός
Ὑμῶν λυτρωτής τε, δικαιοσύνης τε ποριστής.

Everlasting Mind of God, the Father tells me / to celebrate with praise the life-supporting streams of Words. / But the oracle and the strength of the god-sent voice is such / that no-one among mortals knows how to describe it, / as long as he would not have an unexcelled mouth or a heart of bronze, / or when the Spirit would not shine in his mind with heavenly radiance, / the Spirit, the everlasting light of the minds of men, who love God. / You, the greatest, most honoured Father of blessed work, / Our Lord of rich presents, who rules over everyone, / who has begotten a short-lived son for ineffable times, / and You, the Shepherd, who sits on a high throne in Heaven's Sanctuary, / oh Christ, of sublime birth, the Son contemporary to his Parent, / of equal nature as his Father, sharing his boundless throne, / self-engendered Man, apart from the Father, who nourishes the Fruit of the Womb—/ certainly, You have entered the Virgin's pregnant womb, / becoming flesh, the Saviour offspring of his Mother Mary / in order to become for us the True Liberator from shameful errors / and the Bringer of Justice.

(2017: 324–26). For the list of humanist Greek verse orations on Christian subjects from Germany and Sweden (with a more limited choice of subjects than in the case of Latin, but a similar, or even stronger, focus on the life of Christ). On this, see Päll (forthcoming b); for biblical epic in general, see Czapla (2013).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Already here we see several borrowings from the *Paraphrase of the Gospel of St John* (attributed to the fifth-century poet Nonnus of Panopolis), the work that is, through loans and references, almost omnipresent in Greek religious hexameter poetry of this time, reflecting the tendencies of early modern Christology.[29] Krüger admires both the unity (*isophues* being interchangeable with *homoousios*)[30] and the apartness of the Father and the Son and praises the birth-giving Virgin. Thus, he sets the frame for his following description of the mistakes of ancient tribes and argues for the superiority of the right religion and knowledge of God's word above all other disciplines and truths.[31]

Even more personal zeal appears in Krüger's Greek poems, which he sent in a letter to the Tallinn City Council both as proof of the advancement in the studies he undertook abroad and as a reminder of his readiness for a position.[32] The three extant manuscript copies of these poems lead us to believe that at least as many council members were supposed to read and understand Greek poetry.[33] In a long elegy and four shorter poems, which use Horatian verse forms (from Sapphic stanzas to Asclepiads), Krüger refers to his conflicts with envious enemies (i.e., other pastors) who keep him away from his true calling: preaching. His initial elegy describes the sufferings of the author-persona in a distinctively Ovidian tone, exploiting the subject of exile, which was popular in the Greek and Latin poetry of the Renaissance.[34] Although he kept the toponym in his humanist name "Mesylanus" when he signed his poems, Krüger seems to have already redefined his homeland: the signatures in the letter state that he sent the poems from Berlin (*urbs Arctoa, Berolini*) which is very close to the town of his birth, Mittenwalde in Germany, but in his poems Germany has become the place of "exile", whereas his "home" is in Tallinn (*Reval*), where his addressees are.

---

29 For example, Nonnus, *Paraphrase of the Gospel of St John* 1.4 in verse 13 and 3.8 in verses 14–15. For Nonnus's impact on Christology, see Sieber (2016) and Elssner (2008: 43–49).

30 Sieber (2016: 311), cf. Nonnus, *Paraphrase of the Gospel of St John* 1.2.

31 Krüger ([ca. 1555]: fol. B5^{v}): καὶ μὴ ἰητρὸν ἀλεξίκακον, νηπενθέα ποιεῖν / φάρμακ' ἐπιστάμενόν τ', ἢ θεσμότοκον πολύϊδριν / οὐδὲ γεωμετρεῖν, ἢ ἀστρολόγον τινὰ φῶτα, / εἶμ' ἄρ' ἔγωγε παλαιοτάτη διδαχή, καὶ ἀρίστη ("and neither the Doctor who cures illnesses and knows how to make medicines that remove pain nor the erudite Lawgiver, no man who is skilled in Geometry or Astrology—I am the most ancient and the most excellent teaching").

32 His poems are preserved in TLA, 230.1.BO_10 2, fols. 1–27. His German letters give an account of his studies and express hopes of receiving more financial support. See TLA, 230.1.BO.1, fols. 240–42.

33 Päll (2010: 118–19) and Päll (2018: 60–62).

34 See Lamers (2015). For the use of the topic of adopted homeland in Renaissance poetry, especially by Protestant poets, see Laigneau-Fontaine (2013: 13) and Amherdt (2013: 195–99).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

The following poem, entitled *Ἄτη*, describes the author's enemies, whereas *Λιτή*, a personified prayer inspired by *Iliad* 9.502, speaks on the poet's behalf. The poet also exhorts his addressees to follow the examples of the meek dove of the Gospel of St Matthew (10:6) in *Περιστερὴ ἄχολος* (*Angerless Dove*), and the moon who is grateful for the sunlight in *Σελήνη ἄφθονος* (*Envy-less Moon*). All poems seem to have much more in common with vernacular personal lyric than with the occasional poetry of the time. However, Krüger's pleas did not receive the desired answer. We do not know whether the personal conflicts were too big to overcome, or whether Tallinn and Riga were perhaps not yet ready to welcome a humanist Greek poet. Far from humanist centres, Krüger changed his profession, became a citizen of Tallinn, and probably also ceased writing poetry in Greek.[35]

Krüger's case reflects the general difficulties that humanists had to face in the Baltic region during the sixteenth century: a general lack of an educated public to appreciate such sophisticated humanist poetry, as well as constant wars and plagues, which left social structures (including schools) in ruins. And even if the Lutherans were perhaps more welcoming to Greek studies than other confessional groups, they mostly if, not exclusively, appreciated Greek for its instrumental value for theology. At the same time Krüger's poetry is typical of the German tradition, including a funerary epigram, a religious hexameter oration, and a poem cycle, which follows the models of Greek and Roman exile poetry but also reflects the emotional undertones of his contemporary vernacular lyric.

3 From the Counter-Reformation to the Seventeenth Century: School-Based Humanism

At the end of the sixteenth century, the flows of Catholic Reform brought new tides in the modelling of the education system to the Eastern Baltic shores. The Jesuit seminary and printing house in Vilnius and the newly founded seminary for translators and gymnasia in Riga and Tartu promoted the study of ancient languages by performing Greek orations.[36] The Jesuits of Vilnius published at least 36 Greek poems, 9 of which were included in *Parentalia in obitum*

35 Except for a poem from 1558, see n. 26. Traces of him disappear from Tallinn after the 1570s. Could he perhaps be identified with Gregorius Krüger, the rector of the Lutheran town-school of Halle in 1583 "von dem nichts weiter als der Nahme bekannt ist" (Dreyhaupt 1755: II, 197)?

36 Helk (1977); Päll (2005: 89–90).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Georgii Chodkiewicz (Vilna, 1595) and reveal a great debt to the fourth-century poetry of Gregory of Nazianzus.[37] Another feature characteristic of Vilnius was polyglot court poetry in which Greek was prominent.[38] As a result of confessional strife, this tradition was split: the seminary in Vilnius was restructured and became the Vilnius University, whereas the Jesuits had to leave Estonia and Latvia under Swedish rule.

However, their role as competitors in the field of education did not remain without an impact, as Lutheran academies were developed in response: in Tartu, for example, the Swedish Lutheran university (*Academia Gustaviana Dorpatensis*) started its work in the very rooms of the old Jesuit seminary.[39]

In the case of Central Europe, albeit much earlier, Hellenic studies had advanced with the joint development of Greek printing presses and schools.[40] In the Kingdom of Sweden, the teaching of Greek had begun in several towns, the most important centres being Stockholm and Uppsala.[41] At the end of the sixteenth century, the first Swedish printing houses started to print Greek texts, beginning with a Greek catechism and a school edition of (ps.)-Isocrates's *Demonicus* (Stockholm, 1584), followed by the first dictionary, Olaus Petri Helsingius's trilingual Swedish-Latin-Greek *Synonymorum Libellus* (Stockholm, 1587), which included the *Pythagorean Golden Verses* in the appendix.[42] The printer Andreas Gutterwitz (1571–1620) came from Rostock; other printers and their apprentices came mostly from Germany, Copenhagen, or the Low Countries, and some of them brought along Greek printing types.[43] The gradual reorganisation of schools and opening of new academic gymnasia resulted in several other new professorships and lectureships for Greek.

At the dawn of the seventeenth century, the first translations of ancient Greek literature into Swedish appeared.[44] These were popular school texts,

37 Veteikis (2018). For an edition, see Veteikis (2004a) and Czerniatowicz (1991).

38 Saladin (2000: 164–71, 129–32); Van Dam (2015); some more examples from the region: Päll & Valper (2014).

39 See Tarvel (1980: 100); and the map in Asche, Buchholz & Schindling (2009–2012: III, 101–02).

40 Saladin (2000).

41 See Fant (1775: I, 25–26, 36).

42 Demonicus's speech was edited by Jacobus Erici, professor of Greek in the gymnasium of Stockholm (Rålamb 2019: 83).

43 For example: another Stockholm printer, named Christoph Reusner, who moved to Tallinn in 1636, came from Rostock. See Klemming & Nordin (1883: 153, 159, 165, 173, 182, 188, 191–92, 206). For Tartu, see Jaanson (2000: 26).

44 Here, the situation is unlike what happened in Italy, where Latin translations preceded vernacular ones (Saladin 2000: 47–49, 303). However, in the Swedish Kingdom, the seventeenth century produced mostly bilingual (Greek and Latin) school editions (see below),

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

especially the story of Hercules at the crossroads, from Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, and the fables of Aesop.[45] The north-eastern part of the Swedish kingdom remained behind again, as the first Finnish, Estonian, and Latvian translations of ancient Greek authors appeared about 150–200 years later, in the nineteenth century, and as a result of quite different, national tendencies and neo-humanist traditions.[46]

Before the first translations were published, Greek authors were introduced into the vernacular languages mainly through sermons. For example, around 1600 Georg Müller (*c.*1570–1608), the pastor at Tallinn's Pühavaimu (Holy Spirit) Church, cited numerous examples from ancient Greek and Roman literature in his Estonian sermons; and although there are no indications that he ever wrote Greek poetry, Müller was acquainted with the tradition, as Olympia Fulvia Morata's (1526–1555) collected poems in his library reveal.[47]

4 The Seventeenth Century: School Humanism and Greek "Collegia" in Sweden

The reign of the Swedish King Gustavus II Adolphus (1611–1632) initiated new school reforms, which also stimulated Greek learning in Swedish territories. Next to the already established centres of Greek learning in Uppsala, Strägnäs, Västerås, and Stockholm, new academic gymnasia were opened in Turku, Tallinn, Tartu, and Riga in 1630–1631, and universities were created in Tartu (1632), Turku (1640), and Lund (1648).[48] Together with professorships of Greek, these new schools also opened printing houses. The availability of Greek typefaces promoted text production, and soon Greek poetry by professors and students started to appear in all these towns (a topic to which we will return).

---

whereas vernacular translation intensified only towards the end of the eighteenth century, for which see Akujärvi & Mortensen (2017), <skandinaviska-oversattningar.net/da/titles>.

45 Petri's translation of Xenophon's story was printed in Rostock by Stephan Möllemann (1594 or 1595); Balk's translation of the Aesopic fables was printed in Stockholm by Anund Olufson (1603) (Akujärvi 2018a: 202–10).

46 In Finland, Elias Lönnrot, the editor of the epic *Kalevala*, had translated *Odyssey* 6 (Kivistö & Riikonen 2007). For Estonia, see Päll (2011) and Päll et al. (2014). For the impact of neo-humanism, see Korhonen (2007).

47 See Müller (2007). The book lists of the first Tallinn City library and several book inventories testify to the fact that the Greek church fathers and ancient Greek authors were read (Kivimäe 2016: 79–80, 83, 91, 96).

48 Lindroth (1975: II, 2–56).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Most of the attention in these schools, however, was dedicated to improving elementary knowledge of the Greek language. Prefaces to schoolbooks and school programmes declared that the purpose of studies was to read the New Testament, explicitly placing Greek studies under the control of theology.[49] Ideally, the instrumentalisation of Greek studies had a broader scope than just theology, covering most branches of education. This tendency is revealed to have already been present almost two centuries earlier, in the famous poem (*Quisquis Grammaticam vis discere, discito Graece* [...]) by Erasmus's teacher Alexander Hegius (1439/1440–1498), written in the period when people mainly defended Greek studies by emphasising their general usefulness. Thus, as a humanist teacher Hegius began his poem by explaining the usefulness of Greek in grammar (especially orthography) and poetry, and then proceeding to praise the language's importance for other fields of knowledge.[50]

Almost 200 years later in Sweden, the need for the study of Greek was explained with an even greater emphasis placed on its role in the traditional institutional framework of education. At the beginning of his Greek translation of Comenius's *Ianua linguarum*, Johannes Gezelius the Elder (1615–1690), for example, presented another version of Hegius's poem, which reverses the order of verses and links from the very beginning of the poem the list of the uses of Greek with the three disciplines of the traditional *trivium*: grammar, argumentation (i.e., logic), and rhetoric, and then continues with three principal faculties: sacred scriptures (i.e., theology), law, and medicine, accompanied by natural sciences and mathematics.[51]

Although Hegius's poem does not stress the primary position of theology among other disciplines, Gezelius underlines both in his dedication and in the introduction that his translation of *Ianua* is meant to support the study of the New Testament and the active use of Greek.[52] His Greek dedication to Queen Christina in his *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum* is much subtler, showing the tremendous value of Greek for different reasons: its ancient origin, holiness, sweetness, power of expression, abundance, usefulness, and necessity

49 For the example of Gezelius, see below and Päll (2018: 70).

50 See Hegius (1503: fol. Diij^{v}). The initial version of the poem also can be found at the beginning of different prints of Clenardus's Greek grammar (see, e.g., the edition of 1587, p. 34), in Schmid's *Cyrilli vel Philoponi De differentiis vocum* (1615), and elsewhere. This list of disciplines requiring a good understanding of Greek was typical of the time (Saladin 2000: 303).

51 Gezelius (1648: fol. A1$^{r–v}$). This version is quoted also in Noltenius (1780: 73), with an ambiguous reference to the thesaurus of Johann Benz.

52 See Kolk (2018: 44, 45) for Gezelius's teaching career.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

(for other disciplines).[53] After describing the four ages of Greek (following the popular division in Lutheran history writing) and referring to the present *barbaries* (βαρβαρότης) in Greece (another popular commonplace), Gezelius praises Greek as the sacred language of the Revelation of the eternal mysteries of life, guarded by God.[54]

The aspiration to reinstall Greek as a living literary language appeared in the North more than a century after the creation of Academy of Aldus and the establishment of trilingual colleges elsewhere.[55] It was rooted, however, in a similar spirit, which professors of Greek brought with them when they returned from their studies in Germany. In the 1610s, Johannes Rudbeck (1581–1646) held private exercises at Uppsala University, where everybody had to speak Greek exclusively.[56] Similarly, the professor of Greek in Västerås gymnasium, Gabriel Holstenius (1598–1649), directed a Greek collegium at the end of 1620s and the 1630s; the students in Västerås also regularly disputed in Greek in the following years, leaving behind 23 manuscripts with Greek disputation exercises from 1659 to 1670.[57]

The manuals of Rostock professor Posselius the Elder—*Calligraphia* (first edition 1585), *Familiarium colloquiorum libellus* (1586), *Regulae vitae* (1576), Greek verse pericopes, and Greek-Latin pericopes of the New Testament (1563, 1572)—were widely read and used in Sweden.[58] Posselius's *Familiarium colloquiorum libellus* was republished in Turku in 1690. The interest in Posselius both as a language teacher and as a moral educator is revealed on the title page of David Cunitz's Greek hexameter oration on the Passion of Christ accord-

53 Gezelius (1649:)(2^{v}): τὴν Ἀξιότητα ταύτην ἐκ τῆς Ἀρχαιότητος, Ἁγιότητος, Ἡδύτητος, Ἐμφάσεως, Εὐπορίας, Χρηστότητος καὶ Ἀναγκαιότητος δῆλόν ἐστιν ἀξιῶσαι.

54 Gezelius (1649:)(3^{v}): Κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ εἰκότως εὐχαριστοῦμεν, ὃς ἁγίαν ταύτην τὴν γλώττην, ᾗ τινι φρικτὰ τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς μυστήρια ἡμῖν ἐδηλώθη […] τηρεῖν ἠξίωσε. For the model of Lutheran historiography, see Ben-Tov (2009). For the *topos* of the "barbarian" and its uses, see Lamers (2015), Päll (2010), as well as Dourou's chapter in this volume.

55 Saladin (2000: 93–99, 172–75, 236–47). For *Graecomania* in general, see Saladin (2000: 125–29); Korhonen (2007).

56 After his studies of Greek and Hebrew in Värsterås and Wittenberg, he became the professor of Hebrew at Uppsala University in 1610, where he also taught the New Testament and Euripides. See Fant (1775: I, 41) and *SBL*: XXX, *s.v.* "Rudbeckius, Johannes".

57 He had studied in Uppsala and Germany, and he had defended a Greek disputation under Sigismund Evenius in 1620 in Halle (see below). See the Uppsala University library, Erik Fant's *Collectanea Graeca*, preserved in UUL, MS U176 and Päll (forthcoming a).

58 His *Kalligraphia*, a thematically organised gnomologium (with the Pytharogean *Carmen aureum* in the appendix), especially seems to have influenced many Nordic humanist Greek poets: a great number of poems (and short dedicatory prose pieces) are based on a quotation corresponding with Posselius's themes (Korhonen 2004: 90); Päll (2012: 799–800). For Posselius's Lutheran programme and importance, see Johnson (2006); Rhein (1996: 48, 52); Rhein (2017: 25).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

ing to the Gospel of Saint Matthew, presenting a quotation from *Regulae vitae* (no. 5): "If you know Christ well, you are prudent and sane, even if you do not know anything else; if you do not know Christ, you are mad, even if you know other things".[59]

European trends regarding the active usage of Greek can be seen both in the popularity of Posselius's manuals and in the tradition of the *Progymnasmata*. Thus, Aphthonius and Theon were recommended authors for Swedish gymnasia and academies, and two very popular handbooks—*De stylo* and *Exercitia styli*—were edited by Uppsala professor (originally from Strasbourg) Johannes Schefferus (1621–1679).[60] The practice of *progymnasmata* had a special influence on humanist Greek occasional literature in Turku, resulting in short prose texts, which were often based on the form of different protogymnasmatic exercises, mostly *chreiai*: between 1670 and 1700, about 43 % of printed occasional texts in Greek were short prose gratulations.[61] This practice had a strong impact on the neighbouring university of Tartu, where 7 of 15 Greek gratulatory texts from the 1690s were in prose.[62] The most eminent author of schoolbooks for Greek in the Kingdom of Sweden was Johannes Gezelius the Elder, who had studied in Västeräs, Uppsala, and Tartu, where he began his career as a professor of Greek (1643–1649); after leaving Tartu, he had a successful career in the church, and finally he became the bishop of Turku.[63] Throughout his life, he published numerous schoolbooks at his own expense. His *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum* saw two editions, and his *Grammatica Graeca* went through as many as 30 printings between 1647 and 1813 as the basic manual of Greek in Swedish schools. Both works were especially designed to prepare students for reading the New Testament; and although the Greek manuals of Golius and Clenardus had been in use before and did not disappear entirely (they were still recommended by school constitutions), the concise and much cheaper grammar by Gezelius had gained its own niche in the book market.[64] Gezelius also published Greek pericopes for the New Testament, with grammatical explanations

59 Cunitius (1642): Χριστὸν εἰ εὖ οἶδας, φρονέεις, εἰ κ' ἄλλα μὴ οἶδας, / Χριστὸν εἰ οὐκ οἶδας, μαίνῃ, εἰ κ' ἄλλα σὺ οἶδας. For Johann Posselius (*Οἰκειῶν διαλογῶν βιβλίον* [...] *familiarum dialogorum libellus Graece et Latine* (1690: no. 3093), see Laine & Nyqvist (1996).

60 See *SBL*: XXXI, *s.v.* "Schefferus, Johannes"; Päll (2012); Päll (2017a); Kraus (2005: 180); Hansson (2003).

61 Korhonen (2004: 14, 436–51, 150).

62 See Päll (2012: 799–800).

63 See *NBF: s.v.* "Gezelius, Johannes vanhempi" and *SBL*: XVII, *s.v.* "Gezelius, Johannes". For a concise account in English, see Kolk (2018).

64 His *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum* appeared in Tartu (1649) and Turku (1686), see Laine & Nyqvist (1996); for his grammar, see the Digital Catalogue of the Royal Library of Sweden at <libris.kb.se>, and Kolk (2018: 146–50).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

(Turku, 1679, 1689), and the Greek New Testament (Turku, 1688), which was accompanied by short explanations of vocabulary (referring to his *Lexicon*).[65]

Like his predecessors, Gezelius appreciated the usefulness of some Greek authors for moral education. According to the canon of his time, he published the *Poemata Pythagorae, Phocylidis, & Theognidis*, accompanied by Melanchthon's Latin translation of Theognis and his own translations of *Carmen Aureum* and Phocylides (Tartu, 1646), and also a selection of Aesop's fables (Turku, 1669). In the choice of these three authors he followed the rector of Ilfeld school, Michael Neander (1525–1595), whose influence can also be seen in the appendix to the third edition of his Greek grammar, which included the verses of Neilos with Latin translations.[66]

The reasons for the great attention given to the active use of Greek in the Nordic countries are reflected in Gezelius's translation of Comenius's *Ianua linguarum*. Although *Ianua* (first printed in 1631) had already been translated into Greek by Theodor Simonius (fl. 1630–1642)[67] in 1642 and was widely available,[68] Gezelius stressed the novelty and importance of his own translation, in which he gave special attention to the language of the New Testament; for him, the knowledge of Greek as a sacred language was all-important. In the introduction to his translation, Gezelius explains that he had already been using the translation for 6 years in his private collegium, and that with its help students had been able to learn to speak, write, and dispute in Greek proficiently within a few months.[69] Although this seems to be a boastful comment, Gezelius's surviving Greek disputations from Tartu and the poetry by his students seem to prove the effectiveness of his teaching methods, as we shall see next.

---

65 See Korhonen (2004: 97); Laine & Nyqvist (1996).

66 See Gezelius (1669). Neander's *Opus aureum* (Basel: Oporinus 1559; Leipzig: Steinmann 1577) included all these authors; *Pythagorean Golden Verses* already accompanied the Aldine editions of *Erotemata* by Constantine Lascaris (1495, 1502) and were printed in Sweden for the first time at the end of Helsingius's dictionary (Korhonen 2004: 84, 93); Laine & Nyqvist (1996). See also Päll & Valper (2014: 13–14, 39).

67 The dates of Theodor Simon or Theodor Simonius Holsatus have usually been established with reference to the publication year of his translation of the *Ianua*. He is also the author of *Retractatio in qua causae exponuntur* [...] *in Augustana confessione* (s.l.: 1630). Perhaps he should be identified with the Theodor Simonius Holsatus who was school rector in Heusden and a correspondent of Constantine Huygens (Huygens 1911–1917: III, 338).

68 First edition in Amsterdam, re-editions (with other different languages) at least in 1643, 1644, 1649, [1650?], 1656, 1662, and 1665. Another translation by Zacharias Schneider (Leipzig, 1642) did not see many reprints.

69 Gezelius (1648:)(3^{rv}); see also see Kolk (2018: 146–50) for the spread of Gezelius's schoolbooks.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

5 Greek University Disputations

Greek disputations, which discussed the same themes and subjects as the much more common disputations and orations in Latin, were typical of humanist school Greek in the Kingdom of Sweden. This tradition was widespread in Central and Northern Europe: at present there are at least 71 extant Greek disputations (in 42 different separate printings) detected in various catalogues and databases,[70] which were printed in different German cities (Basel, Giessen, Halle, Magdeburg, Königsberg, Altdorf, Strasbourg, Wittenberg, and Frankfurt am Main) and Swedish cities (Västerås, Uppsala, Stockholm, Tartu, and Turku); the number of other print and manuscript disputations (aside from the 23 exercises from Västerås, mentioned above) must have been considerably larger.

In comparison to the disputations from different German towns, the spread of Greek disputations from the Swedish kingdom is more concentrated both geographically (most of them were printed in Tartu and Uppsala) and chronologically (14 of the extant 16 printed Swedish disputations appeared between 1642 and 1658, whereas German disputations were printed between 1604 and 1725 in a variety of towns). For the production of Greek texts, the most important factor seems to have been the impact of individual people: most Swedish printed disputations were presided over by two professors of Greek, Johannes Gezelius the Elder (7 extant disputations from Tartu and 1 from Stockholm) and Henricus Ausius (5 extant disputations from Uppsala).[71] Similarly, more than 50 per cent of printed German disputations were presided over by a professor of Greek and Hebrew at Strasbourg University, Balthasar Scheid (1614–1670), and the Altdorf professor of theology Christoph Sonntag (1654–1717).[72]

Thematically, the picture is more diverse in Germany than it was in the Swedish kingdom (see Table 17.1). In the German lands, topics reflect the four university faculties, enumerated in Hegius's poem, which were medicine, theology, law and philosophy, as well as the subjects taught in the faculty of philosophy (such as mathematics, history, logic, ethics, and philology). Philology

70 The subject is almost completely unstudied, but see Korhonen (2010); Korhonen (2018); Friedenthal & Päll (2017). An overview of German Greek disputations is in preparation by Päll (forthcoming a). Only autopsied disputations have been taken into account here, the number of known disputing occasions is much greater, about 145 (see Päll forthcoming a): for example in the case of Gezelius's theological disputations, only the title pages were printed (in a series of 28 disputations from Tartu, from 1649).

71 See Korhonen (2010).

72 See *ADB*: XXX, *s.v.* "Scheidt, Balthasar" (709–10), and *ADB*: XXXIV, *s.v.* "Sonntag, Christoph" (642).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

TABLE 17.1 The subjects of printed Greek disputations

	Philosophy	Law	Medicine	Theology	Total
Germany (1604–1725)	34	1	5	15	55
Sweden (1627–1688)	15	0	0	1	16

is made to serve theology in Scheid's 27 disputations,[73] which discuss New Testament philology. Also, of Sonntag's 11 Greek disputations, preserved in different libraries, 7 are on purely theological subjects, and most of the other disputations discuss matters important to theology, for example Christian ethics or the "errors" of Descartes. Except for one theological disputation by Johannes Gezelius (Stockholm, 1650), most Swedish disputations were presented in the faculty of philosophy, which hosted the professors of Greek. Therefore, their topics mostly prepare students for theology, as in the disputation on Hebrew philology (on the notion of *shiloh* in Gen. 49:10) and in 7 disputations on pneumatology (a substitute for metaphysics in some Lutheran universities), presided over by Gezelius in Tartu between 1642 and 1646.[74]

According to the present state of research, the proportion of Greek disputations on purely philosophical subjects (mainly moral philosophy) seems to be larger in Sweden than in Germany (where most philosophical disputations discuss questions of philology regarding Holy Scripture). Gabriel Holstenius, the initiator of Greek disputing practice in Sweden, had been interested in Aristotle and disputed on *Sophistic Refutations* under the famous German educator Sigismund Evenius (1587–1639) of Halle and brought later Philipp Glaum's quick language teaching methods into Sweden.[75] After becoming professor of Greek at the gymnasium of Västerås, a city in what is now central Sweden, he published a Greek disputation about the ethics of Aristotle.[76] The

73 Printed as two series, under the titles *Τῶν συζητήσεων φιλολογικῶν ἑπτάς* (Strasbourg, 1668) and *Τῶν διατριβῶν φιλολογικῶν εἰκάς* (Strasbourg, 1669).

74 Paulinus & Aenelius (1688). See Korhonen (2004: 383–89); Fant (1784: XII, 122); Korhonen (2018); Friedenthal & Päll (2017).

75 Evenius & Holstenius (1620). Evenius had briefly been the rector of Tallinn gymnasium and through his students influenced Greek studies in Riga and Tartu (Klöker 2005: I, 257–60); Põldvee (2009: 264–68). See Päll (forthcoming a).

76 Holstenius & Arosiander (1627). For his activity, see Fant (1775: I, 52–55). There are several short manuscript disputation exercises by him, see Fant's *Collectanea Graeca*, preserved in UUL, MS U176.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

trend was continued by the family, as Aristotelian ethics was also the subject of the disputation presided over by his nephew Ericus Holstenius (1622–1669), who had succeeded Johannes Gezelius as the Tartu chair of Greek.[77] Henricus Ausius (1603–1659), the professor of Greek at Uppsala University, published his 5 Greek disputations on different subjects in moral philosophy, from the nature of civic happiness and courage to the right way of educating the youth, relying heavily on Aristotle and other ancient authors.[78] In his case, the choice of Aristotle seems to have been motivated at least partly by the death of the anti-Aristotelian Chancellor Skytte in 1645.[79]

True, the popularity of Aristotle and other moral subjects in Greek disputations from the Swedish kingdom may have resulted from the preferences of individual professors and may have been influenced by the German tradition. But the reasons may perhaps also be found in the Latin disputation tradition, where subjects from moral philosophy were frequent. In their external form, the disputations are quite similar: they usually are in *quarto* format, contain a list of short theses (especially the earlier ones), usually end with *corollaria*, and include only the most basic information. Their usual length is 8 to 16 pages.[80] Although these disputations emerged in a Latin context (sometimes indicated by the appearance of Latin on their title pages and preliminary texts in Latin), the Greek text is only rarely accompanied by Latin translations (an exception is presented by the manuscript disputation exercises from Västerås).[81] All disputations follow the same purpose: to practise Greek by discussing morally (or otherwise) useful themes.

77 Holstenius & Sundius (1652). The respondent of this disputation, Johannes Sundius, later became the professor of Greek in Västerås and presided over at least 13 Greek disputation exercises there (Fant 1781: VI, 2–6) and UUL, MS U176.

78 For Ausius, see Fant (1776: II, 81); and Korhonen (2010).

79 Friedenthal & Piirimäe (2016); Ingemarsdotter (2011).

80 They can vary from 4 pages to 32 and even 207 pages.

81 The place of translation for Greek disputations seems to be literally marginal: our examples of disputations with Greek-Latin parallel text are rare and date mostly either from the earliest (Felix Plater, Johannes Siglicius, *ΠΕΡΙ ΚΡΙΣΕΩΝ*, Basel: Schröter, 1604; and Johannes Steuber, Johannes Ellinger, *ΑΠΟΡΗΜΑΤΑ ΗΘΗΚΑ* [!], Giessen: Hampelius, 1615) or the latest (Christoph Gottfried Stenzel, ΔΙΑΤΡΙΒΗ περὶ τοῦ ΥΠΝΟΥ, Frankfurt/Leipzig: Knoch, 1725) dissertations, the only exception is another Greek disputation from Basel (Johann Rudolf Wettstein and Johann Ryhiner, *SPECIMEN HOC PHILOLOGICUM*, Basel: Decker, 1667).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

6 Display of Excellence: from Greek Orations to Editions of Ancient Authors

In addition to its role of *ancilla theologiae* in school humanism and philology, there is a place for the beauty and splendour of Greek in humanist Greek orations, which have a long tradition (albeit a mostly unstudied one) in Europe,[82] especially in its German-speaking Lutheran areas. In Swedish gymnasia and universities, numerous Greek orations were written and presented on festive occasions: at least 17 (including 7 in verse) of these were printed between 1631 and 1738, mostly in Uppsala (9), Tartu (1), Turku (1), and Stockholm (6, although they had previously been delivered in Uppsala and Turku).[83] Their length and subjects depended on the position of the author, falling mainly into three groups, as Table 17.2 shows.

As with Greek disputations, we see a concentration over a short time span, between 1631 and 1652, and in one place, Uppsala, where most of the orations were printed by university printer Eskil Mattson (Aeschillus Matthiae, fl. 1613–1650).[84] Additionally, we know of Greek orations which were delivered both in gymnasia (Växjö, Västerås, Strägnäs, and Riga) and at universities (Uppsala, Tartu, and Turku), with the longest and strongest tradition in Uppsala from 1631 to 1721. Many of these speeches, however, are now considered lost.[85]

It is obviously difficult to classify orations in any definitive manner thematically or in terms of occasion due to the (sometimes unexpected) thematic overlaps and intersections. Even so, roughly three distinct groups emerge: (1) festive orations, (2) school orations on humanist subjects, and (3) theological orations, which I will briefly discuss in the following pages.

82 For Martinengo's poems, see Pontani (2017: 324–26). Czapla's conclusions concerning Latin biblical epic are in general also valid for Greek orations on theological subjects, and his repertory includes some Greek verse paraphrases of the Bible (they are, however, not easy to find). Also, the two paraphrases by Cunitius, mentioned below (alongside numerous other Greek orations on biblical themes from all of Europe) have been omitted (Czapla 2013).

83 See Sironen (2018: 142–43) for the list. There are more unpublished orations (at least 3 prose and 2 verse) from Västeräs, Strägnäs, and Växjö that are going to appear in an edition by Erkki Sironen.

84 After Matthiae's death, "Uppsala-orations" were either printed in Stockholm or remained in manuscript.

85 See Sironen (2018); Korhonen (2004: 460–61), including references to 11 possibly lost orations; Päll (2018: 73–83), discussing the tradition in Riga and Tallinn.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

TABLE 17.2 The subjects of printed Greek orations from the Swedish kingdom

	Humanist (moral) subjects		Festive occasions (including religious)		Religious subjects	
	Prose	**Verse**	**Prose**	**Verse**	**Prose**	**Verse**
Printed: Uppsala	1631, 1643, 1644, 1648, 1652	1640, 1640	1648	1625 el.		1642
Printed: Elsewhere	Greifswald 1665		Stockholm (Turku) 1660 epicedium; Stockholm (Uppsala: 1693) 1738	Stockholm (U) 1663 epicedium; Stockholm (U) 1678 epicedium, Stockholm (U) 1678	Turku 1649, Stockholm (U) 1662	[Wittenberg (*c.*1555)] Tartu 1633, Rostock 1642
Manuscript: Uppsala	1718		1721			
Manuscript: elsewhere	Växjö 1794	Västerås 1668				Strägnäs 1667

(1) In commemorative orations, the use of Greek added splendour to the occasion. Three Greek speeches in prose represent this group: one celebrating the Westphalian peace, another marking the anniversary of the council of Uppsala, and a third commemorating the death of King Charles X of Sweden.[86] Johan Paulinus's (Lillienstedt, 1655–1732) oration *Magnus Principatus Finlandiae* of 1678 (379 hexameters) has been considered the most sublime of such festive speeches. Presented in Uppsala by a 22-year-old student from Turku University (and later printed in Stockholm), it combines praise of the author's homeland with ancient diction, using a clear disposition (indicated also in marginalia) and *cento*-like loans from Homer, Hesiod's *Works and Days*, and bucolic writers, as well as later authors from Oppianus to Nonnus.[87]

(2) The largest group of Greek orations from Swedish academies consists of "examples of erudition" (*specimen eruditionis*). These orations discuss or praise the same subjects as those found in Latin orations: pious life, the study of

86 Wiraeus (1648); Burgman (1660); Normannus (1738), delivered in 1693. For other orations in honour of royal persons, see Korhonen (2004: 460–61).

87 Paulinus (1678); Paulinus (2000); Korhonen (2004: 414–20).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

liberal arts, the condemnation of excessive leisure and drinking, the praise of summer, etc. Their authors are usually younger students or freshly graduated masters.[88] All extant examples of this kind of oration stem from Uppsala, where the tradition was strongest. Among the orations discussing humanist or moral subjects, we can also find praises of the Greek language. This tradition is close to the practice in Germany, revealing even some overlap in titles, as in the case of the manuscript oration from Västerås from 1668 by Andreas E. Thermaenius (1638–1676), *Metrica oratio de praestantia et utilitate linguae Graecae in omnibus scientiis et disciplinis*, and Johannes Vollandus's (d. 1595) *Carmen de dignitate et praestantia linguae Graecae* (Leipzig, 1581).[89] Thermaenius's oration was his inaugural lecture, but it does not represent an established convention of addressing the audience in Greek: the inaugural lecture of a professor of the Greek language could just as well be in Latin[90] or discuss religious rather than literary or philosophical themes (see below).

(3) As in Germany, in Sweden, too, an important part of Greek hexameter orations deal with religious themes. Such speeches could prove their author's excellence and suitability for a career which required knowledge of Greek, although success was not guaranteed, as Krüger's above-mentioned case reminds us. Some examples illustrate more fortunate cases. After receiving a commission to create Greek printing types for the Turku academy, Sveno Gelzenius (1619–1676), for instance, delivered (and later printed) a Greek prose oration, titled *On the Resurrection of the Dead*, in 1649. The elected professor of Greek at the University of Tartu Jonas Petri Kiörling (1630–1679) delivered the prose oration *On the Greatest and Mightiest of God's Innumerable Good Deeds* in Uppsala in 1662.[91] Both orations were presented on Christian festivals (on the fourth Sunday after Trinity and on Good Friday, respectively) and emphasise the role of Jesus Christ as the Redeemer of Mankind.

Some verse orations touch upon Christological themes as well, such as the oration by the above-mentioned Gregor Krüger Mesylanus and the *Christognosia* by Peter Götschen (*c*.1595–1636) from Rathenow (Mark Brandenburg), who became professor of Greek (and later theology) in Tartu in 1632 and presented this oration as his inaugural lecture.[92] A former student of Rostock University and a student of medicine in Tartu, David Cunitz (Cunitius, *c*.1633–1670), from Freienwald in Pomerania, presented two Greek verse orations in 1642, a year

88 See Sironen (2018).

89 See Sironen (2018); and Korhonen (2004: 36ff.), for discussion.

90 See Päll (2005: 93–94).

91 See Gelzenius (1649); Kiörlingh (1662). See also Sironen (2018); and Korhonen (2004: 125, 406–08) (for Gelzenius).

92 See Götschen (1633); Elssner (2008); Päll (2010: 133–35).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

before he was inaugurated as a professor of poetry at the Tallinn gymnasium: during the Easter holidays he presented a verse paraphrase on the Passion of Christ according to the Gospel of St Matthew in Uppsala, and during Christmas he gave an oration on Christ's birthday in Rostock. An example of the praise of Christ in shorter hexameter hymns is Joseph Thun's *Hymnus in filium dei*.[93] Thus, religious, and especially Christological, verse orations were written by scholars who had studied in his native Germany, steeped in Melanchthon's programme for Greek studies.[94] Although several Greek orations were printed in or connected to Estonia or Finland in the first half of the seventeenth century, the tradition was strongest in Uppsala.

The growing engagement in teaching Greek after the 1611 school reform[95] brought about several school editions of ancient authors, including the editions of speeches of Isocrates (1671, 1690) and other important texts for moral education, like the Greek translations of *Disticha Catonis* by Joseph Justus Scaliger (1681) and by Planudes (1701), and Plutarch's *On the Education of Children* (1704). Florilegia of Greek sentences presented choices from Hesiod (by Salanus, Uppsala, 1656) or selections from different authors (*Λέξεις ῥηταί* by Haquin Spegel, Skåra, 1685).[96]

Alongside morally instructive school texts, which were printed at bigger gymnasia, during the second half of the seventeenth century, a deeper interest in pagan Greek poetry appeared as well: in Turku, the commentary of Aristotle's *Poetics* was printed as a disputation series, presided over by Petrus Laurbecchius (1673–1677), and in 1695 a school edition of the first book of Homer's *Iliad* was published.[97] Several philological editions of Greek authors were published in Uppsala, advancing from the minimum programme of school humanism: an edition of Epictetus (1655), *Hecabe* by Euripides (1651), and two different editions of the *Characters* of Theophrastus (1661, 1708). Uppsala professor Johannes Schefferus published several Greek authors both abroad and within Sweden, including Aelian (Strasbourg, 1685), Arrian, and Emperor Maurice (Uppsala, 1664).[98]

93 See Thun (1682) and, for discussion of his poetry, Akujärvi (forthcoming) and Akujärvi (2018b).

94 Saladin (2000: 355–56).

95 See Lindroth (1975: II, 65–71). The reform of Uppsala University and the subsequent foundation of the universities of Tartu, Turku, and Lund helped to advance classical studies even more, see Lindroth (1975: II, 20–56, 204–20).

96 Korhonen (2004: 84–108); Rålamb (2019).

97 Korhonen (2004: 107–13) and Laine & Nyqvist (1996: no. 1922); Rålamb (2019).

98 Rålamb (2019).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

The eagerness to publish newly found authors, so characteristic of early Renaissance humanism, eventually also reached the north as far as Sweden. Especially active editors were the professors of Greek at Uppsala University: Martin Brunnerus (1627–1679) edited Palaephatus (1663); Laurentius Normannus (1651–1703) edited a Byzantine manuscript with diverse rhetorical authors (Aristides, Minucianus, Alexander Rhetor, Phoibammon, and Thomas Magister); and the Archbishop of Uppsala Ericus Benzelius the Younger (1675–1743) edited the *Characters* of Theophrastus (Uppsala, 1708), as well as a manuscript from Oxford with the homilies by John Chrystostom.[99] Beyond teaching, editing, and translating Greek, and in addition to disputing and performing speeches in Greek, the language was also popular in occasional poetry.

7 Occasional Poetry

At this stage of research it is impossible to give a full account of Greek occasional poetry from Great Sweden, although tentative figures can be given for the schools in Turku, Tallinn, Tartu, and Riga.[100] Like elsewhere in Europe, the classification of occasional poetry is complicated: longer poems in hexameters can be classified as verse orations, like Olof Swanberg's *Εἰδύλλιον* for Johannes Loccenius in 217 hexameters, or Reiner Brockmann's Theocritean *cento* for the wedding of Salomon Matthiae, professor of Greek in Tartu.[101] Hexametric panegyrics for rulers or high officials (mostly epicedia) have been mentioned under orations here mainly because of their larger scope.

Following Scaliger's *Poetics*, accounts of occasional poetry usually rely on the generic division by occasions.[102] The eminence of a certain genre often depends on connected institutions: the most frequent type of poem in all Swedish universities is the gratulation for disputations.[103] As student disputations were less frequently held and not as a rule printed in academic gymnasia, in these schools (at least as available statistics for Tallinn and Riga show, since

99 Lindroth (1975: I, 212–15); Rålamb (2019).

100 See Päll (2018a: 84–91); and Korhonen (2014), for Finland.

101 See Korhonen (2004: 194); Päll (2013: Appendix); Päll (2010: 120–23).

102 See IJsewijn & Sacré (1990–1998); Garber (2001–2013); Korhonen (2004); Orion, Päll & Viiding (2007).

103 See, for Latin, Viiding (2002: 37–38), indicating that at the University of Tartu during the period from 1632 to 1656, 65% of printed Latin poems were gratulatory pieces for disputations.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

no extensive studies on this topic exist) wedding and funerary poetry are much more eminent.[104]

The uniform and rigid elements of form, imposed by the occasion (including the disposition and several formulae), could be varied by applying different poetic forms, resulting in *eidyllia* for funerals or weddings, which reflect the widespread practices from the Renaissance on. Next to actual *cento*s, like a Theocritean *cento* by Reiner Brockmann (1609–1647) (Tallinn, 1637) and a Theognis-*cento* from Turku (1657), almost *cento*-like loans from ancient authors are frequent.[105] Several other poetic forms reached the periphery from Central Europe: for example, the northernmost metric imitation of Pindar (following the model of his sixth Olympian), published in 1633 by Heinrich Vogelmann (end of 1590s–after 1636) in Tartu can be traced to his experience from his home university in Rostock and Germany in general and to the birth of this genre in Italy.[106]

Although outside the academies, Greek was not used often alongside different vernaculars on festive occasions, it did sometimes occur on important religious occasions, which required Greek to underline the holiness and splendour of the event. For instance, Johann David Placcenius (fl. 1639–1641), from Braunschweig, published a congratulatory *Carmen figuratum* in the form of a Cross in the edition of Heinrich Stahl's German and Estonian homilies. His poem follows the Latin tradition of the Cross in the form of a letter labyrinth, combined with an anagram poem based on Stahl's name, thus combining two widespread baroque forms.[107]

---

104 Future studies will hopefully show the degree to which this proportion of poem type was similar in German gymnasia.

105 See Päll (2013a) for Brockmann; Korhonen (2004: 60, 184–85, 225–26) for Turku and *cento*-like loans; see also Paulinus (2000: 119–27); and Orion, Päll & Viiding (2007: 338–34).

106 See Päll (2001); Päll (2017b); Päll (2018). For Vogelmann's birth date, see the reference to his matriculation in 1602 at Rostock University *propter aetatem non iuravit* (<rom.ub.uni-rostock.de/id/100019830>). For Italy, especially manuscripts, see Pontani (2017: 321–35). Another Pindaric ode, for the master's degree of Zacharias Plantin (in Uppsala, 1707), was printed in Sweden almost a century later (see *ZAXAPIAI | ΠΛΑΝΤΙΝΩΙ, ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΔΑΦΝΗΝ, ΕΙΔΟΣ*, s.l.s.a.).

107 Stahl (1641). See also Klöker (2005: 11) and Lotman (2014). The labyrinth starts from the centre, like earlier cube-form labyrinths, and is based on elegiac distich, like the crosses which repeated the verses of Venantius Fortunatus, or later crosses, which are known as the Blessing of St Thomas or Thomas-Cross. For this type, see Ernst (1991: 423–27). However, unlike his models, Placcenius himself wrote the distich, based on an anagram of Stahl's name. The Hellenistic *technopaegnia* must have been well known in the middle of the seventeenth century, and yet this tradition is different from medieval cross and cube patterns. Although in Latin or vernacular *carmina figurata* were quite popular, the number of Greek examples is small, but it includes at least 4 other examples: Meier (1592,

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Other genres are represented with single examples, such as a humanist Greek palindrome from Tallinn, or a Greek chronostichon by Johannes Sundius (1625–1686) from Tartu, which is similar to another chronostichon from Sweden (possibly by Laurentius Normannus) and may seem rare only because of the general lack of studies concerning the European tradition of Greek literature of this period. There is possibly an influence of Latin poetry here, as Sundius's piece, for example, is based on an elegiac distich, like Latin chronodisticha.[108]

Greek poetry shares various poetic devices with the Latin poetic tradition of the same period: Greek anagrams are often developed into anagram poems in elegiac distichs in the same manner as Latin anagrams are. The play with initial or final letters can result in a pangrammatic poem,[109] and acrostichs and teleostichs are quite frequent as well. These are mostly based on the names of the addressees, like in the epicedium for King Gustavus II Adolphus (1594–1632) from Tartu, where the first letters of the hexameters give ΓΟΣΤΑΟΣ ΑΔΟΛΦΟΣ.[110] The rare examples of Greek "lapidary texts" from Tallinn and Riga may be a result of the popularity of this genre in the Neo-Latin literature of this period.[111] Latin was almost omnipresent, whether in book titles, dedications, or signatures. In Turku, there was even one macaronic Greek-Latin poem printed.[112]

One of the most popular forms of Nordic Greek occasional poetry is formally close to emblematic poetry and usually based on a quotation. These poems are often developed in the manner of rhetorical syllogisms, where the initial quotation or motto has the part of the major premise. In some poems, however, the quotation can be in the role of an exemplum or a conclusion. All

VD16P3472); Höfichen (1649: *VD17* 39:152326K) (from the gymnasium of Zittau); Faber (1683: *VD17* 125:036838S); and Dürr (?) (1672: *VD17* 125:017953V).

108 See Klöker (2005: II, 331), for the palindrome by a certain "H. Kem."; Marschall (1997) for Latin chronosticha; Päll (2010: 132) on Sundius's chronostich; for the reference to and discussion of Normannus's chronostich I owe to Johanna Akujärvi. As elsewhere, we cannot exclude German influence: the Greek chronostich under the epicedium for Paul Dassovius by Riga-born poet laureate Erich Notmann, printed in Kiel (1706), is a good example of the complex transmission paths of the tradition.

109 See Korhonen (2004: 166).

110 Edited in Orion (1999).

111 See Kajanto (1994: 137), for the definition as a piece of writing consisting of symmetrically arranged lines of unequal length; Kajanto (1994: 139–40), for the distinct alternation of short and long lines, centralised alienation, and correspondence of lines to independent clauses; and Kajanto (1994: 137, 156), for the peak in the seventeenth century.

112 Korhonen (2004: 167). The constant blending of Greek and Latin in the epigrams by Peder Winstrup (see above) is also strongly reminiscent of the macaronic style.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

these types were used by Johannes Gezelius the Elder in more than half of his 25 Greek poems. The sources of the quotations vary from Homer and other ancient authors to the New Testament (and Psalms) to Christian Greek and even Roman authors.[113]

If we look at the metres used in occasional poetry and book paratexts from Estonia, Latvia, and Finland, an interesting pattern emerges (see Table 17.3). Although the universities provide more examples of elevated and demanding genres, such as Greek hexameter orations, Pindaric odes, and disputations, the academic gymnasia reveal more diversity in the choice of metres and poem types. Another characteristic feature, more visible in the gymnasia, is the influence of Latin poetry on the choice of verse forms: the poets often use the same metres and stanza types that we know from Horace or other Latin authors, and their Greek poems also reveal some features typical of Latin metrics.[114] This may reflect either the initial phase of the study of poetics, since Latin poetry was more familiar than Greek, or the direct influence of the manuals of poetics (and other sources, such as the appendix of metres in the editions of Buchanan's Psalm paraphrases), based on Latin poetry.

The more restricted repertory of poetic forms at the universities revealed in Table 17.3 possibly resulted from other factors as well. When Greek studies were being introduced to the gymnasia, more stress was laid on acquiring competences in using different verse forms, and the occasions for writing Greek poetry were less academic. For example, the choice of verse forms is most diverse in the epithalamia from the Tallinn and Riga gymnasia, corresponding to the playful nature and diversity of the genre.[115]

The more academic context at the universities contributed to the prevalence of elegiac distichs and hexameters in Turku and Tartu (the same may be claimed for Uppsala, although in this case we do not yet have the statistics to prove it),[116] although some local characteristics are indeed in evidence,

113 Päll (2013b); Korhonen (2004: 157).

114 For example, the position of the caesura after the fifth syllable of the Sapphic stanza is typical of Horace, not Sappho (cf. Andrist & Lukinovich 2005: 691–92). Additionally, the absence of the spondaic fifth foot is typical of Latin, not the Homeric hexameter.

115 See Kaju (2006) and Kaju (2010); generally, IJsewijn & Sacré (1990–1998).

116 Although the studies of Johanna Akujärvi on the Swedish corpus and my own studies on the Braunschweig-Lüneburg Greek poets are still underway, it is safe to speculate at this stage that in case of Uppsala University, we will probably find a range of verse forms that is as diverse as or even more diverse than in gymnasia. Statistically, however, the single examples of different verse forms remain much more rare in the university context than in gymnasia or at court (occasional divergences from this trend can be explained by the existence of a more established tradition and a greater number of accomplished Hellenists).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

TABLE 17.3 Metres in printed Greek occasional texts and paratexts from 1632 to 1734

	El.di.	Hex.	Sa.	Pros a	Ia3	Cat. ia2	Acat. ia2	Phal.	Ascl.1	Lapid.	Epod. ia3, 2	Pi	Ad o	An	Fig.	
AG	42/366	32/365[a]	2/52	2/	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1/42	0	0	0	79/825
AG C	7/68	0	0	8/161	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15/229
GRe	23/234	13/180	6/76	0	4/102	1/70	2/121	1/13	1/10	1/23	0	0	0	0	1/28	53/856
GRi	28/282	7/75	1/12	0	0	2/35	1/13	1/23	0	1/32	2/22	0	0	0	0	43/494
Mi	5/36	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5/36
Ab A	110/1156	91/1142	3/88	124/2221	4/45	0	0	0	0	1/33	0	1/11	1/56	1/16	0	336/4685

a This excludes 13 hexameters in the author's signatures of poems and a one-verse motto. Abbreviations used in Table 17.3. Places of publication: AG—Academia Gustaviana (Tartu); AGC—Academia Gustavo-Carolina (Tartu/Pärnu); GRe—Gymnasium Revaliense (Tallinn); GRi—Gymnasium Rigense (Riga); Mi (Mitau printers), AbA (Academia Aboensis). Metres: El.di.—elegiac distich; Hex.—hexameter; Sa.—Sapphic stanzas; Prosa—short prose orations; Pind.—Pindaric ode; Ia3—iambic trimeter; Cat. ia2, acat. ia.2—catalectic and acatalectic iambic dimeter; Phal.—phalaecian hendecasyllable; Ascl.1—first Asclepiadean stanza; Lapid. – prose in lapidary style; Epod.—epodic metres; Fig.—*carmen figuratum*; Ado. – adonian; An. – anapestic dimeter.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

such as the frequency of prose gratulatory pieces in Turku. This is confirmed by parallels from the Lithuanian-Polonian Commonwealth, where elegiac distichs prevail, corresponding to the choice of occasion: funeral poetry and book dedications. A greater diversity of metres appears only in the Zamosc academy (3 elegies next to 1 Pindaric ode, 1 ode in Asclepiadean, and 1 in Sapphic stanzas), corresponding to the less academic occasions for the use of Greek.[117] Thus, the differences in the choice of metre do not seem to depend on confession, but on the type of the institution: at the universities the occasions for writing Greek are more formal and connected to study and research, whereas the leading role of the faculty of theology may explain the limitation of the use of Greek for exhortations to study and expression of piety.[118]

8 Conclusion

Despite the initial impetus, the Reformation did not bring about an automatic flourishing of Greek studies everywhere: constant territorial conflicts caused by religious division represented a setback to the promotion of humanist, or ancient and biblical, Greek studies in the northern countries. In the 1540s and 1550s we find local poets (such as Jakob Jespersen, from Denmark) leaving the region, and newcomers (such as Krüger) having a hard time settling down. In Swedish areas, a more profound interest in Greek arrived with the consolidation of the state and the reformation of its education system in the early seventeenth century, and it waned in tandem with Swedish power. However, even at its peak Nordic Hellenism remained mostly in the position of an *ancilla theologiae.* Only occasionally is there evidence of a deeper interest in ancient Greek poetry, philosophy, and sciences, together with writing poetry and prose in humanist Greek.

Looking at the main trends in Nordic Hellenism, we see a multifaceted practice, with trends similar to those in Central Europe. On the one hand, there is humanist interest in reading, translating, imitating, and printing ancient Greek authors (although the last of these to a smaller extent here than in Central Europe), whereas excellence in Greek usually helped writers to advance their positions in the community of *litterati*. On the other hand, theologians were interested in Greek mainly if not exclusively because it was the sacred language

117 A total of 109 out of 129 Greek poems from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are in elegiac distichs, especially in Vilnius, Poznan, and Krakow. My figures are based on the corpora by Veteikis (2004a) and Czerniatowicz (1991) as well as figures given by Korhonen (2004) and my own studies.

118 The poetry by the professors of Greek who later made a career in theology is more often in elegiac distichs or hexameters, leaving more playful forms to others.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

of God's Revelation: they wanted to master the language primarily in order to read the Greek New Testament, mostly reducing linguistic knowledge to its strictly instrumental value.

The main features and functions of Nordic Hellenism are the same as those of Greek studies in Italy and Central Europe. However, the order of the trend's different phases is often reversed, beginning with instrumentalisation and only occasionally relying on humanist interest in and love for ancient Greek literature (this is especially true for the period between 1630 and 1650 and in the final decades of the seventeenth century). The following decades will probably see the publication of more exhaustive and general works about *Hellenonordica* and *Graecogermanica*, but already now, by looking at the distribution of different genres of humanist Greek literature in the region under study, we can conclude that the humanist Greek literature from the periphery generally follows tendencies we also find in Central Europe. The few exceptions are authors such as Krüger in the 1550s, or specific phenomena, such as the intensity of the use of humanist Greek between 1630s and 1660s, which can be traced to specific local or regional circumstances, for example, the general flourishing of the arts in particular places or the exceptional or idiosyncratic talent in individual writers working there.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

General Bibliography

Primary Sources

Manuscripts and Archival Materials

Ancona

Archivio diocesano di Ancona

Causae, 2 (1541–1560), 1555—Io.em Zaccarie Greco con suos creditores

Archivio di Stato di Ancona

Camillo Albertini, *Storia di Ancona dal 282 al 1824* (manuscript, 1830)

Archivio comunale di Ancona

Fondo Ospedale Umberto I, Testamento di Alessio Lascari Paleologo

Catasti Pontifici, 3

Archivio notarile di Ancona

8 (Antonio Giovanni di Giacomo, 1444–1448)

174 (Troilo Leoni, 1525–1527)

196 (Lorenzo Trionfi, 1525–27)

198 (Lorenzo Trionfi, 1536–37)

350 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1536)

351 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1537)

353 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1539)

354 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1542–1543)

355 (Girolamo Giustiniani 1543)

356 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1544)

358 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1548)

364 (Girolamo Giustiniani, 1558–1559)

539 (Marino Benincasa, 1559).

540 (Marino Benincasa, 1560)

541 (Marino Benincasa, 1561)

542 (Marino Benincasa, 1562)

592 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1563)

593 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1563)

594 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1565)

597 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1572)

599 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1574)

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

600 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1575)
602 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1577)
604 (Francesco Brancaleoni, 1578, 2)
1023 (Giuseppe Sguri, 1607–1608)

Antwerp
Museum Plantin Moretus
M 156–1
M 156–2

Berlin
Staatsbibliothek
MS Ham. 108

Bern
Burgerbibliothek
MS 663

Brussels
Royal Library
MS 11373

Einsiedeln
Stiftsbibliothek
MS 19

Fano
Archivio di Stato di Fano
Codici Malatestiani 54
Statuti 3

Archivio diocesano di Fano
Ruoli della sagrestia 1432–1449, 3–4

London
British Library
Harley MS 5792

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Macerata
Archivio di Stato di Macerata
Archivio notarile di Recanati
1224 (Pietro Buonamici, 1557)
1225 (Pietro Buonamici, 1558)
1227 (Pietro Buonamici, 1561)
1229 (Pietro Buonamici, 1563)
1230 (Pietro Buonamici, 1565)
1233 (Pietro Buonamici, 1568)
1234 (Pietro Buonamici, 1569)

Madrid
Biblioteca Nacional de España
MS 7904, item 51 (edited in Appendix B, pp. 107–109)
MS 7912, item 92

Biblioteca del Palacio Real
MS II/2298
MS II/2798
MS II/2317

Naples
Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele
MS Brancacc. I.B.6
MS XIII. B.1
MS XIII. B.5
MS XIII. B.6
MS XIII. B.7

Oxford
Bodleian Library
MS Barocci 92
MS Casaubon 52
MS Selden Supra 108

Paris
Bibliothèque Nationale de France
MS Fr. 25445
MS Gr. 1289
MS Lat. 6252

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

MS Lat. 7651
MS Lat. 8957
MS Lat. 8958
MS Lat. 9696
Nouvelles acquisitions françaises 27237

Pesaro
Biblioteca Oliveriana Pesaro
MS 49
MS 137
MS 140
MS 1430, XXII
Lettere d'Illustri Pesaresi I

Rome
Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
MS Vat. Barb. Gr. 239
MS Vat. Lat. 1478
MS Vat. Lat. 6416
MS Vat. Lat. 5527

Biblioteca Vallicelliana
MS K 17

Speyer
Library of the Gymnasium am Kaiserdom Speyer
MS A.D. 11.
MS A.D. 12.
MS A.D. 13.
MS A.D. 14/3.
MS A.D. 15.

Stockholm
Sweden State Archives (*Riksarkivet*)
Livonica II-417

Tallinn
Tallinn City Archives (*Tallinna Linnaarhiiv*)
MS 230.1.BO_10 9
MS 230.1.BO_10 2
MS 230.1.BO.1

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Turin
Archivio di Stato di Torino
MS a. II. 1. J. 14
MS a. II. 3. J. 16
MS a. II. 6. J. 19
MS a. II. 7. J. 20
MS a. II. 8. J. 21
MS a. II. 9. J. 22
MS a. II. 10. J. 23
MS a. II. 14. J. 27
MS a. III. 3. J. 1
MS a. III. 9. J. 7
MS a. III. 10. J. 8
MS a. III. 12. J. 10

Uppsala
Uppsala University Library
MS U176

Venice
Biblioteca Marciana
MS Lat. XIV, 260 (= 4568)

Querini Stampalia Library
MS Cl. VII Cod. 2 (=1274)

Vienna
Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
MS Vindob. Phil. Gr. 95

Weimar
Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek
MS Stb 107
MS Stb 23

Early Modern Prints

Acta Eruditorum. Leipzig: Typis viduae Johanni Caspari Mulleri, 1718 (Johann Müller).

Adam, Melchior. 1615. *Vitae Germanorum philosophorum: qui saeculo superiori, et quod excurrit, philosophicis ac humanioribus literis clari floruerunt*. Heidelberg: impensis Jonae Rosae librarii Francof. typis Johannis Lancelloti (Johann Lancelot).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Agustín, Antonio. 1584. *De legibus et senatusconsultis liber, adiunctis legum antiquarum et Senatusconsultorum fragmentis, cum notis Fulvii Ursini*. Paris: apud Ioannem Richerium (Jean Richer).

Alberti, Leandro. 1550. *Descrittione di tutta Italia, nella quale si contiene il sito di essa, l'origine, et le Signorie delle Città et delle Castella*. Bologna: per Anselmo Giaccarello.

Amerotius, Hadrianus. 1530a. *De dialectis diversis declinationum Graecanicarum tam in verbis quam nominibus* [...]. Paris: ex officina Gerardi Morrhii (Gerard Morrhy).

Amerotius, Hadrianus. 1530b. 'De Graecorum notis arithmeticis compendium ex veterum grammaticorum monumentis'. In *Lexicon Graecolatinum* [...], E.ii^{r}-E.3^{r}. Paris: [apud Gerardum Morrhium (Gerard Morrhy)].

Amerotius, Hadrianus. 1520. *Compendium Graecae grammatices* [...]. Louvain: apud Theodoricum Martinum (Thierry Martens).

Amiani, Pietro Maria. 1751. *Memorie istoriche della città di Fano*. Fano: nella stamperia di Giuseppe Leonardi.

Anacreontea. 1554. *Ἀναχρέοντος Τηίου μέλη. Anacreontis Teij odae ab Henrico Stephano luce et Latinitate nunc primum donatae*. Paris: apud Henricum Stephanum (Henri II Estienne).

Anonymus. 1550. *Die catalogen oft inventarisen vanden quaden verboden boucken; ende van andere goede, diemen den iongen scholieren leeren mach, na advys der Universiteyt van Loeven* [...]. Louvain: Servaes van Sassen.

Antoninus of Florence. 1587. *Ab Innocentio III Pontifice Maximo usque ad Pium II, id est, ab anno Christi 1313 usque ad annum 1459*. Lyon: ex officina Iuntarum (Giunta).

Arctander, Niels Lauridsen. 1574. *Historia resurrectionis Domini Nostri Iesu Christi: secundum quatuor Evangelistas, Graeco heroico carmine reddita, autore Nicolao Laurentio Ripensi*. Wittenberg: excudebat Iohannes Crato (Johann Krafft).

Arctander, Niels Lauridsen. 1575. *Cantica Mariae Virginis, Zachariae et Simeonis, carmine Graeco heroico reddita* [...] *autore Nicolao Laurentio Ripensi*. Wittenberg: excudebat Iohannes Crato (Johann Krafft).

Barrio, Gabriele. 1571. *De antiquitate et situ Calabriae libri quinque*. Rome: apud Josephum de Angelis (Giuseppe degli Angeli).

Bayle, Pierre. 1697. *Dictionaire historique et critique*. Rotterdam: chez Reinier Leers.

Bembo, Pietro. 1551. *Delle lettere di m. Pietro Bembo. Secondo volume*. Venice: Aldi filii (heirs of Aldo Manuzio).

Benz, Johann. 1594. *Thesaurus pure loquendi et scribendi Graecolatinus novus*. Strasbourg: apud Lazarum Zetznerum (Lazarus Zetzner).

Beuther, Michael. 1557. *Calendarium historicum*. Frankfurt am Main: durch Davidem Zephelium (David Zephel).

Bibliotheca Carpzoviana. 1700. *Bibliotheca Carpzoviana sive Catalogus librorum quos magno studio et sumtu, dum viveret, collegit vir nobilissimus Frider. Benedictus Carpzovius* [...]. Leipzig: typis ac sumtibus Andreae Zeidleri (Andreas Zeidler).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Börner, Christian Friedrich. 1750. *De doctis hominibus Graecis litterarum Graecarum in Italia instauratoribus liber*. Leipzig: J. F. Gleditschius.

Bosio, Giacomo. 1683. *Dell'Istoria della sacra Religione et illustrissima militia di San Giovanni gierosolimitano* [...] *parte terza, seconda impressione*. Naples: appresso Domenico Antonio Parrino.

Bouche, Honoré. 1664. *La chorographie ou description de Provence*. 2 vols. Aix-de-Provence: par Charles David, Imprimeur du Roy, du Clergé, & de la Ville.

Burgman, Johannes. 1660. *Λόγος πένθιμος*. Stockholm: Τετυπώμενος ἀπ' Ιγνατίου Μευρεριάνου (Ignatius Meurer).

Cabedio, Miguel. 1547. *Plutus Aristophanis Comoedia in Latinum conversa sermonem*. Paris: ex officina typogr. Michaelis Vascosani (Michel Vascosan).

Cabedio, Miguel. 1608. 'Vita Michaelis Cabedii Senatoris Regii'. In *Hispaniae Bibliotheca seu de Academiis ac Bibliothecis. Item elogia et nomenclator clarorum Hispania Scriptorum, qui Latine disciplinas omnes illustrarunt*, edited by Andreas Schott, III, 509–17. Frankfurt: apud Claudium Marnium & haeredes Ioan. Aubrii (Claude de Marne with the heirs of Johann Aubry).

Callières, François de. 1688. *Histoire poëtique de la guerre nouvellement déclarée entre les Anciens et les Modernes*. Paris: chez Pierre Auboüin, Pierre Emery & Charles Clousier.

Camerarius, Joachim. 1539. *In hoc libello haec insunt: De tractandis equis sive ἱπποκομικός. Conversio libelli Xenophontis de Re equestri in Latinum. Historiola rei nummariae, sive de nomismatis Graecorum et Latinorum*. Tübingen: elaborata [...] ab Ulricho Morhardo (Ulrich Morhart).

Camerarius, Joachim. 1541. *Herodoti libri novem, quibus musarum indita sunt nomina* [...] *Georgii Gemisti, qui et Pletho dicitur, de iis quae post pugnam ad Mantineam gesta sunt, Libri II, una cum Ioachimi Camerarii Praefatione, Annotationibus, Herodoti vita: deque figuris: et qua usus est dialecto: omnia in studiosorum utilitatem diligenter conscripta*. Basel: in officina Hervagiana (Johannes I Herwagen).

Capaccio, Giulio Cesare. 1607a. *Neapolitanae historiae*. Naples: appresso Gio. Giacomo Carlino e Costantino Vitale.

Capaccio, Giulio Cesare. 1607b. *La vera antichita di Pozzuolo* [...] *a modo d'itinerario, acciò tutti possano seruirsene*. Naples: appresso Gio. Giacomo Carlino e Costantino Vitale.

Casaubon, Isaac. 1607. *Inscriptio vetus Graeca, nuper ad Urbem in Via Appia effossa*. [Paris]: [s.n.].

Casaubon, Isaac. 1608. *Inscriptio vetus Graeca, continens dedicationem fundi, ab Herode Magno Rege factam*. Goslar: ex officina typographica Joannis Vogdii (Johann Vogt).

Chéradame, Jean. 1528a. *Aristophanis comoediae novem*. Paris: Egidius Gormontius (Gilles de Gourmont).

Chéradame, Jean. 1528b. *Luciani Samosatensis Dialogi numero septuaginta una cum interpretatione e regione Latina.* Paris: Pierre Vidoué pour Gilles de Gourmont.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Chorier, Nicolas. 1658. *Les recherches du Sieur Chorier sur les antiquitez de la ville de Vienne*. Lyon: chez Claude Baudrand, sous les Halles.

Chytraeus, David. 1565. *De lectione historiarum recte instituenda et, historicorum fere omnium series, et argumenta, breviter, et perspicue exposita a Davide Chytraeo. Addita est chronologia Historiae Herodoti, Thucydidis, Xenophontis, Diodori Siculi, Cornelii Taciti, Procopii, etc*. Strasbourg: apud Christianum Mylium (Christian Müller).

Chytraeus, David. 1593. *Regulae studiorum seu de ratione et ordine discendi, in praecipuis artibus, recte instituendo, libellus utilis* [...]. Jena: typis Tobiae Steinman (Tobias Steinmann).

Chytraeus, David. 1601. *D. Davidis Chytraei Theologi et Historici celeberrimi vita, a Nobili et Clarissimo viro, D. Christophoro Sturtzio I. V. D. et Historiarum Professore conscripta. Accessit eiusdem D. Chytraei oratio de utilitate Herodoti, et in singulos libros argumentis*. [s.l.]: [s.n.].

Clenardus, Nicolaus. 1530. *Institutiones in linguam Graecam*. Louvain: ex officina chalcographica Rutgeri Rescii ac Joannis Sturmii (Rutger Rescius & Johannes Sturmius).

Clenardus, Nicolaus. 1531a. *Institutiones in linguam Graecam*. Paris: ex officina Gerardi Morrhii Campensis apud Collegium Sorbonae (Gerard Morrhy).

Clenardus, Nicolaus. 1531b. *Meditationes Graecanicae in artem grammaticam*. Paris: Venundantur Parisiis apud Sorbonam, et in via Jacobaea sub intersignio divae Barbarae (Gerard Morrhy).

Clenardus, Nicolaus. 1587. *Graecae linguae Institutiones*. Frankfurt: apud Andreae Wecheli heredes: Claudium Marnium & Ioann. Aubrium (Heirs of Andreas Wechel: Claude de Marne & Johann Aubry).

Coelemann, Peter. 1611. *Opus prosodicum Graecum novum* [...]. Frankfurt am Main: apud Nicolaum Hoffmannum sumptibus Ionae Rhodii (Nikolaus Hoffmann).

Crasso, Lorenzo. 1678. *Istoria de' poeti Greci e di que' che' n greca lingua han poetato*. Naples: appresso Antonio Bulifon all'insegna della Sirena.

Crusius, Martin. 1584. *Turcograeciae libri octo*. Basel: per Leonardum Ostenium, Sebastiani Henricpetri impensa (Leonhard Ostein).

Cunitz, David. 1642. *Τῆς κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἱστορίας περὶ παθήματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν μεταβολὴ ποιητική*. Uppsala: Typis expressa ab Aeschillo Matthiae, Reg. Acad. Typog. (Eskil Mattson).

De Ferrariis, Antonio. 1558. *Liber de situ Japygiae*. Basel: per Petrum Pernam.

Del Pozzo, Bartolomeo. 1714. *Ruolo generale de' cavalieri Gerosolimitani della venerabile lingua d'Italia*. Turin: nella stampe di Gio. Francesco Mairesse e Giovanni Radix, Stampatori del' Illustriss. Accad. degl' Innominati di Bra.

Deyron, Jacques. 1663. *Des antiquités de la ville de Nismes*. Nîmes: par Jean Plasses.

Dinner, Conrad. 1589. *Epithetorum Graecorum farrago locupletissima*. Frankfurt am Main: apud Andreae Wecheli heredes: Claudium Marnium & Ioann. Aubrium (Heirs of Andreas Wechel: Claude de Marne & Johann Aubry).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Diplovatazio, Tommaso. 1771. *Memorie di Tommaso Diplovatazio, patrizio costantinopolitano e pesarese*. Edited by Annibale degli Abbati Olivieri-Giordani. Pesaro: in Casa Gavelli.

Dousa, Georgius. 1599. *De itinere suo Constantinopolitano, epistola*. Leiden: ex officina Plantiniana, apud Christophorum Raphelengium (Christophorus Raphelengius / Van Ravelingen).

Dreyhaupt, Johann Christoph von. 1755. *Pagus Neletici et Nudzici. Oder ausführliche historisch-diplomatische Beschreibung des* [...] *Herzogtum Magdeburg gehörigen Saal-Creyses* [...]. 2 vols. Halle: in Verlegung des Wäysenhauses.

Eckhel, Joseph Hilarius. 1792. *Doctrina numorum veterum* [...]*, pars I de numis urbium, populorum, regum, volumen I continens prolegomena generalia, tum numos Hispaniae, Galliae, Britanniae, Germaniae, Italiae cum insulis*. Vienna: sumptibus Josephi Vincentii Degen impressit Ignatius Alberti (Ignaz Alberti).

Einem, Johann Just von. 1736. *Succinctae introductionis in Bibliothecam Graecam Jo. Alberti Fabricii pars altera, qua ultimi aevi scriptores Graeci ad nostra usque tempora recensentur*. Magdeburg: litteris viduae Siegelerianae.

Erasmus, Desiderius. 1512. *De duplici Copia rerum ac verborum commentarii duo. De ratione studii et instituendi pueros commentarii totidem. De puero Iesu Concio scholastica, et quaedam carmina ad eandem rem pertinentia.* Paris: in aedibus Ascensianis (Josse Bade).

Erasmus, Desiderius. 1516. *Novum Instrumentum*. Basel: in aedibus Ioannis Frobenij (Johann Froben).

Erasmus, Desiderius. 1528. *De recta Latini Graecique sermonis pronuntiatione* [...] *Dialogus*. Basel: in officina Frobeniana (heirs of Johann Froben).

Erizzo, Sebastiano. 1559. *Discorso sopra le medaglie antiche*. Venice: nella bottega Valgrisiana (Vincenzo Valgrisi).

Estienne, Henri. 1566. *Herodoti Halicarnassei Historiae libri IX, et de vita Homeri libellus. Illic ex interpretatione Laurentii Vallae adscripta, hic ex interpretatione Conradi Heresbachii: utraque ab Henrico Stephano recognita. Ex Ctesia excerptae historiae. Icones quarundam memorabilium structurarum. Apologia Henrici Stephani pro Herodoto*. [Geneva]: excudebat Henricus Stephanus, illustris viri Huldrichi Fuggeri typographus (Henri II Estienne).

Estienne, Henri. 1592. *ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΑΛΙΚΑΡΝΑΣΣΗΟΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΛΟΓΟΙ Θ, ἐπιγραφόμενοι μοῦσαι. τοῦ ἀυτοῦ Ἐξήγησις περὶ τῆς Ὁμήρου βιοτῆς. Herodoti Halicarnassei Historiarum libri IX, IX Musarum nominibus inscripti. Eiusdem narratio de vita Homeri. Cum Vallae interpretatione Latina historiarum Herodoti, ab Henrico Stephano recognita. Item cum iconibus structurarum ab Herodoto descriptarum. Ctesiae quaedam de rebus Persicis et Indicis. Editio secunda.* [Geneva]: excudebat Henricus Stephanus (Henri II Estienne).

Evenius, Sigmund, and Gabriel Holstenius. 1620. *Περὶ τῶν σοφιστικῶν ἐλέγχων διάλεξις*. Halle: Peter Schmidt (Faber).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Faber, Georg Benedikt. 1693. *Βωμὸς τοῖς Ἀνδράσι Διασήμοις* [...] *ΔΑΝΙΗΛΙ ΟΥΥΛΦΗΡΩ καὶ ΓΕΟΡΓΙΩ ΜΑΤΘΙΑ ΚΟΙΝΙΓΙΩ*. Altdorf: Τύποις τοῦ Ἐρρίκου Μαιήρου, τοῦ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Χαλκογράφου.

Fabricius, Johann Albert. 1705–1728. *Bibliotheca Graeca, sive Notitia scriptorum veterum Graecorum, quorumcumque monumenta integra aut fragmenta edita exstant* [...]. 14 vols. Hamburg: sumptu Christiani Liebezeit, typis Spieringianis (Spiering).

Fant, Eric Michael. 1775–1786. *Historiola litteraturae Graecae in Svecia* [...]. 14 vols. Uppsala: apud Joh. Edman, Direct. et Reg. Acad. Typogr. (Johan Edman).

Fazello, Tommaso. 1558. *De rebus Siculis decades duae*. Palermo: apud Ioannem Matthaeum Maidam et Franciscum Carraram (Giovanni Matteo Maida & Giovanni Francesco Carrara).

Floderus, Matthias. 1785–1789. *De poetis in Svio-Gothia Graecis* [...]. 4 vols. Uppsala: impress. litt. Joh. Edman, Direct. & Acad. Typogr. (Johan Edman).

Freyer, Hieronymus. 1715. *Fasciculus poematum Graecorum ex antiquis ac recentioribus poetis collectus et ad innoxium scholasticae iuventutis usum accommodatus*. Halle an der Saale: sumptibus Orphanotrophaei.

Fulvio, Andrea. 1517. *Illustrium imagines*. Rome: impressum [...] apud Iacobum Mazochium (Giacomo Mazzocchi).

Gelzenius, Sueno. 1649. *Λογάριον περὶ τῆς τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως*. Aboa (Turku): τοῦ Πέτρου Οὐαλδ (Petrus Wald).

Gezelius, Johannes. 1648. *J. A. Comenii Ianua linguarum reserata* [...] *in Graecum idioma*. Tartu (Dorpat): excusa a Johanne Vogel, Academiae typographo (Johannes Vogel).

Gezelius, Johannes. 1649. *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum continens voces omnes appellativas* [...]. Tartu (Dorpat): excusum a Johanne Vogelio, Academiae typographo (Johannes Vogel).

Gezelius, Johannes. 1669. *Μῦθοι τοῦ Αἰσώπου ἐκλεκτοί. Ἑλληνιστὶ καὶ Ρωμαϊστί. Fabulae Aesopi selectae. Graece et Latine*. Turku (Åbo): excusae a Johanne Winter (Johann Winter).

Giovio, Paolo. 1560. *La seconda parte delle Istorie del suo tempo* [...]. Translated by Lodovico Domenichi. Venice: appresso Giovan Maria Bonelli.

Giovio, Paolo. 1577. *Elogia Virorum literis illustrium: quotquot vel nostra vel avorum memoria vixere. Ex eiusdem Musaeo* (*cuius descriptionem una exhibemus*) *ad vivum expressis imaginibus exornata*. Basel: Petri Pernae Typographi [...] opera ac studio.

Girard, Charles. 1549. *Ἀριστοφάνους κωμῳδοποιῶν ἀρίστου Πλοῦτος. Aristophanis Poetae Comici Plutus, iam nunc per Carolum Girardum Bituricum et Latinus factus, et Commentariis insuper sane quam utilissime recens illustratus. Editio prima*. Paris: imprimebat Christianus Wechelus sibi et Mathurino Dupuys (Christian Wechel & Mathurin Dupuys).

Goltzius, Hubertus. 1557. *Vivae omnium fere imperatorum imagines, a C. Iulio Caesare usque ad Carolum 5. et Ferdinandum eius fratrem, ex antiquis veterum numismatis*

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

solertissime, non ut olim ab aliis, sed vere ac fideliter adumbratae, nec non eorundem vitae, acta, mores, virtutes, vitia, suis coloribus historico penicillo delineatae. Antwerp: in officinia Aegidii Coppenii Diesthemii (Gillis Coppens van Diest).

Goltzius, Hubertus. 1563. *C. Iulius Caesar sive Historiae imperatorum Caesarumque Romanorum ex antiquis numismatibus restitutae, liber primus. Accessit C. Iulii Caesaris vita et res gestae*. Bruges: apud Hubertum Goltzium Herbipolitam Venlonianum.

Goltzius, Hubertus. 1566. *Fastos magistratuum et triumphorum Romanorum ab Urbe condita ad Augusti obitum ex antiquis tam numismatum quam marmorum monumentis restitutos S.P.Q.R.* Bruges: excudebat Hubertus Goltzius.

Goltzius, Hubertus. 1574. *Caesar Augustus sive Historiae imperatorum Caesarumque Romanorum ex antiquis numismatibus restitutae, liber secundus. Accessit Caesaris Augusti vita et res gestae*. Bruges: excudebat Hubertus Goltzius.

Goltzius, Hubertus. 1576. *Sicilia et Magna Graecia, sive historiae urbium et populorum Graeciae ex antiquis numismatibus restitutae, liber primus*. Bruges: apud Hubertum Goltzium.

Goltzius, Hubertus. 1579. *Thesaurus rei antiquariae huberrimus, ex antiquis tam numismatum quam marmorum inscriptionibus pari diligentia qua fide conquisitus ac descriptus, et in locos communes distributus*. Antwerp: ex officina Christophori Plantini, Architypographi Regii (Christophe Plantin).

Goltzius, Hubertus. 1620. *Ludovici Nonnii commentarius in nomismata imperatorum Iulii Augusti et Tiberi. Huberto Goltzio scalptore; accesserunt singulorum Vitae ex Suetonio*. Antwerp: apud Hieronymum Verdussium (Hieronymus I Verdussen).

[Goltzius, Hubertus]. 1569. *Historie van Broer Cornelis Adriaensen van Dordrecht, minderbroeder binnen die stadt van Brugge.* 2 vols. [Bruges]: [Hubertus Goltzius].

Götschen, Peter. 1663. *Χριστογνωσία, carmine Graeco descripta, et publice, cum ad professionem Graecarum litterarum obeundam introduceretur, in Athenaeo maiori* [...] *pronunciata* [...]. Tartu (Dorpat): typis Jacobi Pistorii expressa (Jakob Becker).

Gregory of Nazianzus. 1504. *Gregorii episcopi Nazanzeni Carmina ad bene beateque vivendum utilissima nuper e Gaeco in Latinum ad verbum fere tralata* [...]. Translated by Aldo Manuzio. Venice: ex Aldi Academia (Aldo Manuzio).

Gruterus, Janus. 1603. *Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis Romani* [...]. Heidelberg: ex officina Commeliniana (Commelin).

[Guenebauld, Jean] (= I. G. D. M. D.). 1621. *Le Reveil de Chyndonax Prince des Vacies Druydes Celtiques Dijonois* [...]. Dijon: de l'impression de Claude Guyot, Imprimeur ordinaire du Roy.

Guicciardini, Francesco. 1567. *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi, altrimenti detti Germania Inferiore*. Antwerp: apresso Guglielmo Silvio, Stampatore Regio (Willem Silvius).

Gunnari Norcopensis, Johannes. 1634. *Oratio qua temporum horum difficultatem* [...] *excessum divi Gustavi Adolphi*. Uppsala: imprimebat Eschillus Matthiae (Eskil Mattson).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Habert, Isaac. 1676. *Ἀρχιερατικόν. Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Graecae, nunc primum ex regiis ms. Euchologiis aliisque probatissimis monumentis collectus, Latina interpretatione, notis ac observationibus antiquitatis ecclesiasticae plenissimis illustratus* [...]. Paris: apud Ludovicum Billaine (Louis Billaine).

Hauptmann, Johann Gottfried, and Christian Ernst Schmidt. 1737. *De Atticismo* [...]. Leipzig: Jo. Christiani Langenhemii (Johann Christian Langenheim).

Hederich, Benjamin. 1702. *De imitatione Pindarica commentatio*. Wittenberg: litteris Creusigianis (Kreusig).

Hegius, Alexander. 1503. *Carmina et gravia et elegantia: cum ceteris eius opusculis quae subiiciuntur* [...]. Deventer: per me Richardum Paffraet (Richard Paffraet).

Helwig, Christoph. 1620. *De ratione conficiendi facile et artificiose Graeca carmina*. Gießen: Casparus Chemlinus imprimebat (Kaspar Chemlin).

Hody, Humphrey. 1742. *De Graecis illustribus linguae Graecae literarumque humaniorum instauratoribus, eorum vitis, scriptis et elogiis libri duo*. London: impensis Caroli Davis, Regiae Societatis Typographi, in vico vulgo dicto Pater-noster-Row.

Holstenius, Ericus, and Johannes Sundius. 1652. *Συζήτησις δημοτελὴς περὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἠθικῆς γενικῶς*. Tartu (Dorpat): excudebat Johannes Vogel.

Holstenius, Gabriel, and Matthias Erici Arosiander. 1627. *Ἡ περὶ τῆς ἀνδρίας διάλεξις κατὰ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλη*. Västerås (Arosiae): Olof Olofsson Helsing.

Huttichius, Johannes. 1534. *Imperatorum et Caesarum vitae, cum Imaginibus ad vivam effigiem expressis* [...]. Strasbourg: Vuolphgangus Caephalaeus excussit (Wolfgang Köpfel).

Ingenerio, Andrea. 1749. 'Legenda miracolorum Beatae Virginis et Martyris Theodosiae'. In *Ecclesiae Venetae antiquis monumentis: nunc etiam primum editis illustratae ac in decades distributae / [2] Ecclesiae Venetae antiquis monumentis; decas secunda et tertia*, edited by Flaminio Corner, 330–37. Venice: typis Jo. Baptistae Pasquali (Giovanni Battista Pasquali).

Isaac, Stephan. 1586. *Wahre und einfältige Historia*. [s.l.]: [s.n.].

Jespersen, Jacob. 1544. *Anactobiblion et Heroepe Iacobi Iaspari Dani Arrhusiensis Professoris Graecolatini*. Antwerp: ex officina Ioannis Loëi (Jan Van der Loe).

John, Johann Sigismund. 1728. *Parnassi Silesiaci sive recensionis poetarum Silesiacorum quotquot vel in patria vel in alia etiam lingua Musis litarunt Centuria prima*. Breslau: sumtu Michael. Rohrlachii (Michael Rohrlach).

Jungermann, Gottfried. 1608. *ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΑΛΙΚΑΡΝΑΣΣΗΟΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΛΟΓΟΙ Θ, ἐπιγραφόμενοι Μοῦσαι. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἐξήγησις περὶ τῆς Ὁμήρου βιοτῆς. Herodoti Halicarnassei Historiarum Libri IX, IX Musarum nominibus inscripti. Cum Vallae interpretatione Latina historiarum Herodoti, ab Henrico Stephano recognita; excerpta è Ctesiae libris de rebus Persicis et Indicis; editio adornata opera et studio Gothofredi Jungermani*. Frankfurt am Main: apud Claud. Marnium & hered. Jo. Aubrii (Claude de Marne and heirs of Johann Aubry).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Kiörlingh, Jonas. 1662. Μέγιστον, καὶ κράτισ<τ>ον πάντων Θεοῦ εὐεργετημάτων, κἂν ἀναριθμήτων. Stockholm: typis Meurerianis (Ignatius Meurer).

Kirchner, Christoph. 1646. *Prosodia Graeca. Hoc est Ratio, Quantitatem syllabarum apud Graecos, Praeceptis et Auctoritate veterum plus-minus sexcentorum viginti, ut et recentium aliquot Poetarum, declarans* [...]. Basel: typis et sumptibus Iohan. Iacobi Genathii (Johann Jakob Genath).

Klotz, Christian Adolph. 1765. *Acta litteraria*. Altenburg: ex officina Richteria (Richter).

König, Georg Matthias. 1678. *Bibliotheca vetus et nova* [...]. Altdorf: impensis Wolfgangi Mauritii et Haeredum Johannis Andreae Endterorum, Bibliopol. Norimb., typis Henrici Meyeri, Typographi Acad. (Heinrich Meyer).

Krüger, Gregor. *c.*1555. *Carmen de dignitate et excellentia doctrinae coelestis*. Wittenberg: Per Iohannem Lufft (Johann Lufft).

Küster, Ludolf. 1710. *Aristophanis Comoediae undecim, Graece et Latine, ex codd. mss. emendatae, cum scholiis antiquis, inter quae scholia in Lysistratam ex cod. Vossiano nunc primum in lucem prodeunt. Accedunt notae virorum doctorum in omnes comoedias; inter quas nunc primum eduntur Isaaci Casauboni in equites ; illustrissimi Ezechielis Spanhemii in tres priores, et Richardi Bentleji in duas priores comoedias observationes. Omnia collegit et recensuit, notasque in novem comoedias, et quatuor indices in fine adjecit Ludolphus Kusteris*. Amsterdam: sumptibus Thomae Fritsch, Bibliop. Lipsiensis (Thomas Fritsch).

Lascaris, Constantinus. 1495. *Erotemata cum interpretatione Latina* [...]. Venice: summo studio, litteris ac impensis Aldi Manucii Romani (Aldo Manuzio).

Lascaris, Constantinus. 1512. *In hoc libro haec habentur. Constantini Lascaris Byzantini de octo partibus orationis liber I* [...] *Introductio perbrevis ad Hebraicam linguam*. Venice: apud Aldum (Aldo Manuzio).

Lauridsen, Niels. 1574. *Historia resurrectionis Domini Nostri Iesu Christi: secundum quatuor Evangelistas, Graeco carmine heroico reddita*. Wittenberg: excudebat Iohannes Crato (Johann Kraft).

Lauridsen, Niels. 1575. *Cantica Mariae Virginis, Zachariae et Simeonis, carmine Graeco heroico reddita* [...]. Wittenberg: excudebat Iohannes Crato (Johann Kraft).

Lazius, Wolfgang. 1558. *Commentariorum rerum Graecarum libri II* [...]. [Vienna]: [s.n.].

Leclerc, Jean. 1701. *Parrhasiana, ou Pensées diverses sur des matières de critique, d'histoire, de morale et de politique* [...]. Amsterdam: chez Henri Schelte.

Leone, Ambrogio. 1514. *De Nola opusculum* [...]. Venice: incussum ... opera diligentiaque probi viri Ioannis Rubri Vercellani (Giovanni Rosso).

Lizel, Georg. 1730. *Historia poetarum Graecorum Germaniae a renatis literis ad nostra usque tempora, ubi eorum vitae, poemata et in priscos poetas Graecos merita recensentur*. Frankfurt / Leipzig: apud Io. Paulum Rothium (Johann Paul Roth).

Lizel, Georg. 1731. *Der undeutsche Catholik, oder Historischer Bericht von der allzu grossen Nachlässigkeit der Römisch-Catholischen, insonderheit unter der Clerisey der*

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Jesuiten, in Verbesserung der deutschen Sprache und Poesie. Jena: bei Joh. Friederich Rittern.

Lizel, Georg. 1814. *Georgii Lizelii Spirae olim conrectoris Specimen Graecae interpretationis Virgilii Aeneidos recudi curavit atque Eugenii Bulgaris Graecam horum versuum versionem apposuit*. Edited by Gottfried Seebode. Hannover: apud fratres Hahn.

Longolius, Gilbertus. 1533. *Lexicon Graecolatinum* [...]. Cologne: ex officina Ioannis Prael (Johannes Prael).

Maffei, Scipione. 1749. *Museum Veronense, hoc est antiquarum inscriptionum atque anaglyphorum collectio*. Verona: Typis seminarii.

Magnum Bullarium. 1673. *Magnum Bullarium Romanum, a Pio Quarto usque ad Innocentium IX. Tomus Secundus*. Lyon: sumptibus Laurentii Arnaud & Petri Borde.

Manuzio, Aldo. 1502. *ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΙ ΕΝΝΕΑ, ΟΙΠΕΡ ΕΠΙΚΑΛΟΥΝΤΑΙ ΜΟΥΣΑΙ. Herodoti libri novem. Quibus Musarum indita sunt nomina*. Venice: in domo Aldi (Aldo Manuzio).

Margounios, Maximos. 1592. *Maximi Margunii episcopi Cytherensis poemata aliquot sacra, Graece nunc primum publicata studio et opera Davidis Hoeschelii, A.M., e Bibliotheca Reipublicae Augustanae*. Leiden: ex officina Plantiniana, apud Franciscum Raphelengium (Franciscus Raphelengius / Van Ravelingen).

Margounios, Maximos. 1601. *Μαξίμου τοῦ Μαργουνίου ἐπισκόπου Κυθήρων Ὕμνοι ἀνακρεόντειοι. Maximi Margunii episcopi Cytherorum Hymni Anacreontici. Cum interpretatione Latina Conradi Rittershusii*. Augsburg: ex officina typographica Johannes Praetorius (Hans Schultes der Ältere).

Martinengo, Tito Prospero. 1582. *Τίτου Προσπέρου Μαρτινεγγίου ποιήματα διάφορα. T. Prosperi Martinengii poemata diversa*. Rome: apud F. Zanettum (Francesco Zanetti).

Masch, Andreas Gottlieb. 1781. *Bibliotheca Sacra post Cl. Cl. V.V. Jacobi Le Long et C. F. Boerneri iteratas curas ordine disposita, emendata, suppleta, continuata. Partis secundae volumen secundum de versionibus Graecis*. Halle an der Saale: sumtibus Joannis Jac. Gebaueri (Johann Jacob Gebauer).

Meetkercke, Adolph. 1565. *Μόσχου τοῦ Σικελοῦ, καὶ Βίωνος Σμυρναίου εἰδύλλια. Moschi Siculi, et Bionis Smyrnaei Idyllia quae quidem extant omnia, hactenus non edita. Accessit Phanoclis elegia et alia Propertii. Omnia Latine tam soluta oratione quam carmine reddita*. Bruges: excudebat Hubertus Goltzius.

Melanchthon, Philipp. 1528. *Ἀριστοφάνους εὐτραπελώτατου τοῦ κωμικοῦ Νεφέλαι καὶ Πλοῦτος. Aristophanis comici facetissimi, Nubes ac Plutus, comoediae, ut elegantissimae, ita sane doctissimae, Philippi Melanchthonis Scholiis brevissimis adnotatae, Graecique sermonis studiosis utilissimae*. Hagenau: per Johannem Secerium (Johann Setzer).

Mercuriale, Girolamo. 1573. *De arte gymnastica libri sex*. Venice: apud Iuntas (Giunta).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Micyllus, Jakob. 1544. *Icones imperatorum et breves vitae atque rerum cuiusque gestarum indicationes*. Strasbourg: apud Cratonem Mylium (Kraft Müller).

Miniati, Lorenzo. 1663. *Le glorie cadute dell'antichissima e augustissima famiglia Comnena*. Venice: per Francesco Valvasense.

Morellus, Federicus. 1607. *Epigrammata in imagines ducum, regum, imperatorum, ex poetarum Graecorum anthologia selecta*. Paris: apud Federicum Morellum, Architypographum Regium (Frédéric Morel).

Musurus, Marcus. 1498. *Aristophanis comoediae novem*. Venice: apud Aldum (Aldo Manuzio).

Neander, Michael. 1555. *Φρασεολογία Ἰσοκρατικὴ Ἑλληνικολατίνη. Phraseologia Isocratis Graecolatina* [...]. Basel: per Ioann. Oporinum (Johannes Oporin / Hans Herbst).

Neander, Michael, and Johann Volland, eds. 1582. *De re poetica Graecorum*. Leipzig: Georgius Deffnerus imprimebat. Impensis Nicolai Nerlichii Bibliopolae Lipsici (Georg Deffner & Nikolaus Nerlich).

Néobar, Conrad, and Jacques Toussain (?), eds. 1540. *Ἀριστοφάνους Πλοῦτος. Plutus. Νεφέλαι. Nebulae. Βάτραχοι. Ranae*. Paris: per Conradum Neobarium, regium in Graecis typographum (Conrad Néobar).

Noltenius, Johann Friedrich. 1780. 'Bibliothecae Latinitatis restitutae conspectus specialis'. In *Lexicon Latinae linguae antibarbarum quadripartitum tomus posterior* [...], 57–512. Berlin / Uppsala: apud Gottl. Aug. Langium (Gottlieb August Lange) / apud M. Swederum (M. Swederus).

Normannus, Laurentius. 1738. *Orationes panegyricae et nonnulla programmata*. Stockholm: literis viduae B. Schneider (widow of B. Schneider).

Orsini, Fulvio. 1570. *Imagines et elogia virorum illustrium et eruditorum ex antiquis lapidibus et nomismatibus expressa cum annotationibus ex bibliotheca Fulvii Orsini*. Rome / Venice: Ant. Lafrerii formeis (Antoine Lafréry) / in aedibus Petri Dehuchino, Galli (Claude Debuchin).

Orsini, Fulvio. 1577. *Familiae Romanae quae reperiuntur in antiquis numismatibus ab urbe condita ad tempora divi Augusti, ex bibliotheca Fulvi Ursini, adiunctis familiis XXX ex libro Antoni Augustini, episcopi Ilerdensis*. Rome: impensis haeredum Francesci Tramezini: apud Josephum de Angelis (Giuseppe De Angelis).

Ortelius, Abraham. 1570. *Theatrum orbis terrarum*. Antwerp: apud Aegid. Coppenium Diesth (Gillis Coppens van Diest).

Ortelius, Abraham. 1573. *Deorum dearumque capita, ex vetustis numismatibus in gratiam antiquitatis studiosorum effigiata et edita ex musaeo Abrahami Ortelii*. Antwerp: Philippus Gallaeus excudebat (Philip Galle).

Ortelius, Abraham, and Johannes Vivianus. 1584. *Itinerarium per nonnullas Galliae Belgicae partes*. Antwerp: ex officina Christophori Plantini (Christophe Plantin).

Panvinius, Onophrius. 1557. *Fasti et triumphi Romanorum a Romulo rege usque ad Carolum V Caesarem Augustum*. Venice: impensis Iacobi Stradae Mantuani (Giacomo Strada).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Paulinus, Johannes. 1678. *Magnus Principatus Finlandia*. Stockholm: excudit Joh. Georg. Eberdt (Johann Georg Eberdt).

Paulinus, Simon, and Georg Aenelius. 1688. *Διατριβὴ φιλολογικὴ περὶ τῆς ἐτυμότητος ὀρθοεπείας καὶ ἐμφάσεως τοῦ* שילת. Turku (Åbo): τετυπομένη ἀπὸ Ιωάννου τοῦ Οὐαλλίου τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Τυπογρ. (Johann Winter).

Perbrevis Instructio. 1671. *Perbrevis Instructio super aliquibus ritibus Graecorum, ad RR. PP. DD. episcopos Latinos, in quorum civitatibus, vel diocesibus Graeci, vel Albanenses Graeco ritu viventes degunt*. 1671. Rome: Reverenda Camera Apostolica.

Petri Gothus, Laurentius. 1559. *Strategema Gothici exercitus adversus Darium, periucundum, Carmine redditum elegiaco* [...]. Wittenberg: [s.n.].

Posselius, Johann. 1585. *Calligraphia oratoria linguae Graecae* [...]. Frankfurt am Main: apud heredes Andreae Wecheli (Heirs of Andreas Wechel).

Posselius, Johann. 1690. *Οἰκειῶν διαλογῶν βιβλίον Ἑλληνιστὶ καὶ Ῥωμαϊστὶ. Familiarum colloquiorum libellus Graece et Latine* [...]. Turku (Åbo): apud Johannem Winter, typogr. reg. in mag. duc. Finl. (Johann Winter).

Rhodoman, Lorenz. 1589. *Poesis Christiana. Palaestinae, seu Historiae sacrae, libri novem*. Frankfurt am Main: apud Andreae Wecheli heredes: Claudium Marnium et Ioann. Aubrium (Heirs of Andreas Wechel: Claude de Marne & Johann Aubry).

Rhodoman, Lorenz. 1605. *Oratio de lingua Graeca: Ut ab initio huc usque propagata sit, et dehinc etiam propagari queat* [...]. Strasbourg: typis Antonii Bertrami (Anton Bertram der Ältere).

Ringelbergius, Joachim Fortius. 1531. *Opera*. Lyon: apud Gryphium (Sébastien Gryphe).

Rodotà, Pietro-Pompilio. 1758–1763. *Dell'origine e dello stato presente del rito greco in Italia* [...]. 3 vols. Rome: per Giovanni Generoso Salomoni.

Rolland d'Erceville, Barthélémy-Gabriel. 1783. 'Compte-rendu aux chambres assemblées [...] du 13 Mai 1768'. In *Recueil de plusieurs ouvrages de Monsieur le président Rolland imprimé en exécution des déliberations du bureau d'administration du College de Louis-le-Grand, des 17 janvier et 18 avril 1782*. Paris: P. G. Simon et N. H. Nyon.

Saccus, Johannes Baptista. 1586. *Oratio de laudibus Antonii Perrenotti cardinalis Granvellani* [...]. Antwerp: ex officina Christophori Plantini, Architypographi Regii (Christophe Plantin).

Sambucus, Johannes. 1564. *Emblemata, cum aliquot nummis antiqui operis*. Antwerp: Christophori Plantini (Christophe Plantin).

Saracini, Giuliano. 1675. *Notitie historiche della città di Ancona*. Rome: a spese di Nicolò Angelo Tinassi.

Saumaise, Claude. 1619. *Duarum inscriptionum veterum Herodis Attici Rhetoris et Regillae coniugis honori positarum explicatio*. Paris: apud Hieronymum Drouart, via Iacobea, sub scuto Solari (Jérôme Drouart).

Scaliger, Joseph. 1606. *Thesaurus temporum*. Leiden: excudebat Thomas Basson, sumptibus Commelinorum.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Scardeone, Bernardino. 1560. *De antiquitate urbis Patavii, et claris civibus Patavinis*. Basel: apud Nicolaum Episcopium iuniorem (Nicolaus Bischoff der Jüngere).

Schmidt, Erasmus. 1615. *Cyrilli vel Philoponi De differentiis vocum*. Wittenberg: typis Richterianis, sumptibus B. Corvini (Richter).

Schrader, Lorenz. 1592. *Monumentorum Italiae, quae hoc nostro saeculo et a Christianis posita sunt, libri quatuor*. Helmstedt: typis Iacobi Lucii Transylvani (Jacobus Lucius der Ältere).

Selden, John. 1628. *Marmora Arundelliana sive saxa Graece incisa* [...]. London: typis et impensis Guilielmi Stanesbeij (William Stansby).

Senckenberg, Renatus Karl von. 1785. *Polydori Nemeaei Carmina varia selecta Latina et Graeca*. [s.l.]: [s.n.].

Sidelmann, Erasmus. 1587. *Epitome, De Poesi seu Prosodia Graecorum* [...]. Frankfurt am Main: excudebat Ioannes Spies (Johann Spieß).

Sigonio, Carlo. 1564a. *De Atheniensium Lacedaemoniorumque temporibus liber*. Venice: ex officina Dominici Guerrei et Io. Baptistae fratrum (Domenico et Giovanni Battista Guerra fratelli).

Sigonio, Carlo. 1564b. *De Republica Atheniensium libri IV*. Bologna: apud Ioannem Rubrium (Giovanni Rubrio).

Simeoni, Gabriele. 1558. *Les illustres observations antiques* [...]. Lyon: par Ian de Tournes (Jean de Tournes).

Simonis, Johannes. 1752. *Introductio grammatico-critica in linguam Graecam* [...]. Halle an der Saale: impensis Orphanotrophei.

Smetius, Martinus. 1588. *Inscriptionum antiquarum quae passim per Europam liber*. Leiden: ex officina Plantiniana, apud Franciscum Raphelengium (Franciscus Raphelengius / Van Ravelingen).

Soliers, Jules Raymond. 1615. *Les antiquitez de la Ville de Marseille* [...]. Cologny: par Alexandre Pernet.

Spachius, Israël. 1598. *Nomenclator scriptorum philosophicorum atque philologicorum* [...]. Strasbourg: apud Antonium Bertramum (Anton Bertram).

Spon, Jacob, and George Wheler. 1679. *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grece, et du Levant Fait és années 1675 et 1676*. 2 vols. Amsterdam: chez Henry et Theodore Boom.

Stahl, Heinrich. 1641. *Leyen Spiegel, darinnen kürzlich verzeiget wird, wie ein einfaltiger Christ, die Fest- und Sontägliche Evangelia in reiner Lehr und heiligem Leben ihm zu Nutze machen kan*. Tallinn (Reval): Heinrich Westphal.

Sturtz, Christoph. 1601. *Orationes aliquot virtutis ac prudentiae civilis exempla proponentes* [...]. Rostock: typis Stephani Myliandri (Stephan Möllemann).

Synesius of Cyrene. 1567. *Συνεσίου* [...] *ὕμνοι ἔμμετροι. Synesii* [...] *hymni carmine nunc primum Graece simul et Latine edita interprete Gulielmo Cantero*. Basel: per Joannem Oporinum (Johannes Oporin / Hans Herbst).

Synesius of Cyrene. 1568. *Συνεσίου τοῦ Κυρηναίου, ἐπισκόπου Πτολεμαΐδος, ὕμνοι ἐν διαφόροις μέλεσι / Synesii Cyrenaei episcopi Ptolemaidis Hymni vario lyricorum versuum*

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

genere. Gregorii Nazianzeni odae aliquot: utrisque nunc primum in lucem prodeuntibus Latinam interpretatione adiunxit Franciscus Portus Cretensis. [Geneva]: excudebat H. Stephanus (Henri II Estienne).

Thun, Josef. 1682. *Amores sacri sive canticum canticorum Salomonis elegia expressum. Accedunt et alia varii argumenti poematia Graeca*. Stockholm: excudit Joh. Georg. Eberdt (Johann Georg Eberdt).

Trippault, Léon. 1581. *Celt'hellenisme ou etymologic des mots francois tirez du graec. Plus: preuues en general de la descente de nostre langue*. Orléans: Par Eloy Gibier, Imprimeur et Libraire iuré de l'Université.

Vives, Juan Luis. 1531. *De disciplinis libri XX*. Antwerp: excudebat Michael Hillenius in Rapo (Michaël Hillenius van Hoogstraten).

Vulcanius, Bonaventura. 1584. *Callimachi Cyrenaei Hymni, epigrammata et fragmenta, quae exstant. Et separatim, Moschi Syracusii, et Bionis Smyrnaei Idyllia. Bonaventura Vulcanio Brugensi interprete. Cum annotationibus eiusdem*. Antwerp: apud Christophorum Plantinum (Christophe Plantin).

Welser, Marcus. 1682. *Opera historica et philologica, sacra et profana*. Nürnberg: typis ac sumtibus Wolfgangi Mauritii, et Filiorum Johannis Andreae, Endterorum (Wolfgang Moritz Endter with the sons of Johann Andreas Endter).

Wiraeus, Magnus. 1648. *Λόγος ὁ συνχαριστικὸς ἐπὶ ταῖς τῆς εἰρήνης διαλλαγαῖς* [...]. Uppsala: Mattson.

Modern Editions and Translations

Albéri, Eugenio, ed. 1846. *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al senato*. Florence: Società Editrice Fiorentina.

Amerotius, Hadrianus. 1875. 'Hadrianus Amerotius Nicolao Olao Secretario etc. R. M.' In *Oláh Miklós* [...] *Levelezése*, edited by Arnold Ipolyi, 467–71. Budapest: A. M. T. Akademia Könyvkiadó Hivatala.

Anacreontea. 1993. *Carmina Anacreontea*. Edited by Martin L. West. 2nd ed. Stuttgart/Leipzig: Teubner.

Anacreontea. 2014. *Carmina anacreontea 1–34: Ein Kommentar*. Edited and translated by Alexia Zotou. Berlin/Boston, Mass.: Walter de Gruyter.

Anonymus. 1996. *Ὁ Πόλεμος τῆς Τρωάδος* (*The War of Troy*). *Κριτικὴ ἔκδοση μὲ εἰσαγωγὴ καὶ πίνακες. Editio princeps*. Edited by Elizabeth M. Jeffreys and Manolis Papathomopoulos. Athens: Μορφωτικὸ Ἵδρυμα Ἐθνικῆς Τραπέζης.

Aretino, Pietro. 1970. *La Cortigiana*. Edited by Giuliano Innamorati. Turin: Einaudi.

Arnauld, Antoine. 1886. *Mémoire sur le règlement des études dans les lettres humaines. Nouvelle édition, d'après un manuscrit du XVII^e siècle* [...]. Edited by Augustin Gazier. Paris: Armand Colin.

Bauer, Joachim, Dagmar Blaha, and Helmut G. Walther, eds. 2003. *Dokumente zur Frühgeschichte der Universität Jena 1548 bis 1558*. Weimar/Jena: Hain.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Belli, Onorio. 2000. *Scritti di antiquaria e botanica* (*1586–1602*). Edited by Luigi Beschi. Rome: Viella.

Belon, Pierre. 2012. *Travels in the Levant: The Observations of Pierre Belon of Le Mans on Many Singularities and Memorable Things Found in Greece, Turkey, Judaea, Egypt, Arabia and Other Foreign Countries* (*1553*). Translated by James Hogarth. Kilkerran: Hardinge Simpole.

Bembo, Pietro. 1987–1993. *Lettere*. Edited by Ernesto Travi. 4 vols. Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua.

Bessarion, Basilios. 1984. 'Εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα λόγος τοῦ Βησσαρίωνος'. Edited by Odysseas Lampsides. *Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου* 39: 3–75.

Binet, Claude. 1910. *La vie de P. de Ronsard de Claude Binet* (*1586*). *Édition critique avec introduction et commentaire historique et critique*. Edited by Paul Laumonier. Paris: Hachette.

Bisticci, Vespasiano da. 1970. *Le Vite*. Edited by Aulo Greco. 2 vols. Florence: Istituto nazionale di studi sul Rinascimento.

Bobadilla, Nicolás de. 1913. *Monumenta Bobadillae: Nicolai Alphonsi de Bobadilla sacerdotis e Societate Jesu gesta et scripta; ex autographis aut archetypis potissimum deprompta*. Edited by Daniel Restrepo. Madrid: Gabriel Lopez del Homo.

Boccaccio, Giovanni. 1992. *Decameron*. Edited by Vittore Branca. Turin: Einaudi.

Bruni, Leonardo. 1928. *Humanistisch-philosophische Schriften*. Edited by Hans Baron. Leipzig: Teubner.

Budé, Guillaume. 1966. *Omnia opera* [...]. 4 vols. Farnborough: Gregg International Reprint. Reprint of the *editio princeps* by Nicolaus Episcopius der Jüngere, Basel (1556).

Bulgaris, Eugenius de. 1791. *Aeneidis P. Virgilii Maronis libri XII Graeco carmine heroico expressi, notisque perpetuis illustrati* [...]. *Tomus primus continens libros I–IV*. Saint Petersburg: In Academia Scientiarum.

Burton, Robert. 2001. *Anatomy of Melancholy*. Edited by Holbrook Jackson. New York, N.Y.: New York Review of Books Classics. Reprint of the edition by Dent/Dutton, London/New York, N.Y. (1932).

Cambi, Giovanni. 1785/1786. *Istorie di Giovanni Cambi cittadino fiorentino*. Edited by Ildefonso di San Luigi. 4 vols. Florence: G. Cambiagi.

Camerarius, Joachim. 2004. *Eclogae / Die Eklogen. Mit Übersetzung und Kommentar*. Edited by Lothar Mundt, Eckart Schäfer, and Christian Orth. Tübingen: Gunter Narr.

Cappello, Bernardo. 1870. *Lettere di Bernardo Cappello*. Edited by Amadio Ronchini. Bologna: Gaetona Romagnoli.

Cassander, Georgius. 1847. *Oratio in laudem urbis Brugensis*. Ghent: Typis C. Annoot-Braeckman.

Castan, Auguste, ed. 1888. 'Les noces d'Alexandre Farnèse et de Marie de Portugal. Narration faite au cardinal de Granvelle par son cousin germain Pierre Bordey,

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

publiée avec une introduction et des notes'. *Mémoires couronnés et autres mémoires publiés par l'Académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique. Collection in-8°* 41: 1–100.

Castiglionchio, Lapo da. 1999. *Renaissance Humanism and the Papal Curia: Lapo da Castiglionchio the Younger's De Curiae Commodis*. Edited and translated by Christopher Celenza. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Ann Arbor Press.

Cennini, Cennino. 2004. *Il libro dell'arte*. Edited by Fabio Frezzato. Vicenza: Pozza.

Censorinus. 1983. *De die natali liber ad Q. Caerellium. Accedit anonymi cuiusdam epitoma disciplinarum* (*Fragmentum Censorini*). Edited by Nicolaus Sallmann. Leipzig: Teubner.

Chalkokondyles, Laonikos. 1922–1928. *Historiarum Demonstrationes*. 2 vols. Edited by Jenő Darkó. 2 vols. Budapest: Academia Litterarum Hungaricae.

Chalkokondyles, Laonikos. 2014. *The Histories*. Translated by Anthony Kaldellis. 2 vols. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Chrysoloras, Manuel. 1992. 'Comparison of Old and New Rome'. Translated by Christine Smith. In Christine Smith, *Architecture in the Culture of Early Humanism: Ethics, Aesthetics, and Eloquence 1400–1470*, 199–215. Oxford/New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press.

Chrysoloras, Manuel. 2000. 'Confronto tra l'Antica e la Nuova Roma'. Edited by Cristina Billò. *Medioeva Greco* 0: 6–26.

Chrysoloras, Manuel. 2001. *Λόγος προς τον αυτοκράτορα Μανουήλ Β' Παλαιόλογο*. Edited by Christos G. Patrinelis and D. Z. Sofianos. Athens: Ακαδημία Αθηνών.

Constantine of Rhodes. 2012. *On Constantinople and the Church of the Holy Apostles*. Edited by Liz James. Burlington, VT: Ashgate.

Corazza, Bartolomeo del. 1991. *Diario fiorentino* (*1405–1439*). Edited by Roberta Gentile. Anzio: De Rubeis.

Cramer, John Anthony, ed. 1841. *Anecdota Graeca Parisiensia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cunningham, Ian Campbell, ed. 2003. *Synagoge. Συναγωγὴ Λέξεων Χρησίμων*. Berlin/New York, N.Y.: Walter de Gruyter.

Cyriac of Ancona. 2003. *Later Travels*. Edited and translated by Eduard Bodnar. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Czerniatowicz, Janina, ed. 1991. *Corpusculum poėsis Polono-Graecae Saeculorum XVI–XVII* (*1531–1648*). Wrocław: Polska Akademia Nauk.

Dictys Cretensis. 1973. *Ephemerides belli Troiani*. Edited by Werner Eisenhut. Leipzig: Teubner.

Dictys Cretensis, and Dares Phrygius. 1966. *The Trojan War: The Chronicles of Dictys of Crete and Dares the Phrygian*. Translated by Richard McIlwaine Frazer. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press.

Dindorf, Wilhelm, ed. 1875–1888. *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem ex codicibus aucta et emendata*. 6 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Erasmus, Desiderius. 1906–1958. *Opus Epistolarum*. Edited by P. S. Allen. 12 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Erasmus, Desiderius. 1966. *Declamatio de pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis* [...]. Translated by Jean-Claude Margolin. Geneva: Droz.

Erasmus, Desiderius. 1973. 'De recta Latini Graecique sermonis pronuntiatione dialogus'. Edited by Maria Cytowska. In *Opera Omnia*, I/4:3–103. Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company.

Erasmus, Desiderius. 1981. *Opera omnia*, vol. II-5, *Adagiorum chilias tertia*. Edited by Felix Heinimann and Emanuel Kienzle. Leiden: Brill.

Erasmus, Desiderius. 1987. *Opera omnia*, vol. II-4, *Adagiorum chilias secunda*. Edited by Felix Heinimann and Emanuel Kienzle. Leiden: Brill.

Erbse, Hartmut, ed. 1988. *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Fabri, Felix. 1843–1849. *Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem*. Edited by Konrad Dietrich Hassler. 3 vols. Stuttgart: Societatis Litterariae Stuttgardiensis.

Fenster, Erwin, ed. 1968. *Laudes Constantinopolitanae*. Munich: Institut für Byzantinistik und Neugriechische Philologie der Universität München.

Festus, Sextus Pompeius. 1913. *De verborum significatu quae supersunt. Cum Pauli epitome*. Edited by Wallace M. Lindsay. Leipzig: Teubner.

Filelfo, Francesco. 1997. *De psychagogia* (*Περὶ ψυχαγωγίας*). Edited by Guido Cortassa and Enrico V. Maltese. Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso.

Förstemann, Karl Eduard, ed. 1976. *Album Academiae Vitebergensis*. 3 vols. Aalen: Scientia. Reprint of the edition by Niemeyer, Halle an der Saale (1841).

Fredegar. 1888. 'Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegarii Scholastici libri IV cum continuationibus'. Edited by Bruno Krusch. In *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, vol. II, *Fredegarii et aliorum chronica. Vitae sanctorum*, 1–193. Hannover: Hahn.

Geometres, John. 2008. *Poèmes en hexamètres et en distiques élégiaques*. Edited by Emilie van Opstall. Leiden/Boston, Mass.: Brill.

Giraldi, Lilio Gregorio. 2011. *Modern Poets*. Edited by John N. Grant. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Granvelle, Antoine Perrenot de. 1877–1896. *Correspondance du cardinal de Granvelle, 1565–1586*. Edited by Edmond Poullet and Charles Piot. 12 vols. Brussels: F. Hayez.

Gregorovius, Ferdinand. 1988. *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*. 4 vols. Munich: C. H. Beck.

Gregory of Nazianzus. 1985. *Discours 32–37*. Edited by Claudio Moreschini. Paris: Imprimerie Bontemps.

Gregory of Nazianzus. 1997. *Poemata Arcana.* Edited by Claudio Moreschini. Translated by D. A. Sykes. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Gregory of Nazianzus. 2009. *Selected Poems of Gregory of Nazianzus I.2.17; II.1.10, 19, 32: A Critical Edition with Introduction and Commentary*. Edited by Christos Simelidis. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Guarino of Verona. 1915–1919. *Epistolario di Guarino Veronese*. Edited by Remigio Sabbadini. 3 vols. Venice: A spese della Società.

Guicciardini, Francesco. 1945. *Le cose fiorentine*. Edited by Roberto Ridolfi. Florence: Leo S. Olschki.

Guidiccioni, Giovanni. 1855. *Lettere inedite di Monsignor Giovanni Guidiccioni da Lucca*. Edited by Telesforo Bini. Lucca: Giuseppe Giusti.

Hermoniakos, Constantine. 1890. *La guerre de Troie, poème du XIV^e^ siècle en vers octosyllables*. Edited by Émile Legrand. Paris: J. Maisonneuve.

Herodotus. 1975. *The Persian Wars*. Edited by Jeffrey Henderson. 4 vols. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Homer. 1999. *Iliad*. Edited by William F. Wyatt. 2 vols. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Huygens, Constantijn. 1911–1917. *Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens, 1607–1687*. Edited by J. A. Worp. 6 vols. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

Isidore of Kiev. 1926. 'Ἐγκώμιον εἰς Μανουὴλ καὶ Ἰωάννην Παλαιολόγους'. In Spyridon P. Lampros, *Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά*, vol. III, 132–99. Athens: Ἐπιτροπὴ ἐκδόσεως τῶν καταλοίπων Σπυρίδωνος Λάμπρου.

Jouvancy, Joseph de. 1892. *De la manière d'apprendre et d'enseigner* (*De ratione discendi et docendi*). Translated by Henri Ferté. Paris: Hachette et Cie.

Kaibel, Georg, ed. 1890. *Inscriptiones Italiae et Siciliae*. Berlin: Georg Reimer.

Kühlmann, Wilhelm, Robert Seidel, and Hermann Wiegand, eds. 1997. *Humanistische Lyrik des 16. Jahrhunderts. Lateinisch und deutsch*. Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag.

La Broquière, Bertrandon de. 1892. *Le Voyage d'Outremer* [...]. Edited by Charles Schefer. Paris: Ernest Leroux.

Lascaris, Janus. 1983. 'La prolusione fiorentina di Giano Làskaris'. Edited by Anna Meschini. In *Miscellanea di studi in onore di Vittore Branca*, vol. III, 1st pt., *Umanesimo e rinascimento a Firenze e Venezia*, 69–113. Florence: Leo S. Olschki.

Laskaris, Theodore Doukas. 2000. 'Τοῦ αὐτοῦ Θεοδώρου Δούκα τοῦ Λάσκαρι ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὴν μεγαλόπολιν Νίκαιαν'. Edited by Luigi Tartaglia. In *Opuscula rhetorica*, 68–84. Munich: K. G. Saur.

Le Loyer, Pierre. 2004. *La Néphélococugie ou La Nuées des cocus. Première adaptation des Oiseaux d'Aristophane en français, édition critique*. Edited by Miriam Doe and Cameron Keith. Geneva: Droz.

Lefort, Jacques, Vassiliki Kravari, Christophe Giros, Kostis Smyrlis, and Raúl Estangüi Gómez, eds. [forthcoming]. *Actes de Vatopédi III, de 1377 à 1500*. Paris: Lethielleux.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Legrand, Émile, ed. 1869–1873. *Collection de Monuments pour servir a l' étude de la langue néo-hellénique*. 19 vols. Athens: Pandora.

Lejeune, Michel, ed. 1985. *Recueil des inscriptions gauloises*, vol. I, *Textes gallo-grecs*. Paris: Éditions du CNRS.

Ligorio, Pirro. 1994. *Libro dei disegni di Pirro Ligorio all'Archivio di Stato di Torino*. Edited by Caterina Volpi. Turin: Edizioni dell'Elefante.

Ligorio, Pirro. 2005a. *Libri degli antichi eroi e uomini illustri*. Edited by Beatrice Palma Venetucci. Rome: De Luca.

Ligorio, Pirro. 2005b. *Libro dei diversi terremoti*. Edited by Emanuela Guidoboni. Rome: De Luca.

Ligorio, Pirro. 2005c. *Libro dell' antica città di Tivoli e di alcune famose ville*. Edited by Alessandra Ten. Rome: De Luca.

Ligorio, Pirro. 2008. *Libro delle iscrizioni latine e greche*. Edited by Silvia Orlandi. Rome: De Luca.

Ligorio, Pirro. 2009. *Libro delle iscrizioni dei sepolcri antichi*. Edited by Silvia Orlandi. Rome: De Luca.

Ligorio, Pirro. 2011. *Libro dei pesi, delle misure e dei vasi antichi*. Edited by Stefania Pafumi. Rome: De Luca.

Ligorio, Pirro. 2013a. *Libro dei fiumi e dei fonti antichi*. Edited by Robert W. Gaston. Rome: De Luca.

Ligorio, Pirro. 2013b. *Libro delle medaglie da Cesare a Marco Aurelio Commodo*. Edited by Patrizia Serafin. Rome: De Luca.

Loukanes, Nikolaos. 1979. *Ὁμήρου Ἰλιάς* (*1526*). *With an Introduction by Francis R. Walton*. Athens: Gennadius Library.

Luther, Martin. 1899. *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Schriften*, vol. XV, *Predigten und Schriften 1524*. Edited by Paul Pietsch. Weimar: H. Böhlaus Nachf.

Machiavelli, Niccolò. 1834. *Die florentinische Geschichte in acht Büchern* [...]. Translated by Johann Ziegler. Karlsruhe: Ch. Th. Groos.

Malalas, John. 2000. *Chronographia*. Edited by Johannes Thurn. Berlin/New York, N.Y.: Walter de Gruyter.

Manasses, Constantine. 2003. *Σύνοψις Χρονική*. Edited by Odysseas Lampsides. Athens: Κανάκης.

Mander, Karel van. 2000. *Le vite degli illustri pittori fiamminghi, olandesi e tedeschi*. Edited by Ricardo de Mambro Santos. Rome: Apeiron.

Manuel II Palaeologus. 1985. *Funeral Oration on His Brother Theodore*. Edited and translated by Julian Chrysostomides. Thessalonike: Association for Byzantine Research.

Manuel II Palaeologus. 1997. *Letters*. Edited and translated by George T. Dennis. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Manutius, Aldus. 1975. *Aldo Manuzio editore. Dediche, prefazioni, note ai testi* [...]. Edited by Giovanni Orlandi and Carlo Dionisotti. 2 vols. Milan: Il Polifilo.

Manutius, Aldus. 2016. *The Greek Classics*. Translated by Nigel Guy Wilson. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Marsicanus, Leo. 1980. 'Chronica monasterii casinensis'. Edited by Hartmut Hoffmann. In *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores* (*in Folio*), vol. XXXIV, 1–607. Hannover: Hahn.

Marullus Tarchaniota, Michael. 2011. *Œuvres complètes*. Edited by Roland Guillot. Paris: Classiques Garnier.

Marullus Tarchaniota. 2012. *Poems*. Translated by Charles Fantazzi. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Melanchthon, Philipp. 1834–1860. *Opera quae supersunt omnia*. Edited by Karl Gottlieb Bretschneider and Heinrich Ernst Bindseil. 28 vols. Halle / Braunschweig: apud C. A. Schwetschke et filium.

Melanchthon, Philipp. 1987. *Philologie und Dichtung. Melanchthons griechische Gedichte* (*Edition, Übersetzung und Kommentar*). Edited by Stefan Rhein. Heidelberg: Universität Heidelberg.

Menander of Athens. 1910. *Menandrea ex papyris et membranis vetustissimis* [...]. Edited by Alfred Körte. Leipzig: Teubner.

Menander of Athens. 1964. *Sententiae. Comparatio Menandri et Philistionis.* Edited by Siegfried Jäkel. Leipzig: Teubner.

Menander Rhetor. 1981. *Menander Rhetor*. Edited and translated by Donald E. Russell and Nigel Guy Wilson. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Metochites, Theodore. 1996. *On Philosophic Irony and Greek History: Miscellanea 8 and 93*. Edited and translated by Panagiotis A. Agapitos, Karin Hult, and Ole L. Smith. Göteborg: Göteborg University.

Metochites, Theodore. 2002. *On Ancient Authors and Philosophy: Semeioseis gnomikai 1–26 & 71*. Edited and translated by Karin Hult. Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis.

Metochites, Theodore. 2003. *Byzantios or About the Imperial Megalopolis*. Edited by Irini Pougounia, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Metochites, Theodore. 2006. *Περὶ τοῦ μαθηματικοῦ εἴδους τῆς φιλοσοφίας καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τοῦ ἁρμονικοῦ. Ποίημα 10*. Edited by Ioannis Polemis. Amsterdam: Hakkert.

Metochites, Theodore. 2007. *Οι δύο βασιλικοί λόγοι*. Edited by Ioannis Polemis. Athens: Κανάκης.

Metochites, Theodore. 2013. *Βυζάντιος ἢ περὶ τῆς βασιλίδος μεγαλοπόλεως*. Edited by Ioannes Polemis. Athens: Εκδόσεις Ζήτρος.

Metochites, Theodore. 2015. *Carmina*. Edited by Ioannis Polemis. Turnhout: Brepols.

Metochites, Theodore. 2016. *On the Human Condition and the Decline of Rome: Semeioseis gnomikai 27–60*. Edited and translated by Karin Hult. Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Metochites, Theodore. 2017. *Poems*. Edited by Ioannis Polemis. Turnhout: Brepols.

Miranda, Elena, ed. 1990–1995. *Iscrizioni greche d'Italia. Napoli*. 2 vols. Rome: Quasar.

Moravcsik, Gyula, ed. 1958. *Byzantinoturcica*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

Moschopoulos, Manuel. 1822. *Opuscula grammatica* [...]. Edited by Franz N. Titze. Leipzig/Prague: Karl Cnobloch/Joseph Krauss.

Müller, Carolus, ed. 1855–1861. *Geographi Graeci minores*. 2 vols. Paris: Firmin Didot.

Müller, Georg. 2007. *Jutluseraamat*. Tartu: Ilmamaa.

Muzi, Giovanni, ed. 1844. *Memorie civili di città di Castello*. Città di Castello: Francesco Donati.

Ortelius, Abraham. 1969a. *Album Amicorum Abraham Ortelius reproduit en facsimile*. Edited by Marie Delcourt and Jean Puraye. Amsterdam: A. L. van Gendt.

Ortelius, Abraham. 1969b. *Epistulae Ortelianae. Abrahami Ortelii* (*Geographi Antverpiensis*) *et virorum eruditorum ad eundem et ad Jacobum Colium Ortelianum* (*Abrahami Ortelii sororis filium*) *Epistulae. Cum aliquot aliis epistulis et tractatibus quibusdam ab utroque collectis* (*1524–1628*)*, ex autographis mandante Ecclesia Londino-Batava. Reproductio phototypica editionis 1887*. Edited by Jan Hendrik Hessels. Osnabrück: Otto Zeller.

Pachymeres, Georgius. 1835. *De Michaele et Andronico Paleologis libri tredecim*. Edited by Immanuel Becker. Bonn: Weber.

Pardi, Giuseppe, ed. 1933. *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1409 sino al 1502*. Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli.

Paulinus, Johannes. 2000. *Magnus Principatus Finlandia. Suomen Suuriruhtinaskunta. Vuonna 1678 pidetyn kreikankielisen runopuheen editio, runosuomennos, suorasanainen käännös sekä tausta ja selitykset*. Edited by Tua Korhonen, Teivas Oksala, and Erkki Sironi. Helsinki: Suomen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Peiresc, Nicolas-Claude Fabri de. 1888–1898. *Lettres de Peiresc*. Edited by Philippe Tamizey de Larroque. 7 vols. Paris: Imprimerie nationale.

Peiresc, Nicolas-Claude Fabri de. 1992. *Lettres à Claude Saumaise et à son entourage* (*1620–1637*). Edited by Agnès Bresson. Florence: Leo S. Olschki.

Peiresc, Nicolas-Claude Fabri de. 1995. *Correspondance de Peiresc et Aleandro*. Edited by Danielle Joyal and Jean-François Lhote. 2 vols. Clermont-Ferrand: Adosa.

Périon, Joachim. 2003. *Dialogues. De l'origine du français et de sa parenté avec le grec*. Edited and translated by Geneviève Demerson and Alberte Jacquetin. Paris: Honoré Champion.

Pertusi, Agostino, ed. 1983. *Testi inediti e poco noti sulla caduta di Costantinopoli*. Bologna: Pàtron.

Petzl, Georg, ed. 1982–1987. *Die Inschriften von Smyrna*. 2 vols. Bonn: Habelt.

Piccolomini, Enea Silvio. 1953. *Lettera a Maometto II* (*Epistola ad Mahumetem*). Edited by Giuseppe Toffanin. Naples: R. Pironti.

Piccolomini, Enea Silvio. 1967. *Opera quae extant omnia* [...]. Frankfurt am Main: Minerva. Reprint of the edition by Petrina, Basel (1551).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Piccolomini, Enea Silvio. 2001. *Epistola ad Mahumetem. Einleitung, kritische Edition, Übersetzung*. Edited and translated by Reinhold F. Glei, Markus Köhler, and Beate Kobusch. Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier.

Plethon, George Gemistos. 1930. 'Πλήθωνος πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην Θεόδωρον περὶ τῆς Πελοποννήσου'. Edited by Spyridon P. Lampros. In *Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά*, IV, 113–35. Athens: Ἐπιτροπὴ ἐκδόσεως τῶν καταλοίπων Σπυρίδωνος Λάμπρου.

Plethon, George Gemistos. 1988. *Contra Scholarii pro Aristotele obiectiones*. Edited by Enrico V. Maltese. Leipzig: Teubner.

Poliziano, Angelo. 2002. *Liber epigrammatum Graecorum*. Edited by Filippomaria Pontani. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura.

Proclus, 2001. *Hymns: Essays, Translations, Commentary*. Edited and translated by Robert M. van den Berg. Leiden/Boston, Mass./Cologne: Brill.

Psellos, Michael. 1936–1941. *Scripta minora magnam partem adhuc inedita* [...]. Edited by Eduard Kurtz and Franz Drexl. 2 vols. Milan: Vita e pensiero.

Pusculo, Ubertino. 1857. *Constantinopoleos libri IV*. Edited by Adolph Elissen. Leipzig: Wigand.

Ratio studiorum. 1970. *The Jesuit 'Ratio Studiorum' of 1599.* Translated by Allan P. Farrell. Washington, D.C.: Conference of Major Superiors of Jesuits.

Ratio studiorum. 1997. *Ratio studiorum: Plan raisonné et institution des études dans la Compagnie de Jésus. Édition bilingue latin-français*. Edited by Adrien Demoustier and Dominique Julia. Translated by Léone Albrieux, Dolorès Pralon-Julia, and Marie-Madeleine Compère. Paris: Belin.

Rivalto, Giordano da. 1867. *Prediche inedite del B. Giordano da Rivalto dell' ordine de' predicatori, recitate in Firenze dal 1302 al 1305*. Edited by Enrico Narducci. Bologna: Romagnoli.

Rollin, Charles. 1863. *Traité des études* (*De la manière d'enseigner et d'étudier les belles-lettres, par rapport à l'esprit et au cœur*). Edited by Antoine-Jean Letronne. Paris: Firmin Didot.

Ronsard, Pierre de. 1993. *Œuvres Complètes*. Edited by Jean Céard, Daniel Ménager, and Michel Simonin. Paris: Gallimard.

Roussel, Pierre, and Marcel Launey, eds. 1921–1937. *Inscriptions de Délos*. 5 vols. Paris: Honoré Champion.

Sainte-Maure, Benoît de. 1904–1912. *Le roman de Troie*. Edited by Léopold Constans. 6 vols. Paris: Firmin Didot.

Santoro, Giulio Antonio. 1966. *Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santoro and the Christian East: Santoro's Audiences and Concistorial Acts*. Edited by John Krajcar. Rome: Bosazzi.

Sathas, Konstantinos. 1867. *Ἑλληνικὰ ἀνέκδοτα, περισυναχθέντα καὶ ἐκδιδόμενα κατ' ἔγκρισιν τῆς Βουλῆς ἐθνικῇ δαπάνῃ*. 2 vols. Athens: Τύποις του Φωτός.

Sathas, Konstantinos, ed. 1872–1894. *Bibliotheca Graeci Medii Aevi. Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*. 7 vols. Venice: Τύποις 'Φοίνικος'.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Sathas, Konstantinos, ed. 1880–1890. *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de Grèce au moyen âge. Μνημεία Ἑλληνικῆς Ἱστορίας*. 9 vols. Paris: Maisoneuve et Cie.

Scaliger, Joseph. 2012. *The Correspondence of Joseph Justus Scaliger*. Edited by Paul Botley and Dirk van Miert. 8 vols. Geneva: Droz.

Scholarios, Georgios Gennadios. 1928–1936. *Œuvres complètes de Georges Scholarios*. Edited by Louis Pétit, Xenophon A. Siderides, and Martin Jugie. 8 vols. Paris: Maison de la Bonne Presse.

Serlio, Sebastiano. 2001. *L'Architettura. I libri I–VII e extraordinario nelle prime edizioni*. Edited by Francesco Paolo Fiore. Milan: Il Polifilo.

Shearman, John, ed. 2003. *Raphael in Early Modern Sources, 1483–1602*. 2 vols. New Haven, Conn./London: Yale University Press.

Snell, Bruno and Richard Kannicht, eds. 1986. *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta. Didascaliae tragicae, catalogi tragicorum et tragoediarum, testimonia et fragmenta tragicorum minorum.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Sophianos, Nikolaos. 1874. *Grammaire du grec vulgaire et traduction en grec vulgaire du traité de Plutarque "Sur l'éducation des enfants"*. Edited by Émile Legrand. Athens/Paris: Coromilas.

Spandounes, Theodore. 1895. *De la origine degli imperatori ottomani*. Edited by Konstantinos Sathas. Paris: Maisonneuve.

Spandounes, Theodore. 2009. *On the Origin of the Ottoman Emperors*. Translated by Donald Mac Gillivray Nicol. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Synesius of Cyrene. 2003. *Hymnes*. Edited and translated by Christian Lacombrade. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

Tambroni, Clotilde. 2011. *I carmi greci di Clotilde Tambroni*. Edited by Renzo Tosi. Bologna: Pàtron.

Uguccione da Pisa. 2004. *Derivationes*. Edited by Guido Arbizzoni and Enzo Cecchini. Florence: SISMEL.

Van den Gheyn, Joseph. 1909. 'Le discours d'ouverture des leçons d'Adrien Amerot, deuxième professeur de grec au Collège des Trois-Langues à Louvain, 1545'. *Le Musée belge* 13: 57–64.

Vasari, Giorgio. 1878–1885. *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori* [...]. Edited by Gaetano Milanesi. 9 vols. Florence: G. C. Sansoni.

Victorinus, Marius. 1967. *Ars grammatica*. Edited by Italo Mariotti. Florence: Le Monnier.

Villani, Filippo. 1847. *Liber de civitatis florentiae famosis civibus ex codice mediceo laurentiano nunc editus et de florentinorum litteratura principes fere synchroni scriptores denuo in lucem prodeunt*. Edited by Gustavo C. Galletti. Florence: Joannes Mazzoni.

West, Martin L., ed. 2003. *Greek Epic Fragments from the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries BC*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Secondary Sources

Aa, Abraham Jacob van der. 1869. 'Franciscus Modius'. In *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden*, vol. XII, 902–3. Haarlem: J. J. van Brederode.

Abbamonte, Giancarlo and Stephen J. Harrison, eds. 2019. *Making and Rethinking the Renaissance: Between Greek and Latin in 15th–16th Century Europe*. Berlin/Boston, Mass.: Walter de Gruyter.

Agasse, Jean-Michel. 2001. 'Entre « antiquaria » et archéologie moderne. Le « lapis rhamnusianus »'. *Les Cahiers de l'Humanisme* 2: 21–48.

Ainsworth, Maryan W. 2004. '*À la façon grèce*: The Encounter of Northern Renaissance Artists with Byzantine Icons'. In *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, edited by Helen C. Evans, 543–93. New York, N.Y.: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Akışık-Karakullukçu, Aslıhan. 2011. 'Praising a City: Nicaea, Trebizond, and Thessalonike'. *Journal of Turkish Studies. In Memoriam Angeliki Laiou*, edited by Nevra Necipoğlu and Cemal Kafadar, 36: 1–25.

Akışık-Karakullukçu, Aslıhan. 2019. 'A Question of Audience: Laonikos Chalkokondyles' Hellenism'. *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 112 (1): 1–28.

Akujärvi, Johanna. [forthcoming]. 'Greek Occasional Poetry from the Swedish Empire: The Case of Josephus Thun'. In *Att dikta för livet, döden och evigheten. Tillfällesdiktning 1500–1800*, edited by Arne Jönsson.

Akujärvi, Johanna. 2018a. 'Xenophon and Aesop for Swedish Youth: On the Earliest Printed Translations of Ancient Literature in Sweden'. In *Hellenostephanos. Humanist Greek in Early Modern Europe: Learned Communities Between Antiquity and Contemporary Culture*, edited by Janika Päll and Ivo Volt, 185–217. Tartu: Tartu University Press.

Akujärvi, Johanna. 2018b. 'Efter som iag intet monument efter mig hafwer. Josef Thun som humanistgrekisk diktare'. In *Böckerna i borgen. Ett halvsekel i Roggebiblioteket*, edited by Elin Andersson and Emil Stenback, 163–182. Stockholm: Kungliga biblioteket.

Akujärvi, Johanna, and Lars Boj Mortensen. 2017. *Oldtidens og middelalderens litteratur—i skandinaviske oversættelser*. Available via: <www.skandinaviska-oversattningar.net/da/titles>.

Allen, Michael J. B. 2015. 'Marsilio Ficino as a Reader of Proclus and Most Notably of Proclus' *In Parmenidem*'. In *Essays in Renaissance Thought and Letters: In Honour of John Monfasani*, edited by Alison Frazier and Patrick Nold, 179–95. Leiden/Boston, Mass.: Brill.

Almagia, Roberto. 1948. *Carte geografiche a stampa di particolare pregio o rarità dei secoli XVI e XVII esistenti nella Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

Almagia, Roberto. 1956. 'Pirro Ligorio cartografo'. *Rendiconti delle sedute dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 3–4: 49–61.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Ambrasi, D. 1961. 'In margine all'immigrazione greca nell'italia meridionale nei secoli XV e XVI'. *Asprenas* 8: 156–85.

Ambrosini, Maurizio. 2005. *Sociologia delle migrazioni*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Ambrosio, Antonella. 1996. *L'erudizione storica a Napoli nel Seicento*. Salerno: Carlone.

Ameling, Walter. 1983. *Herodes Atticus*. 2 vols. Hildesheim: Olms.

Amherdt, David. 2013. 'De l'Alsace à la Suisse: d'une patrie à l'autre? Ou la poésie et la religion comme remèdes à l'exil dans la vie de l'humaniste Ioannes Fabricius Montanus (1527–1566)'. In *Petite patrie. L'image de la région natale chez les écrivains de la Renaissance*, edited by Sylvie Laigneau-Fointaine, 189–215. Geneva: Droz.

Ammann, Andreas. 2015. 'Die Justinausgabe von Jacques Bongars. Editionsphilologie und Gelehrtennetzwerk im Späthumanismus'. In *Jacques Bongars (1554–1612). Gelehrter und Diplomat im Zeitalter des Konfessionalismus*, edited by Gerlinde Huber-Rebenich, 51–88. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Ampolo, Carmine. 1985. 'La scoperta della Magna Grecia'. In *Magna Grecia. Il Mediterraneo, le metropoleis e la fondazione delle colonie*, edited by Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli, 47–84. Milan: Electa.

Ampolo, Carmine. 1996. 'Per una storia delle storie greche'. In *I Greci. Storia, cultura, arte, società*, edited by Salvatore Settis, vol. 1, *Noi e i Greci*, 47–84. Milan: Electa.

Ampolo, Carmine. 2014. 'Zeus a Caulonia, la Tabula Cauloniensis, un elmo con dedica e il loro significato storico'. In *Le spose e gli eroi. Offerte in bronzo e in ferro dai santuari e dalle necropoli della Calabria greca*, edited by Maria Teresa Iannelli and Claudio Sabbione, 123–24. Vibo Valentia: Adhoc.

Ampolo, Carmine, Maria Cecilia Parra, and Emilio Rosamilia. 2014. 'Premessa' and 'La Tabula Cauloniensis. Note preliminari'. *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di lettere e filosofia* 5: VII–XI, 72–80.

Andrist, Patrick. 2007. *Les manuscrits grecs conservés à la Bibliothèque de la Bourgeoisie de Berne—Burgerbibliothek Bern. Catalogue et histoire de la collection*. Dietikon/Zürich: Catalogue et Histoire de la Collection / Urs Graf.

Andrist, Patrick, and Alessandra Lukinovich. 2005. 'POESIS ET MORES: Florent Chrestien, Joseph-Juste Scaliger, et les Psaumes en vers du Bernensis A 69'. In *Mélanges offerts à André Hurst*, edited by Antje Kolde, André-Louis Rey, and Alessandra Lukinovich, 673–715. Geneva: Droz.

Angelov, Dimiter. 2005. 'Byzantine Ideological Reactions to the Latin Conquest of Constantinople'. In *Urbs Capta*, edited by Angeliki Laiou, 293–310. Paris: Lethielleux.

Angelov, Dimiter. 2007. *Imperial Ideology and Political Thought 1204–1330*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Angelov, Dimiter. 2009. 'Donation of Constantine and the Church in Late Byzantium'. In *Church and Society in Late Byzantium*, edited by Dimiter Angelov, 91–157. Kalamazoo, Mich.: Medieval Institute Publications.

Angelucci, Giuseppe 1843. *Cenni storici della chiesa e confraternita di Sant'Anna dei greci uniti*. Pesaro: Annesio Nobili.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Angold, Michael. 1975. 'Byzantine "Nationalism" and the Nicaean Empire'. *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 1: 49–70.

Anquez, Léonce. 1887. *Henri IV et l'Allemagne d'après les mémoires et la correspondance de Jacques Bongars*. Paris: Hachette.

Anselmi, Sergio. 1988. 'Aspetti economici dell'emigrazione balcanica nelle Marche'. In *Italia Felix. Migrazioni slave e albanesi in Occidente: Romagna, Marche, Abruzzi, secoli XIV–XVI*, edited by Sergio Anselmi, 57–93. Ancona: Ostra Vetere.

Antony, Daniel. 1984. 'Les précepteurs d'Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle'. *Mémoires de la Société d'Émulation du Doubs* NS 26: 37–57.

Arbel, Benjamin, Evelien Chayes, and Harald Hendrix, eds. 2012. *Cyprus and the Renaissance (1450–1650)*. Turnhout: Brepols.

Armstrong, C. B. 1969. 'The Casualty Lists in the Trojan War'. *Greece and Rome* 16: 30–31.

Armstrong, Elizabeth. 1954. *Robert Estienne, Royal Printer*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Asche, Matthias. 2007. 'Zu den Funktionen der Universität Greifswald von ihrer Gründung bis zum Ende der schwedischen Herrschaft—eine Überprüfung von historiographischen Attributen'. In *Die Universität Greifswald in der Bildungslandschaft des Ostseeraums*, edited by Dirk Alvermann, Stefanie Irrgang, Nils Jörn, and Jens E. Olesen, 29–68. Berlin/Münster: LT.

Asche, Matthias, Werner Buchholz, and Anton Schindling, eds. 2009–2012. *Die baltischen Lande im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung. Livland, Estland, Ösel, Ingermanland, Kurland und Lettgallen. Stadt, Land und Konfession 1500–1721*. 4 vols. Münster: Aschendorff.

Augustinos, Olga. 1994. *French Odysseys: Greece in French Travel Literature from the Renaissance to the Romantic Era*. Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Augustinos, Olga. 2002. 'Hellenizing Geography: Travellers in Classical Lands, 1550–1800'. In *The Classical Heritage in France*, edited by Gerald N. Sandy, 9–24. Leiden: Brill.

Aurnhammer, Achim. 2009. 'Klotz, Christian Adolph'. In *Killy Literaturlexikon. Autoren und Werke des deutschsprachigen Kulturraumes*, vol. VI, 504–5. Berlin/New York, N.Y.: Walter de Gruyter.

Auzépy, Marie-France. 2003. *Byzance en Europe*. Saint-Denis: Presses Universitaires de Vincennes.

Baader, Hannah, and Gerhard Wolf. 2015. 'Kunstgeschichte'. In *Handbuch der Mediterranistik. Systematische Mittelmeerforschung und disziplinäre Zugänge*, edited by Mihran Dabag, Dieter Haller, Nikolas Jaspert, and Achim Lichtenberger, 253–90. Munich: Wilhelm Fink.

Bacci, Michele. 1998. *Il pennello dell'Evangelista. Storia delle immagini sacre attribuite a san Luca*. Pisa: ETS.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Bacci, Michele. 2007. 'Pisa bizantina. Alle origini del culto delle icone in Toscana'. In *Intorno al Sacro Volto. Genova, Bisanzio e il Mediterraneo* (*secoli XI–XIV*), edited by Anna Rosa Calderoni Masetti, Colette Bozzo, and Gerhard Wolf, 63–78. Venice: Marsilio.

Bacci, Michele, ed. 2009. *Iconografia evangelica a Siena dalle origini al Concilio di Trento*. Siena: Monte dei Paschi.

Bacci, Michele. 2013. 'Some Thoughts on Greco-Venetian Artistic Interactions in the Fourteenth and Early Fifteenth Centuries'. In *Wonderful Things: Byzantium through Its Art*, edited by Antony Eastmond and Liz James, 203–27. Farnham: Ashgate.

Bacci, Michele. 2014. 'Veneto-Byzantine "Hybrids": Towards a Reassessment'. *Studies in Iconography* 35: 73–106.

Bachvarova, Mary R. 2016. *From Hittite to Homer: The Anatolian Background of Ancient Greek Epic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Backus, Irena Dorota. 1990. *Lectures humanistes de Basile de Césarée. Traductions latines* (*1439–1618*). Paris: Institut d'études augustiniennes.

Backus, Irena Dorota, ed. 1997. *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West: From the Carolingians to the Maurists*. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill.

Backus, Irena Dorota. 2004. 'Calvin's Knowledge of Greek Language and Philosophy'. In *"Calvinus praeceptor Ecclesiae": Papers of the International Congress on Calvin Research, Princeton, August 20–24, 2002*, edited by Herman J. Selderhuis, 343–350. Geneva: Droz.

Bádenas, Pedro. 2002. 'Η Ιλιάδα του Νικόλαου Λουκάνη στην Ελληνική δημώδη γλώσσα: Προβλήματα σύνθεσης και παράδοσης'. In *'Τ' ἀδόνιν κεῖνον ποὺ γλυκὰ θλιβᾶται'. Εκδοτικά και ερμηνευτικά ζητήματα της δημώδους Ελληνικής λογοτεχνίας στο πέρασμα από τον Μεσαίωνα στην Αναγέννηση* (*1400–1600*). *Πρακτικά του 4ου διεθνούς συνεδρίου Neograeca Medii Aevi* (*Λευκωσία, Νοέμβριος 1997*), edited by Panagiotis A. Agapitos and Michalis Pieris, 159–72. Heraklion: Πανεπιστημιακές Εκδόσεις Κρήτης.

Bagemihl, Rolf. 1999. 'Some Thoughts about Grifo di Tancredi of Florence and a Little-Known Panel at Volterra'. *Arte Cristiana* 87: 413–26.

Bakker, Paul J. J. M, and J. M. M. H Thijssen. 2007. *Mind, Cognition and Representation: The Tradition of Commentaries on Aristotle's De Anima*. London/New York, N.Y.: Routledge.

Baldi, Idalgo. 2012a. *Gli Inni di Sinesio di Cirene. Vicende testuali di un corpus tardoantico*. Berlin/Boston, Mass.: Walter de Gruyter.

Baldi, Idalgo. 2012b. 'Ordine o disordine negli Inni di Sinesio?' In *Synesios von Kyrene: Politik—Literatur—Philosophie*, edited by Helmut Seng and Lars Martin Hoffmann, 144–63. Turnhout: Brepols.

Ball, James George. 1982. 'Poverty, Charity and the Greek Community'. *Studi Veneziani* 6: 129–45.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Ball, James George. 1985. 'The Greek Community in Venice: 1470–1620'. PhD thesis. London: University of London.

Barberi, Francesco, and Emidio Cerulli. 1972. 'Le edizioni greche in Gymnasio mediceo ad Caballinum montem'. In *Atti del convegno di studi su Angelo Colocci. Jesi, 13–14 Settembre 1969*, edited by Vittorio Fanelli, 61–76. Jesi: Amministrazione Comunale.

Bargeliotis, Leonidas. 1973. 'Plethon as a Forerunner of Neo-Hellenic and Modern European Consciousness'. *Diotima* 1: 33–60.

Barker, John W. 1969. *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391–1425): A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship*. Rutgers: New Brunswick, N.J.

Barker, John W. 2003. 'Late Byzantine Thessalonike: A Second City's Challenges and Responses'. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 57: 5–33.

Barker, John W. 2009. 'Emperor, Embassies, and Scholars: Diplomacy and the Transmission of Byzantine Humanism to Renaissance Italy'. In *Church and Society in Late Byzantium*, edited by Dimiter Angelov, 158–79. Kalamazoo, Mich.: Medieval Institute Publications.

Barker, Nicolas. 1985. *Aldus Manutius and the Development of Greek Script and Type in the Fifteenth Century*. New York, N.Y.: Fordham University Press.

Barker, Nicolas. 1992. *Aldus Manutius and the Development of Greek Script and Type in the Fifteenth Century*. 2nd ed. New York, N.Y.: Fordham University Press.

Barnard, Jody A. 2017. 'The "Erasmian" Pronunciation of Greek: Whose Error Is It?' *Erasmus Studies* 37: 109–32.

Bartoli, Alfonso. 1914–1923. *I monumenti antichi di Roma nei disegni degli Uffizi di Firenze*. 6 vols. Florence: Bontempelli.

Bassoli, Ferdinando. 1985. *Monete e medaglie nel libro antico dal XV al XIX secolo*. Florence: Leo S. Olschki.

Bastin-Hammou, Malika. 2015. 'Les traductions d'Aristophane en français au XVI^{e} siècle'. In *Histoire des traductions en langue française—XV^{e}–XVI^{e} siècle*, edited by Véronique Duché, 1209–16. Paris: Verdier.

Bastin-Hammou, Malika. 2017, 'Translating Aristophanes' *Plutus* into Latin during the Renaissance. The *Dramatis Personae*: from Text to Stage'. *Mediterranean Chronicle* 7: 41–54.

Bataillon, Marcel. 1966. *Erasmo y España. Estudios sobre la historia espiritual del siglo XVI*. México City: Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Bateman, John. 1976. 'Aldus Manutius' *Fragmenta Grammatica*'. *Illinois Classical Studies* 1: 226–61.

Bauer, Joachim, Andreas Klinger, Alexander Schmidt, and Georg Schmidt, eds. 2008. *Die Universität Jena in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Heidelberg: Winter.

Baumbach, Manuel, and Nicola Dümmler, eds. 2014. *Imitate Anacreon! Mimesis: Poiesis and the Poetic Inspiration in the Carmina Anacreontea*. Berlin/Boston, Mass.: Walter de Gruyter.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Baxandall, Michael. 1965. 'Guarino, Pisanello and Manuel Chrysoloras'. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 28: 183–204.

Baxandall, Michael. 1971. *Giotto and the Orators: Humanist Observers of Painting in Italy and the Discovery of Pictorial Composition, 1350–1450*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Bazzani, Marina. 2006. 'Theodore Metochites, a Byzantine Humanist'. *Byzantion* 76: 35–52.

Beck, Colette. 1982. 'Éléments sociaux et économiques de la vie des marchands génois à Anvers entre 1528 et 1555'. *Revue du Nord* 64: 759–84.

Beck, Hans Georg. 1958. 'Die byzantinischen Studien in Deutschland vor Karl Krumbacher'. In *ΧΑΛΙΚΕΣ. Festgabe für die Teilnehmer am 11. Internationalen Byzantinistenkongress, München, 15.-20. September 1958*, edited by Hans Georg Beck, 66–119. Freising: Datterer.

Bedaux, Jan Cornelis. 1998. *Hegius poeta. Het leven en de Latijnse gedichten van Alexander Hegius*. PhD thesis. Leiden: Leiden University.

Beeley, Christopher A. 2008. *Gregory of Nazianzus on the Trinity and the Knowledge of God: In Your Light We Shall See Light*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Beeley, Christopher A. 2010. 'The Holy Spirit in the Cappadocians: Past and Present'. *Modern Theology* 26: 90–119.

Beer, Susanna de. 2008. 'The Roman "Academy" of Pomponio Leto: From an Informal Humanist Network to the Institution of a Literary Society'. In *The Reach of the Republic of Letters: Literary and Learned Societies in the Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, edited by Arjan van Dixhoorn and Susie Speakman Sutch, vol. 1, 181–218. Leiden/Boston, Mass.: Brill.

Bell, Peter. 2009. 'L'impero colpisce ancora. I Greci e l'antichità nel Virgilio riccardiano'. In *La stella e la porpora. Il corteo di Benozzo e l'enigma del Virgilio Riccardiano*, edited by Gerhard Wolf and Giovanna Lazzi, 73–81. Florence: Polistampa.

Bell, Peter. 2012. 'The Journey from Historical Event to Visual Representation: The Galley of John Palaiologos VIII on Filarete's Bronze Door of Old St. Peter'. In *From the Anchor to the Crow's Nest: Naval Imagery from the Renaissance to the Age of Photography*, edited by Lars U. Scholl and Nicole Hegner, 94–101. Bremen: Hauschild.

Bell, Peter. 2014. 'Türken, Griechen, Exilanten. Frühorientalismus und Stellvertreterdiskurs im riccardianischen Vergil (ricc. 492)'. In *Res gestae—res pictae. Epen-Illustrationen des 13. bis 15. Jahrhunderts*, edited by Costanza Cipollaro and Maria Theisen, 105–18. Purkersdorf: Brüder Hollinek.

Bell, Peter. 2015. *Getrennte Brüder und antike Ahnen. Repräsentationen der Griechen in der italienischen Kunst zur Zeit der Kirchenunion, 1438–72*. Marburg: Marburger Publikationsserver.

Bell, Peter. 2016. 'Schlichte Treue oder künstlerische Freiheit? Piero della Francesca, Aby Warburg und Johann Anton Ramboux'. In *Italien so nah. Johann Anton Ramboux (1790–1866)*, edited by Ulf Sölter, 34–41. Cologne/Neuss: Wienand/Clemens Sels Museum Neuss.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Bell, Peter. 2018. 'Hilarious Homoeroticism, or the Renaissance of Stereotypes in Filarete's Bronze Doors of St. Peter's'. In *Images of Sex and Desire in Renaissance Thought and Modern Historiography*, edited by Berthold Hub and Angeliki Pollali, 26–38. Abingdon: Routledge.

Bell, Peter, and Björn Ommer. 2015. 'Training Argus. Ansätze zum automatischen Sehen in der Kunstgeschichte'. *Kunstchronik: Monatsschrift für Kunstwissenschaft, Museumswesen und Denkmalpflege* 68: 414–20.

Bellot, Josef. 1978. '*Ad insigne pinus*: Kulturgeschichte der Reichsstadt Augsburg im Spiegel eines Verlages an der Wende des 16./17. Jahrhunderts'. *Buchhandelsgeschichte* 14: B 697-B 709.

Belting, Hans. 1970. *Das illuminierte Buch in der spätbyzantinischen Gesellschaft*. Heidelberg: Thorn.

Belting, Hans. 1981. *Das Bild und sein Publikum. Form und Funktion früher Bildtafeln der Passion*. Berlin: Mann.

Belting, Hans. 1990. *Bild und Kult. Eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst*. Munich: C. H. Beck.

Benedetti, Stefano. 2001. *Itinerari di Cebete. Tradizione e ricezione della Tabula in Italia dal XV al XVIII secolo*. Rome: Bulzoni.

Benedict, Philip. 2015. 'French Protestants in the Service of the Crown, 1554–1612'. In *Jacques Bongars (1554–1612). Gelehrter und Diplomat im Zeitalter des Konfessionalismus*, edited by Gerlinde Huber-Rebenich, 1–18. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Benson, C. David. 2009. 'The Dead and the Living: Some Medieval Descriptions of the Ruins and Relics of Rome Known to the English'. In *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age*, edited by Albrecht Classen, 147–82. Berlin/New York, N.Y.: Walter de Gruyter.

Bentini, Jadranca, and Luigi Spezzaferro, eds. 1987. *L'impresa di Alfonso II. Saggi e documenti sulla produzione artistica a Ferrara nel secondo Cinquecento*. Bologna: Nuova Alfa.

Bentley, Jerry H. 1995. *Politica e cultura nella Napoli rinascimentale*. Translated by Cosima Campagnolo. Naples: Guida.

Ben-Tov, Asaph. 2009. *Lutheran Humanists and Greek Antiquity: Melanchthonian Scholarship Between Universal History and Pedagogy*. Leiden/Boston, Mass.: Brill.

Ben-Tov, Asaph. 2013. '*Turco-Graecia*: German Humanists and the End of Greek Antiquity—Cultural Exchange and Misunderstanding'. In *The Renaissance and the Ottoman World*, edited by Anna Contadini and Claire Norton, 181–95. Farnham: Ashgate.

Ben-Tov, Asaph. 2018. 'Hellenism in the Context of Oriental Studies: The Case of Johann Gottfried Lakemacher (1695–1736)'. *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 25 (3): 297–314.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Benz, Ernst. 1971. *Wittenberg und Byzanz. Zur Begegnung und Auseinandersetzung der Reformation und der östlich-orthodoxen Kirche*. 2nd ed. Munich: Wilhelm Fink.

Benzoni, Gino, ed. 2002. *L'eredità greca e l'ellenismo veneziano.* Florence: Leo S. Olschki.

Berenson, Bernhard. 1957. *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance: A List of the Principal Artists and Their Works with an Index of Places. Venetian School.* 2 vols. London: Phaidon.

Berger, Albrecht. 2000. 'Streets and Public Spaces in Constantinople'. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54: 161–72.

Berschin, Walter. 1980. *Griechisch-lateinisches Mittelalter. Von Hieronymus zu Nikolaus von Kues*. Bern/Munich: Francke.

Berschin, Walter. 1988. *Greek Letters and the Latin Middle Ages from Jerome to Nicholas of Cusa*. Translated by Jerold C. Frakes. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press.

Berschin, Walter. 1989. *Medioevo greco-latino. Da Gerolamo a Niccolò Cusano*. Translated by Enrico Livrea. Naples: Liguori.

Bērziņa, Gita. 2018. '16th–17th-Century Greek Texts at the Academic Library of the University of Latvia'. In *Hellenostephanos. Humanist Greek in Early Modern Europe. Learned Communities Between Antiquity and Contemporary Culture*, edited by Janika Päll and Ivo Volt, 36–52. Tartu: Tartu University Press.

Beschi, Luigi. 1986. 'La scoperta dell'arte greca'. In *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana*, edited by Salvatore Settis, vol. III, *Dalla tradizione all'archeologia*, 295–372. Turin: Einaudi.

Beschi, Luigi. 2003. 'Η αναζήτηση αρχαιοτήτων στην Ελλάδα κατά την Αναγέννηση. Ταξιδιώτες και συλλέκτες'. In *Το Φώς του Απόλλωνα. Ιταλική Αναγέννηση και Ελλάδα*, edited by Mina Gregori, vol. I, 46–52. Athens/Milan: Πολιτιστική Ολυμπιάδα/Silvana.

Besta, Enrico. 1903. 'Tomaso Diplovataccio e l'opera sua'. *Nuovo Archivio Veneto* 3: 261–361.

Beyer, Jürgen. 2014. 'Undeutsche Bibeln für Deutsche? Zur Benutzung der ersten lettischen, dörptestnischen und revalestnischen Bibeldrucke (1685–1715)'. In *The German Book in Wolfenbüttel and Abroad: Studies Presented to Ulrich Kopp in His Retirement*, edited by William A. Kelly and Jürgen Beyer, 37–82. Tartu: Tartu University Press.

Bianca, Concetta. 2015. 'Byzantines at Rome in the Fifteenth Century'. In *Essays in Renaissance Thought and Letters: In Honour of John Monfasani*, edited by Patrick Nold and Alison Knowles Frazier, 3–11. Leiden/Boston, Mass.: Brill.

Bianca, Concetta, Saulo Delle Donne, Luigi Ferreri, and Anna Gaspari, eds. 2017. *Le prime edizioni greche a Roma* (*1510–1526*). Turnhout: Brepols.

Bianconi, Daniele. 2004. 'Le traduzioni in greco di testi latini'. In *Lo spazio letterario del medioevo, 3: Le culture circostanti*, edited by Mario Capaldo, Franco Cardini, Guglielmo Cavallo, and Biancamaria Scarcia Amoretti, vol. I, *La cultura bizantina*, edited by Guglielmo Cavallo, 519–68. Rome: Salerno.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Bickendorf, Gabriele. 2002. '*Maniera greca.* Wahrnehmung und Verdrängung der byzantinischen Kunst in der italienischen Kunstliteratur seit Vasari'. In *Okzident und Orient*, edited by Semra Ögel and Gregor Wedekind, 113–25. Istanbul: Ege Yayınları.

Bietenholz, Peter G. 1971. *Basle and France in the Sixteenth Century: The Basle Humanists and Printers in Their Contacts with Francophone Culture*. Geneva: Droz.

Bietenholz, Peter G., and Thomas Brian Deutscher, eds. 1985–1987. *Contemporaries of Erasmus: A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*. 3 vols. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Biondi, Laura. 2011. *Recta scriptura. Ortografia ed etimologia nei trattati mediolatini del grammatico Apuleio*. Milan: LED.

Binner, Rolf. 1980. *Griechische Gelehrte in Italien (1453–1535) und der Türkenkrieg*. Munich: [s.n.].

Bisaha, Nancy. 2004. *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks*. Philadelphia, Pa.: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Biville, Frédérique. 1990–1995. *Les emprunts du latin au grec. Approche phonetique*. 2 vols. Leuven: Peeters.

Black, Christopher. 1989. *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Blair, Ann M. 1992. 'Humanist Methods in Natural Philosophy: The Commonplace Book'. *Journal of the History of Ideas* 53: 541–51.

Blair, Ann M. 2003. 'Reading-Strategies for Coping with Information Overload, ca. 1550–1700'. *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64: 11–28.

Blair, Ann M. 2004. 'Note-Taking as an Art of Transmission'. *Critical Inquiry* 31: 85–107.

Blair, Ann M. 2008. 'Student Manuscripts and the Textbook'. In *Scholarly Knowledge: Textbooks in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Emidio Campi, Simone De Angelis, Anja-Silvia Goeing, and Anthony Grafton, 38–73. Geneva: Droz.

Blanchet, Marie-Hélène. 2008. *Georges-Gennadios Scholarios (vers 1400–vers 1472). Un intellectuel orthodoxe face à la disparition de l'Empire byzantin*. Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines.

Blegen, Carl William. 1963. *Troy and the Trojans*. New York, N.Y.: Praeger.

Bober, Phyllis Pray. 1995. 'Polykles and Polykleitos in the Renaissance: The "Letto di Policreto"'. In *Polykleitos, the Doryphoros, and Tradition*, edited by Warren G. Moon, 317–26. Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press.

Bodon, Giulio. 2005. *Veneranda antiquitas. Studi sull'eredità dell'antico nella Rinascenza veneta*. Bern/Berlin/Brussels, etc.: Peter Lang.

Boeft, Jan den. 1997. 'Erasmus and the Church Fathers'. In *Reception of the Church Fathers in the West: From the Carolingians to the Maurists*, edited by Irena Backus, vol. 1, 539–72. Leiden/New York, N.Y./Cologne: Brill.

Boers, A. A. 1984. 'The Editorial Practice of a Sixteenth-Century Scholar Printer'. *Quaerendo* 14: 43–62.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Bollmeyer, Matthias. 2014. *Lateinisches Welfenland. Eine literaturgeschichtliche Kartographie zur lateinischen Gelegenheitsdichtung im Herzogtum Braunschweig-Lüneburg im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*. Hildesheim/Zürich/New York, N.Y.: Olms.

Bonazzoli, Viviana, and Oreste Delucca. 1988. 'Slavi e albanesi nella Romagna malatestiana. Primi esiti di ricerche d'archivio a Cesena, Rimini, Forlì'. In *Italia Felix. Migrazioni slave e albanesi in occidente: Romagna, Marche, Abruzzi secoli XIV–XVI*, edited by Sergio Anselmi, 213–31. Ancona: Ostra Vetere.

Borromeo, Elisabetta. 2007. *Voyageurs occidentaux dans l'Empire ottoman* (*1600–1644*). 2 vols. Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose.

Borza, Elie. 2007. *Sophocles Redivivus: La survie de Sophocle en Italie au début du XVI^e^ siècle. Éditions grecques, traductions latines et vernaculaires*. Bari: Levante.

Bostoen, Karen. 2010. 'Two Bruges Humanists: Vulcanius and Castelius'. In *Bonaventura Vulcanius, Works and Networks: Bruges 1538-Leiden 1614*, edited by Hélène Cazes, 225–43. Leiden/Boston, Mass.: Brill.

Botley, Paul. 2002. 'Learning Greek in Western Europe, 1476–1516'. In *Literacy, Education and Manuscript Transmission in Byzantium and Beyond*, edited by Catherine Holmes and Judith Waring, 199–233. Leiden/Boston, Mass./Cologne: Brill.

Botley, Paul. 2010. *Learning Greek in Western Europe, 1396–1529: Grammars, Lexica, and Classroom Texts*. Philadelphia, Pa.: American Philosophical Society.

Boudon-Millot, Véronique, and Guy Cobolet, eds. 2004. *Lire les médecins grecs à la Renaissance Aux origines de l'édition médicale* (*Actes du colloque international de Paris, 19–20 septembre 2003*). Paris: De Boccard.

Boudon-Millot, Véronique, Jacques Jouanna, Antonio Garzya, and Amneris Roselli, eds. 2006. *Ecdotica e ricezione dei testi medici greci. Atti del V Colloquio internazionale sull'ecdotica dei testi medici Napoli 1–2 ottobre 2004*. Naples: D'Auria.

Boudou, Bénédicte. 2000. *Mars et les Muses dans L'Apologie pour Hérodote d'Henri Estienne*. Geneva: Droz.

Boudou, Bénédicte, and Judit Kecskeméti. 2009. *Robert et Charles Estienne. Des imprimeurs pédagogues*. Turnhout: Brepols.

Boulhol, Pascal. 2014. *"Grec langaige n'est pas doulz au françois". L'étude et l'enseignement du grec dans la France Ancienne* (*IV^e^ siècle–1530*). Aix-en-Provence: Presses Universitaires de Provence.

Bourbouhakis, Manolis. 2017. 'Byzantine Literary Criticism and the Classical Heritage'. In *The Cambridge Intellectual History of Byzantium*, edited by Anthony Kaldellis and Niketas Siniossoglou, 113–28. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bowen, Karen Lee, and Dirk Imhof. 2008. *Christopher Plantin and Engraved Book Illustrations in Sixteenth-Century Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brann, Noel L. 1988. 'German Humanism'. In *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*, edited by Albert Rabil, Jr., vol. II, *Humanism beyond Italy*, 123–55. Philadelphia, Pa.: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Bratchel, M. 1984. 'Alien Merchant Colonies in Sixteenth-Century England: Community Organisation and Social Mores'. *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 14: 39–62.

Bregman, Jay. 1982. *Synesius of Cyrene, Philosopher-Bishop*. Berkeley, Calif./Los Angeles, Calif./London: University of California Press.

Brink, Charles. 1985. *English Classical Scholarship: Historical Reflections on Bentley, Porson, and Housman*. Cambridge/New York, N.Y.: James Clarke & Co./Oxford University Press.

Brown, Horatio F. 2008. *The Venetian Printing Press, 1469–1800: An Historical Study Based upon Documents for the Most Part Hitherto Unpublished*. Whitefish, MT: Kessinger. Reprint of the edition by J. C. Nimmo, London (1891).

Browning, Robert. 1989a. 'A Byzantine Scholar of the Early Fourteenth Century: Georgios Karbones'. In *History, Language and Literacy in the Byzantine World*. Northampton: Variorum Reprints.

Browning, Robert. 1989b. *History, Language and Literacy in the Byzantine World*. Northampton: Variorum Reprints.

Brownlee, Marina S., and Dimitri Gondicas, eds. 2013. *Renaissance Encounters: Greek East and Latin West*. Leiden: Brill.

Brucher, Günther. 2007. *Geschichte der venezianischen Malerei. Von den Mosaiken in San Marco bis zum 15. Jahrhundert*. Vienna: Böhla.

Bruhn, John. 2011. *The Sociology of Community Connections*. New York, N.Y.: Springer.

Burckhardt, Jacob. 1930. 'Die Sammler'. In *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte von Italien*, edited by Heinrich Wölfflin, 295–496. Basel/Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt.

Burgerbibliothek Bern, ed. 2012. *Jacques Bongars. Humanist, Diplomat, Büchersammler*. Bern: Stämpfli Verlag.

Burke, Ersie C. 2013. '"… To Live under the Protection of Your Serenity": Immigration and Identity in Early Modern Venice'. *Studi Veneziani* 67: 123–55.

Burke, Ersie C. 2014. 'Surviving Exile: Byzantine Families and the Serenissima, 1453–1600'. In *Wanted: Byzantium. The Desire for a Lost Empire*, edited by Ingela Nilsson and Paul Stephenson, 109–32. Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet.

Burke, Ersie C. 2016. *The Greeks of Venice, 1498–1600: Immigration, Settlement, and Integration*. Turnhout: Brepols.

Burroughs, Charles. 2000. 'Spaces of Arbitration and the Organization of Space in Late Medieval Italian Cities'. In *Medieval Practices of Space*, edited by Barbara Hanawalt and Michal Kobialka, 64–101. Minneapolis, Minn.: Minnesota University Press.

Bursian, Conrad. 1883. *Geschichte der classischen Philologie in Deutschland von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*. Munich/Leipzig: R. Oldenburg.

Buttigieg, Emanuel, and Simon Phillips, eds. 2014. *Islands and Military Orders, c.1291–c.1798*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Bůžek, Václav. 2009. *Ferdinand von Tirol zwischen Prag und Innsbruck. Der Adel aus den böhmischen Ländern auf dem Weg zu den Höfen der ersten Habsburger*. Vienna/Cologne/Weimar: Böhlau.

Caccamo Caltabiano, Maria. 2007. *Il significato delle immagini. Codice e immaginario nella moneta antica*. Reggio Calabria: Falzea.

Caccamo Caltabiano, Maria. 2013. 'A proposito dell'interpretazione del linguaggio iconico della moneta'. In *Polis, urbs, civitas. Moneta e identità. Conference papers* (*Milan, 25–10–2012*), edited by Lucia Travaini and Gianpiera Arrigoni, 17–27. Rome: Quasar.

Calabi, Donatella, and Derek Keene. 2007. 'Merchants' Lodgings and Cultural Exchange'. In *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe: Cities and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700*, edited by Donatella Calabi and Stephen Turk Christensen, 315–48. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Calabi Limentani, Ida. 2010. 'Un sondaggio sui primi sviluppi di un'organizzazione autonoma dello studio dell'epigrafia greca tra i secoli XVII e XVIII'. In *Scienza epigrafica. Contributi alla storia degli studi di epigrafia latina*, edited by Ida Calabi Limentani, 179–89. Faenza: Lega.

Callataÿ, François Philippe Edouard Léon de. 2006. 'Deux manières de concevoir l'importance des monnaies antiques dans la formation des cabinets humanistes: Hubert Goltzius (1526–1583) et Pierre-Paul Rubens (1577–1640)'. *La vie des musées* 20: 31–37.

Callmann, Ellen. 1974. *Apollonio di Giovanni*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Cameron, Euan, ed. 2016. *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. III, *From 1450 to 1750*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cammelli, Giuseppe. 1941–1954. *I dotti bizantini e le origini dell'Umanesimo*. 3 vols. Florence: Vallecchi/Le Monnier.

Campbell, Ian. 1988. 'Pirro Ligorio and the Temples of Rome on Coins'. In *Pirro Ligorio: Artist and Antiquarian*, edited by Robert W. Gaston, 93–120. Milan: Silvana.

Campbell, Ian. 2013. 'Pirro Ligorio's Use of Numismatic Evidence: Examples of his Oxford Codex'. In *Translatio Nummorum. Römische Kaiser in der Renaissance* (*Acts of the international symposium, Berlin 2011*), edited by Ulrike Peter and Bernard Weisser, 47–56. Mainz/Wiesbaden: Rutzen/Harassowitz.

Canfora, Luciano. 2001. *Il Fozio ritrovato. Juan de Mariana e André Schott*. Bari: Dedalo.

Canfora, Luciano. 2002. *Convertire Casaubon*. Milan: Adelphi.

Cannon, Joanna. 2013. *Religious Poverty, Visual Riches. Art in the Dominican Churches of Central Italy in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*. New Haven, Conn./London: Yale University Press.

Caracausi, Andrea. 2008. 'Procedure di giustizia in età moderna. I tribunali corporativi'. *Studi storici* 49: 323–62.

Caracciolo, Daniela. 2016. *'Regal pensier con saggia penna in carte'. Giulio Cesare Capaccio tra arte e letteratura*. Lucca: Maria Pacini Fazzi.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Carpinato, Caterina. 1997. 'Le prime traduzioni greche di Omero. L'*Iliade* di Nikolaos Lukanis e la *Batrachomyomachia* di Dimitrios Zinos'. In *Atti del secondo incontro internazionale di linguistica greca* (*Trento, 1995*), edited by Emanuele Banfi, 411–40. Trent: Dipartimento di scienze filologiche e storiche.

Carpinato, Caterina. 1999. 'Il "viaggio" di Achille da Venezia alla Grecia: l' Ἅλωσις ἤγουν ἔπαρσις τῆς Τροίας (1526) di Nikolaos Lukanis'. In *Medioevo romanzo e orientale. Il viaggio dei testi. III Colloquio Internazionale* (*Venezia, 10–13 ottobre 1996*), edited by Antonio Pioletti and Francesca Rizzo Nervo, 487–505. Soveria Mannelli: Rubettino.

Carpinato, Caterina, and Olga Tribulato, eds. 2014. *Storia e storie della lingua greca*. Venice: Edizioni Ca' Foscari—Digital Publishing.

Carton, Charles Louis, Ferdinand Van de Putte, Jacques Olivier Marie De Mersseman, and Joseph Octave Delepierre. 1843–1849. *Biographie des hommes remarquables de la Flandre occidentale*. 4 vols. Bruges: De Vandecasteele—Werbrouck.

Casarino, Giacomo. 1989. 'Stranieri a Genova nel Quattro- e Cinquecento. Tipologie sociali e nazioni'. In *Dentro la città. Stranieri e realtà urbane nell'Europa dei Secc. XII–XVI*, edited by Gabriella Rossetti, 137–50. Naples: Liguori.

Cavalieri, Paolo. 2010. 'Augsburg e la Repubblica di Venezia. Rapporti economici e scambi commerciali in età moderna'. In *Schwaben und Italien. Zwei europäische Kulturlandschaften zwischen Antike und Moderne. Aufsätze zur Bayerischen Landesausstellung 2010 'Bayern—Italien' in Füssen und Augsburg*, edited by Wolfgang Wüst, Peter Fassl, and Rainhard Riepertinger, 267–91. Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag.

Cavicchi, Adriano. 1987. 'Appunti su Ligorio in Ferrara'. In *L'impresa di Alfonso II. Saggi e documenti sulla produzione artistica a Ferrara nel secondo Cinquecento*, edited by Jadranca Bentini, Luigi Spezzaferro, and Adriano Prosperi, 137–50. Bologna: Nuova Alfa.

Ceccarelli Isopi, P. 2000. 'Le confraternite anconitane. Devozione e assistenza in età moderna'. *Proposte e ricerche* 44: 7–19.

Cecchetti, Bartolomeo. 1874. *La Repubblica di Venezia e la corte di Roma nei rapporti di religione*. Venice: Naratovich.

Celenza, Christopher. 2009. 'Hellenism in the Renaissance'. In *The Oxford Handbook of Hellenic Studies*, edited by George Boys-Stones, Barbara Graziosi, and Phiroze Vasunia, 150–66. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ceserani, Giovanna. 2012. *Italy's Lost Greece*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Chatzidaki, Nano. 1993. *Da Candia a Venezia. Icone greche in Italia XV–XVI secolo*. Athens: Fondazione per la cultura greca.

Chatzidakis, Michail. 2010. 'Antike Prägung. Ciriaco d'Ancona und die kulturelle Verortung Griechenlands'. In *Fremde in der Stadt. Ordnungen, Repräsentationen und Praktiken* (*13.–15. Jahrhundert*), edited by Peter Bell, Dirk Sucow, and Gerhard Wolf, 225–57. Frankfurt am Main/Berlin/Bern, etc.: Peter Lang.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Chatzidakis, Michail. 2017. *Ciriaco d'Ancona und die Wiederentdeckung Griechenlands im 15. Jh.* Petersberg: M. Imhof.

Chauvin, Victor, and Alphonse Roersch. 1900. *Étude sur la vie et les travaux de Nicolas Clénard*. Brussels: F. Hayez.

Cheek, Leslie, ed. 1966. *European Art in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts*. Richmond, Va.: Polychrome Press.

Chihaia, Matei. 2009. 'Querelle des anciens et des modernes'. In *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit*, edited by Friedrich Jaeger, vol. X, 588–91. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung.

Christ, Wilhelm von, Wilhelm Schmid, and Otto Stählin. 1920. *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur, 2: Die Nachklassische Periode der griechischen Literatur*, vol. I, *Von 320 vor Christus bis 100 nach Christus*. 6th ed. Munich: C. H. Beck.

Ciccolella, Federica. 1993. 'Origine e sviluppo della versificazione anacreontica'. *Bollettino dei Classici, serie terza* 14: 31–41.

Ciccolella, Federica. 1995. 'Per un corpus della poesia anacreontica bizantina'. *Quaderni del Dipartimento di filologia, linguistica e tradizione classica dell'Università degli Studi di Torino* 4: 247–68.

Ciccolella, Federica. 2000. *Cinque poeti bizantini. Anacreontee dal Barberiniano greco 310*. Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso.

Ciccolella, Federica. 2008. *Donati Graeci: Learning Greek in the Renaissance*. Leiden/Boston, Mass.: Brill.

Ciccolella, Federica. 2017. 'Greek in Venetian Crete: Grammars and Schoolbooks from the Library of Francesco Barocci'. In *Teachers, Students, and Schools of Greek in the Renaissance*, edited Federica Ciccolella and Luigi Silvano, 371–393. Leiden/Boston, Mass.: Brill.

Ciccolella, Federica [forthcoming]. 'Maximos Margounios and Anacreontic Poetry: A Preliminary Study'. In *Greek, Books and Libraries in Renaissance Venice*, edited by Rosa Maria Piccione. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Ciccolella, Federica, and Luigi Silvano, eds. 2017. *Teachers, Students, and Schools of Greek in the Renaissance*. Leiden/Boston, Mass.: Brill.

Cioranescu, Alexandre. 1941. *Vie de Jacques Amyot d'après des documents inédits, avec un avant-propos de Pierre Champion*. Paris: Droz.

Coetzee, Michelle. 2014. *The Filioque Impasse: Patristic Roots*. Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias.

Coffin, David R. 1955. 'Pirro Ligorio and Decoration of the Late Sixteenth Century at Ferrara'. *The Art Bulletin* 37: 167–85.

Coffin, David R. 2004. *Pirro Ligorio: The Renaissance Artist, Architect and Antiquarian*. University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Collins, Kristen M. 2006. 'Visual Piety and Institutional Identity at Sinai'. In *Holy Image, Hallowed Ground: Icons from Sinai*, edited by Robert S. Nelson and Kristen M. Collins, 94–119. Los Angeles, Calif.: Getty Museum.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Concina, Ennio. 2002. 'Giorgio Vasari, Francesco Sansovino e la maniera greca'. In *Hadriatica. Attorno a Venezia e al Medioevo tra arti, storia e storiografia*, edited by Ennio Concina and Giordana Trovabene, 89–96. Padua: Il Poligrafo.

Conley, Thomas M. 2010. 'Bonaventura Vulcanius: The Greek Texts'. In *Bonaventura Vulcanius, Works and Networks: Bruges 1538-Leiden 1614*, edited by Hélène Cazes, 337–50. Leiden/Boston, Mass.: Brill.

Connell, Sophia M. 2016. *Aristotle on Female Animals*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Considine, John. 2002. 'How Much Greek Did Philip Sidney Know?' *Sidney Journal* 20: 57–78.

Considine, John. 2008. *Dictionaries in Early Modern Europe: Lexicography and the Making of Heritage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Considine, John. 2010. 'Why Was Claude de Saumaise Interested in the Scythian Hypothesis?' *Language & History* 53: 81–96.

Constable, Olivia Remie. 2009. *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World: Lodging, Trade and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Constantinidou, Natasha. [forthcoming a]. 'Reconsidering the Popularity of the Greek Classics, c. 1450–1600: General Trends and French Preferences'.

Constantinidou, Natasha. [forthcoming b]. 'Aspects of the Printing History and Reception of John Chrysostom and other Greek Church Fathers, ca. 1450–1600'.

Constantinidou, Natasha. [forthcoming c]. 'Chrestien Wechel (c. 1495–1554) and Greek Printing in Paris: Education, Networks and Questions of Orthodoxy' In *Proceedings of the Conference The Impact of Learning Greek, Hebrew and 'Oriental' Languages, Leuven 13–15 December 2017*. Turnhout: Brepols.

Constantinidou, Natasha. 2015. 'Printers of the Greek Classics and Market Distribution in the Sixteenth Century: The Case of France and the Low Countries'. In *Specialist Markets in the Early Modern Book World*, edited by Richard Kirwan and Sophie Mullins, 273–93. Leiden/Boston, Mass.: Brill.

Constantinidou, Natasha. 2018. 'Constructions of Hellenism Through Printing and Editorial Choices: The Case of Adrien de Turnèbe, Royal Lecturer and Printer in Greek (1512–1565)'. *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 25: 262–84.

Constantoudaki-Kitromilides, Maria. 1982. 'A Fifteenth-Century Byzantine Icon-Painter Working on Mosaics in Venice: Unpublished Documents'. *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32: 265–72.

Constantoudaki-Kitromilides, Maria. 2001. '*Conducere apothecam in qua exercere artem nostram.* Το εργαστήριο ενός βενετού ζωγράφου στην Κρήτη'. *Σύμμεικτα* 14: 291–99.

Constantoudaki-Kitromilides, Maria. 2009. 'Viaggi di pittori tra Costantinopoli e Candia. Documenti d'archivio e influssi sull'arte (XIV–XV sec.)'. In *I Greci durante*

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

la Venetocrazia. Uomini, spazio, idee (*XIII–XVIII sec.*), edited by Chryssa Maltezou, 709–23. Venice: Istituto ellenico di studi bizantini e postbizantini di Venezia.

Cook, William R. 1999. *Images of St. Francis of Assisi in Painting, Stone and Glass from the Earliest Images to ca. 1320*. Florence/Perth, WA: Leo S. Olschki/University of Western Australia.

Coor-Achenbach, Gertrude. 1957. 'Two Trecento Paintings in the Church of Saint-Nicholas-Des-Champs, Paris'. *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 50: 5–15.

Coppola, Alessandra. 1987. 'Costanzo Cloro in un'iscrizione bellunese (nota sul CIL V 82*)'. *Athenaeum* 65: 239–41.

Coppola, Alessandra. 1992. 'Damnavit Mommsen (Due nuove dediche imperatorie di Bellunum)'. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 90: 117–21.

Cormack, Robin. 1997. *Painting the Soul: Icons, Death Masks and Shrouds*. London: Reaktion Books.

Cortelazzo, Manlio. 1977. 'Il contributo del veneziano e del greco alla lingua franca'. In *Venezia centro di mediazione tra Oriente e Occidente* (*sec. XV–XVI*), edited by Hans-Georg Beck, Manoussos Manoussakas, and Agostino Pertusi, 523–35. Florence: Leo S. Olschki.

Cortesi, Mariarosa. 1995. 'Umanesimo greco'. In *Lo spazio letterario del medioevo, 1: Il medioevo latino*, edited by Guglielmo Cavallo, Claudio Leonardi, and Enrico Menestò, vol. III, *La ricezione del testo*, 457–507. Rome: Salerno.

Cortesi, Mariarosa, and Silvia Fiaschi, eds. 2008. *Repertorio delle traduzioni umanistiche a stampa*. 2 vols. Florence: SISMEL.

Cossa, Luigi. 1893. *An Introduction to the Study of Political Economy*. London/New York, N.Y.: Macmillan and Co.

Courcelle, Pierre. 1948. *Les lettres grecques en Occident de Macrobe à Cassiodore*. Rome: BEFAR.

Cox Jensen, Freyja A. [forthcoming]. 'The Popularity of Ancient Historians, 1400–1650'

Crawford, M. H. 1993. 'Benedetto Egio and the Development of Greek Epigraphy'. In *Antonio Agustin Between Renaissance and Counter-Reform*, edited by M. H. Crawford, 133–54. London: Warburg Institute.

Crimi, Carmelo. 1996. 'Le anacreontee di Gregorio Nazianzeno. Tra metrica e tradizione manoscritta'. In *Byzantina Mediolanensia. V Congresso Nazionale di Studi Bizantini* (*Milano, 19–22 ottobre 1994*), edited by Fabrizio Conca, 117–25. Soveria Mannelli: Rubettino.

Croce, Benedetto. 1938. *Michele Marullo Tarcaniota. Le elegie per la patria perduta ed altri suoi carmi. Biografia, testi e traduzione con due ritratti del Marullo*. Bari: Laterza & figli.

Cunnally, John. 1999. *Images of the Illustrious: The Numismatic Presence in the Renaissance*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Cunnally, John. 2001. 'The Portable Pantheon: Ancient Coins as Sources of Mythological Imagery in the Renaissance'. In *Wege Zum Mythos*, edited by Luba Freedman and Gerlinde Huber-Rebenich, 134–36. Berlin: Mann.

Cutler, Anthony. 1994. 'La "questione bizantina" nella pittura italiana. Una versione alternativa della "maniera greca"'. In *La pittura in Italia. L'altomedioevo*, edited by Carlo Bertelli, 335–54. Milan: Electa.

Cutler, Anthony. 1995. 'From Loot to Scholarship: Changing Modes in the Italian Response to Byzantine Artifacts, ca. 1200–1750'. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49: 237–67.

Cutler, Anthony, and Robert Browning. 1992. 'In the Margins of Byzantium? Some Icons in Michael Psellos'. *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 16: 21–32.

Czaika, Ottfried. 2002. *David Chytraeus und die Universität Rostock in ihren Beziehungen zum schwedischen Reich*. Helsinki: Luther-Agricola-Gesellschaft.

Czapla, Ralf Georg. 2013. *Das Bibelepos in der frühen Neuzeit. Zur deutschen Geschichte einer europäischen Gattung*. Berlin/Boston, Mass.: Walter de Gruyter.

Dagron, Gilbert. 1974. *Naissance d'une capitale. Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Dagron, Gilbert. 2003. *Emperor and Priest: The Imperial Office in Byzantium*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dain, Alphonse. 1956. 'À propos de l'étude des poètes anciens à Byzance'. In *Studi in onore di Ugo Enrico Paoli*, edited by Luisa Banti, 195–201. Florence: Le Monnier.

Daley, Brian E. 2012. 'Systematic Theology in Homeric Dress: The *Poemata Arcana*'. In *Re-Reading Gregory of Nazianzus*, edited by Christoper A. Beeley, 3–12. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press.

Dall'Asta, Matthias. 2007. *Philosoph, Magier, Scharlatan und Antichrist. Zur Rezeption von Philostrats Vita Apollonii in der Renaissance*. Heidelberg: Winter.

Dam, Harm-Jan van. 2015. 'Poems on the Threshold: Neo-Latin *carmina liminaria*'. In *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Monasteriensis*, edited by Astrid Steiner-Weber, 50–81. Leiden/Boston, Mass.: Brill.

Damen, Giada. 2012. *The Trade in Antiquities Between Italy and the Eastern Mediterranean (ca. 1400–1600)*. PhD thesis. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University.

D'Amico, John F. 1983. *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome: Humanists and Churchmen on the Eve of the Reformation*. 2nd edition. Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Davidson Reid, J., and Chris Rohmann, eds. 2011. *The Oxford Guide to Classical Mythology in the Arts, 1300–1990s*. 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Davies, Martin. 1995. *Aldus Manutius: Printer and Publisher of Renaissance Venice*. London: British Library.

Davies, Martin. 1999. *Aldus Manutius: Printer and Publisher of Renaissance Venice*. Tempe, Ariz.: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

De Marchi, Andrea. 2007. 'Il programma e l'allestimento delle pale per le "cappelle de' nostri avocati" nel Duomo di Siena'. In *Medioevo, l'Europa delle cattedrali. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Parma, 19–23 settembre 2006*, edited by Arturo Carlo Quintavalle, 573–85. Milan: Electa.

De Nardis, Mauro. 2015. 'Greek Magistrates in Roman Naples? Law and Memory from the Fourth Century BC to the Fourth Century AD'. In *Remembering Parthenope: The Reception of Classical Naples from Antiquity to the Present*, edited by Jessica Hughes and Claudio Buongiovanni, 85–104. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

De Ridder-Symoens, Hilde. 1996. 'Mobilität'. In *Geschichte der Universität in Europa*, edited by Walter Rüegg, vol. II, *Von der Reformation zur Franzosischen Revolution (1500–1800)*, 335–59. Munich: C. H. Beck.

De Vocht, Henry. 1951–1955. *History of the Foundation and the Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense 1517–1550*. 4 vols. Leuven: Bibliothèque de l'Université & Publications Universitaires.

Degenhart, Bernhard, and Annegritt Schmitt. 1968. *Corpus der italienischen Zeichnungen, 1300–1450. Teil I: Süd- und Mittelitalien*. 4 vols. Berlin: Mann.

Deisser, André. 1978. 'Entre Constantinople et Venise. L'*Hodoeporicum* de Favoli et son escale au Ténare (Début 1546)'. *Θησαυρίσματα* 15: 246–60.

Dekesel, Christian Edmon. 1988. *Hubertus Goltzius, the Father of Ancient Numismatics: Venlo-Weertsburg, 30.10.1526—Bruges, 24.10.1583. An Annotated and Illustrated Bibliography.* Ghent: Bibliotheca Numismatica Siciliana.

Dekesel, Christian Edmon. 1997. *Bibliotheca Nummaria. Bibliography of 16th Century Numismatic Books*. London: Spink.

Dekesel, Christian Edmon. 2005. 'Hubertus Goltzius (Venlo 1526–Bruges 1583) and His *Icones Imperatorum Romanorum*'. In *L'immaginario del potere. Studi di iconografia monetale*, edited by Rossella Pera, 259–77. Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider.

Delaruelle, Louis. 1922. 'L'Étude du grec à Paris de 1514 à 1530'. *Revue du seizième siècle* 9: 51–62; 132–159.

Delaruelle, Louis. 2012. *Guillaume Budé. Les origines, les débuts, les idées maîtresses*. Geneva: Slatkine Reprints. Reprint of the edition by Honoré Champion, Paris (1907).

Delcourt, Marie. 1934. *La tradition des comiques anciens en France avant Molière*. Paris: Droz.

Deligiannis, Ioannis, ed. 2017. *Investigating the Translation Process in Humanistic Latin Translations of Greek Texts. Proceedings of an International Conference. Democritus University of Thrace, Komotini, 28–29 April 2017*. Special issue of the *Mediterranean Chronicle* 7.

Della Rocca de Candal, Geri. 2015. *Bibliographia Historica Byzantina: A Historical and Bibliographical Description of the Early Editions of the Corpus Historiae Byzantinae (1556–1645)*. PhD thesis. Oxford: University of Oxford.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Demetriou, Tania and Rowan Cerys Tomlinson, eds. 2015. *The Culture of Translation in Early Modern England and France, 1500–1660.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Demetriou, Tania, and Tanya Pollard. 2017. 'Homer and Greek Tragedy in Early Modern England's Theatres: An Introduction'. *Classical Receptions Journal* 9: 1–35.

Demaizière, Colette. 1991. 'Les réflexions étymologiques d'Henri Estienne de la *Conformité*, 1565, aux *Hypomneses*, 1582'. In *Discours étymologiques*, edited by Jean-Pierre Chambon and Georges Lüdi, 201–10. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Dennis, George T. 1982a. 'The Byzantine-Turkish Treaty of 1403'. In George T. Dennis, *Byzantium and the Franks*. London: Variorum Reprints.

Dennis, George T. 1982b. 'Two Unkown Documents of Manuel II Palaeologus'. In George T. Dennis, *Byzantium and the Franks*. London: Variorum Reprints.

Dennis, George T. 1997. *The Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies.

Derbes, Ann. 1996. *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy: Narrative Painting, Franciscan Ideologies, and the Levant*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Dessau, Hermann. 1883. 'Römische Reliefs, beschrieben von Pirro Ligorio'. *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 40: 1077–1105.

Deufert, Diane. 2011. *Matthias Bergius (1536–1592): Antike Dichtungstradition im konfessionellen Zeitalter*. Göttingen/Oakville: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Di Liscia, Daniel A., Eckhard Kessler, and Charlotte Methuen, eds. 1997. *Method and Order in Renaissance Philosophy of Nature: The Aristotle Commentary Tradition*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Dihle, Albrecht. 1994. *Greek and Latin Literature of the Roman Empire: From Augustus to Justinian*. London/New York, N.Y.: Routledge.

Dijkstra, Roald and Erik Hermans. 2015. 'Musurus's Homeric Ode to Plato and His Requests to Pope Leo X'. *Akroterion* 60: 33–63.

Dill, Ueli. 2008. 'Johannes Chrysostomos im Basler Buchdruck des 16. Jahrhunderts'. In *Chrysostomosbilder in 1600 Jahren: Facetten der Wirkungsgeschichte eines Kirchenvaters*, edited by Rudolf Brändle and Martin Wallraff, 255–66. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Dini, Pietro U. 2004. 'Baltic Palaeocomparativism and the Idea That Prussian Derives from Greek'. In *Studies in Baltic and Indo-European Linguistics*, edited by Philip Baldi and Pietro U. Dini, 37–50. Amsterdam/Philadelphia, Pa.: Benjamins.

Dionisotti, Carlotta. 1983. 'Polybius and the Royal Professor'. In *Tria Corda. Scritti in onore di Arnaldo Momigliano*, edited by Emilio Gabba, 179–99. Côme: New Press.

Donati, Gemma. 2006. *L'Orthographia di Giovanni Tortelli*. Messina: CISU.

Dondi, Cristina. 2016. *Printed Books of Hours from Fifteenth-Century Italy: The Texts, the Books, and the Survival of a Long-Lasting Genre*. Florence: Leo S. Olschki.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Dörner, Gerald. 2013. 'Reuchlin (Rochlin, Roechlin; Capnion), Johannes'. *Deutscher Humanismus 1480–1520 Verfasserlexikon*, edited by Franz Josef Worstbrock. Berlin/Boston, Mass.: Walter de Gruyter.

Dorsten, Jan A. van. 1962. *Poets, Patrons and Professors: Sir Philip Sidney, Daniel Rogers and the Leiden Humanists*. Leiden/Boston, Mass.: Brill.

Downey, Glanville. 1959a. 'Libanius' Oration in Praise of Antioch (Oration XI)'. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 103: 652–86.

Downey, Glanville. 1959b. 'The Tombs of the Byzantine Emperors at the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople'. *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 79: 27–51.

Drandaki, Anastasia, ed. 2009. 'Between Byzantium and Venice: Icon Painting in Venetian Crete in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries'. In *The Origins of El Greco: Icon Painting in Venetian Crete*, 11–18. New York, N.Y.: Onassis Foundation.

Dressel, Heinrich. 1900. 'Pirro Ligorio als Münzfälscher'. *Numismatik* 23: 206–7.

Drpić, Ivan. 2016. *Epigram, Art, and Devotion in Later Byzantium*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dufour, Alain. 2000. 'Bèze helléniste'. In *Homère chez Calvin. Figures de l' hellénisme à Genève. Mélanges Olivier Reverdin*, 335–40. Geneva: Droz.

Durak, Koray. 2009. 'Defining the "Turk": Mechanisms of Establishing Contemporary Meaning in the Archaizing Language of the Byzantines'. *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 59: 65–78.

Dursteler, Eric. 2008. *Venetians in Constantinople: Nation, Identity and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean*. Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Earle, Peter. 1969. 'The commercial development of Ancona, 1479–1551'. *The Economic History Review* 22: 28–44.

Eckhardt, Alexandre. 1967. 'La legende de l'origine troyenne des Turcs'. *Kőrösi Csoma-Archivum* 2: 422–33.

Eckstein, Friedrich August. 1887. *Lateinischer und griechischer Unterricht*. Edited by Heinrich Heyden. Leipzig: Fues's Verlag (R. Reisland).

Egger, Émile. 1869. *L'Hellénisme en France. Leçons sur l'influence des études grecques dans le développement de la langue et de la littérature françaises*. Paris: Didier.

Eiche, Sabine. 1985. 'Study of the "Famiglia" of the Sforza Court at Pesaro'. *Renaissance and Reformation* 9: 79–103.

Eliades, Ioannis A. 2017. *Οδηγός Βυζαντινού Μουσείου*. Nicosia: Archbishop Makarios III Foundation.

Eliades, Ioannis A. 2019. 'Diptych'. In *Palaeologan Reflections in the Art of Cyprus (1261–1489)*, edited by Ioannis A. Eliades, 137–39. Nicosia: Archbishop Makarios III Foundation.

Ellis, B. Anthony. 2015. 'Herodotus Magister Vitae: Or Herodotus and God in the Protestant Reformation'. In *God in History: Reading and Rewriting Herodotean*

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Theology from Plutarch to the Renaissance, edited by B. Anthony Ellis, 171–245. Newcastle upon Tyne: HISTOS.

Ellis, B. Anthony. 2017a. 'Joachim Camerarius als *Defensor Herodoti*. Die Widerlegung Plutarchs und der Zweck der Geschichte'. In *Camerarius Polyhistor. Studien zu den wissenschaftlichen Schriften des Älteren Camerarius*, edited by Thomas Baier, 127–46. Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto.

Ellis, B. Anthony. 2017b. 'The Jealous God of Ancient Greece: Interpreting the Classical Greek Notion of Φθόνος Θεῶν Between Renaissance Humanism and *Altertumswissenschaft*'. *Erudition and the Republic of Letters* 2: 1–55.

Elssner, Thomas R. 2008. 'Wofür steht die Christognosia auf dem Görlitzer Nikolaifriedhof? Ein Deutungsangebot'. *Görlitzer Magazin. Geschichte und Gegenwart der Stadt Görlitz und ihrer Umgebung* 21: 43–53.

Enenkel, Karl. 2008. *Die Erfindung des Menschen. Die Autobiographik des frühneuzeitlichen Humanismus von Petrarca bis Lipsius*. Berlin/New York, N.Y.: Walter de Gruyter.

Enepekides, Polychronis K. 1951. 'Der Briefwechsel des Maximos Margounios, Bischof von Kythera (1549–1602). Ein Beitrag zur Kirchen- und Gelehrtengeschichte der Griechen im 16. Jahrhundert und deren Beziehungen zum Abendland'. *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 1: 13–66.

Enepekides, Polychronis K. 1961. 'Maximos Margounios an deutsche und italienische Humanisten'. *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 10: 93–145.

Enepekides, Polychronis K. 1970. *Χριστόμανος—Βικέλας—Παπαδιαμάντης. Επιστολαὶ Μαξίμου Μαργουνίου, ἐπισκόπου Κυθήρων (1549–1602). Ἔρευναι εἰς τὰ Ἀρχεῖα καὶ τὰς χειρογράφους Συλλογὰς Αὐστρίας, Γαλλίας, Γερμανίας καὶ Ἑλλάδος*. Athens: Παπαζήσης.

Epstein, Ann Wharton. 1982. 'The Rebuilding and Redecoration of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople: A Reconsideration'. *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 23: 79–92.

Ernst, Ulrich. 1991. *Carmen figuratum. Geschichte des Figurengedichts von den antiken Ursprüngen bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters*. Vienna/Cologne/Weimar: Böhlau.

Eros, John F. 1976. 'A 17th-Century Demonstration of Language Relationship: Meric Casaubon on English and Greek'. *Historiographia Linguistica* 3: 1–15.

Fabris, Giovanni. 1942. 'Professori e scolari greci all'Università di Padova'. *Archivio veneto* 30/31: 121–65.

Falangas, Andronikos. 2010. 'Imposed Borders in a Balkan Landscape and Its Literary Impact: The Vision of Christians and Greeks in Ismail Kadare's Chronicle in Stone'. *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie* 46: 26–34.

Fanetti, Vittorio. 1961. 'Il ginnasio greco di Leone X a Roma'. *Studi Romani* 9: 379–93.

Farge, James K. 1992. *Le parti conservateur au XVIe siècle. Université et parlement de Paris à l'époque de la Renaissance et de la Réforme*. Paris: Collège de France.

Farge, James K. 2008. 'Noël Beda and the Defence of the Tradition'. In *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus*, edited by Erika Rummel, 143–64. Leiden/Boston, Mass.: Brill.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Farr, James. 2003. 'Confessionalization and Social Discipline in France, 1530–1685'. *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 94: 276–93.

Fattori, Niccolò. 2016. 'Comunità e integrazione nelle diaspore greche (secoli XV–XVI). Tre casi marchigiani'. *Studi Pesaresi* 4: 86–98.

Fattori, Niccolò. 2017. 'The Greek Confraternity of Sant'Anna dei Greci in Ancona: Demographic Structure and Social Responsibilities (1524–1580)'. In *Early Modern Ethnic and Religious Communities in Exile*, edited by Yosef Kaplan, 44–93. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars.

Faulkner, Andrew. 2010. 'St. Gregory of Nazianzus and the Classical Tradition: The *Poemata Arcana* qua Hymns'. *Philologus: Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie und ihre Rezeption* 154: 78–87.

Faulkner, John Alfred. 1907. *Erasmus: The Scholar*. Cincinnati, Ohio: Jennings and Graham.

Featherstone, Michael J. 2011. 'Theodore Metochites's *Seimeioseis Gnomikai*: Personal Encyclopedism'. In *Proceedings of the International Conference Held in Leuven*, edited by Peter Van Deun and Caroline Macé, 333–44. Leuven: Peeters.

Fedalto, Giorgio. 1967a. *Massimo Margunio e il suo commento al De Trinitate di Sant'Agostino* (*1588*). Brescia: Paideia.

Fedalto, Giorgio. 1967b. *Ricerche storiche sulla posizione giuridica ed ecclesiastica dei Greci a Venezia nei secoli XV e XVI*. Florence: Leo S. Olschki.

Fedalto, Giorgio. 1961. *Massimo Margounios e la sua opera per conciliare la sentenza degli Orientali e dei Latini sulla Processione dello Spirito Santo* (*excerpta ex dissertatione ad Lauream in Facultate Theologica Pontificiae Universitatis Gregorianae*). Padua: Tipografia del Seminario di Padova.

Fedalto, Giorgio. 1963. 'Processione dello spirito santo e unione della chiesa greca e latina in Massimo Margounios'. *Studia Patavina* 10: 301–7.

Fedalto, Giorgio. 1980. 'Stranieri a Venezia e a Padova'. In *Storia della cultura veneta, III. Dal primo Quattrocento al Concilio di Trento*, vol. 1, edited by Girolamo Arnaldi and Manlio Pastore Stocchi, 499–535. Vicenza: Neri Pozza.

Ferber, Magnus U. 2010. '*Cives vestros sine controversia habeo pro Germaniae cultissimis.* Zum Verhältnis von Späthumanismus und Konfessionalisierung am Beispiel der bikonfessionellen Reichsstadt Augsburg'. In *Humanismus und Renaissance in Augsburg. Kulturgeschichte einer Stadt zwischen Spätmittelalter und Dreissigjährigem Krieg*, edited by Gernot Michael Müller, 409–20. Berlin/New York, N.Y.: Walter de Gruyter.

Ferreri, Luigi. 2014. *L'Italia degli umanisti. Marco Musuro*. Turnhout: Brepols.

Ferri, Ferruccio. 1920. *Una contesa di tre umanisti: Basinio, Porcelio e Seneca. Contributo alla storia degli studi greci nel Quattrocento in Italia*. Pavia: Fusi.

Fiaccadori, Gianfranco. 1996. 'Umanesimo e grecità d'Occidente'. In *I Greci in Occidente. La tradizione filosofica, scientifica e letteraria dalle collezioni della Biblioteca*

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Marciana. Catalogodella mostra (*Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, 16/10–15/11 1996*), edited by Gianfranco Fiaccadori and Paolo Eleuteri, XVII–LXXV. Venice: Il Cardo.

Figliuolo, Bruno. 2012. 'Notizie su traduzioni e traduttori greci alla corte di Alfonso il Magnanimo in documenti dell'Archivio de la Corona de Aragón'. *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 53: 359–74.

Filippi, Giorgio. 1994. 'Un'iscrizione ligoriana da Otricoli secondo esemplare di CIL XI 4090'. *Bollettino dei monumenti, musei e gallerie pontificie* 14: 93–102.

Fiocco, Giuseppe. 1956. 'Trésors d'art des églises de Paris'. *Arte Veneta* 10: 232–36.

Fiocco, Giuseppe. 1958–1959. 'Il museo immaginario di Francesco Squarcione'. *Atti e memorie dell'Accademia Patavina di scienze, lettere e arti* 71: 59–67.

Fischetti, Giuseppe. 1976. 'La prima traduzione neogreca di Omero'. In *Miscellanea neogreca. Atti del I Convegno Nazionale di studi neogreci* (*Palermo, 17–19 maggio 1975*), 11–20. Palermo: Accademia di scienze, lettere e arti.

Flamand, Jean-Marie. 2016. 'Lefèvre d'Étaples et le renouveau de l'enseignement universitaire parisien'. In *Paris, carrefour culturel autour de 1500*, edited by Olivier Millet and Luigi-Alberto Sanchi, 29–50. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Fleet, Kate. 1995. 'Italian Perceptions of the Turks in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries'. *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 5: 159–72.

Flogaus, Reinhard. 2015a. 'Die griechischen Übersetzungen des Heidelberger Katechismus. Entstehung, historischer Kontext, Wirkungsgeschichte'. In *Profil und Wirkung des Heidelberger Katechismus. Neue Forschungsansätze anlässlich des 450-jährigen Jubiläums*, edited by Jan Stievermann and Johannes Strohm, 242–68. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus.

Flogaus, Reinhard. 2015b. 'Eine orthodoxe Interpretation der lutherischen Lehre? Neue Erkenntnisse zur Entstehung der *Confessio Augustana Graeca* und ihrer Sendung an Patriarch Joasaph II.' In *Orthodoxie im Dialog. Historische und aktuelle Perspektiven. Festschrift für Heinz Ohme*, edited by Reinhard Flogaus and Jennifer Wasmuth, 3–42. Berlin/New York, N.Y.: Walter de Gruyter.

Flogaus, Reinhard. 2008. 'Aldus Manutius and the Printing of Greek Liturgical Texts'. In *The Books of Venice. Il Libro Veneziano*, edited by Lisa Pon and Craig Kallendorf, 206–30. Newcastle upon Tyne: Oak Knoll Press.

Flood, John L. 2003. 'The Crisis in Greek Teaching at the University of Heidelberg around 1530'. *Renaissance Studies* 17: 84–95.

Flood, John L. 2006. *Poets Laureate in the Holy Roman Empire: A Bio-Bibliographical Handbook*. 4 vols. Berlin/New York, N.Y.: Walter de Gruyter.

Flores d'Arcais, Francesca. 1992. 'Venezia'. In *La pittura nel Veneto. Il Trecento*, edited by Carlo Pirovano and Mauro Lucco and Mauro Lucco, 17–87. Milan: Electa.

Flores d'Arcais, Francesca. 2009. 'Il Trittico di Santa Chiara e la pittura a tempera su tavola del Trecento a Trieste'. In *Medioevo a Trieste*, edited by Paolo Cammarosano, 353–77. Rome: Viella.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Fogelmark, Staffan. 2015. *The Kallierges Pindar: A Study in Renaissance Greek Scholarship and Printing*. 2 vols. Cologne: Jürgen Dinter.

Fohrmann, Jürgen. 1993. 'Literaturgeschichtsschreibung'. In *Literaturlexikon*, edited by Walther Killy, vol. XIV, *Begriffe, Realien, Methoden, s.v.* Gütersloh/Munich: Bertelsmann Lexikon Verlag.

Follieri, Enrica. 1969. 'Su alcuni libri greci stampati a Venezia nella prima metà del Cinquecento'. In *Contributi alla storia del libro italiano. Miscellanea in onore di Lamberto Donati*, 119–30. Florence: Leo S. Olschki.

Fontaine Verwey, Herman de la. 1972. 'The First Private Press in the Low Countries. Marcus Laurinus and the Officina Goltziana'. *Quaerendo* 2: 294–300.

Foot, Myriam. 1978. *Studies in the History of Bookbinding*. Aldershot: Scholar Press.

Ford, Philip. 2006. 'Homer in the French Renaissance'. *Renaissance Quarterly* 59: 1–28.

Förstel, Christian. 2011. 'Metochites and His Books Between the Chora and the Renaissance'. In *The Kariye Camii Reconsidered*, edited by Holger A. Klein, Robert G. Ousterhout, and Brigitte Pitarakis, 241–66. Istanbul: Araştırmaları Enstitüsü.

Fortuna, Stefania. 2007. 'The Prefaces to the First Humanist Medical Translations'. *Traditio* 62: 317–35.

Fortuna, Stefania. 2008. 'Girolamo Mercuriale editore di Galeno'. In *Girolamo Mercuriale. Medicina e cultura nell'Europa del Cinquecento, Atti del Convegno* (*Forlì, 8–11 novembre 2006*), edited by Alessandro Arcangeli and Vivian Nutton, 217–31. Florence: Leo S. Olschki.

Foss, Clive. 1996. *Nicaea: A Byzantine Capital and Its Praises*. Brookline, Mass.: Hellenic College Press.

Franchi, Roberta. 2016. 'Approaching the "Spiritual Gospel": Nonnus as Interpreter of John'. In *Brill's Companion to Nonnus of Panopolis*, edited by Domenico Accorinti, 240–66. Leiden/Boston, Mass.: Brill.

Frazier, Alison, and Patrick Nold, eds. 2015. *Essays in Renaissance Thought and Letters: In Honour of John Monfasani*. Leiden/Boston, Mass.: Brill.

Frei-Stolba, Regula. 1998. *Jacques Bongars* (*1554–1612*)*, homme d'état et homme de lettres et son voyage à Constantinople*. Tulcea: Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale.

Friedenthal, Meelis, and Janika Päll. 2017. 'Pneumatoloogiast üldiselt ja Gezeliuse kreekakeelsetest pneumatoloogilistest disputatsioonidest spetsiifiliselt'. In *Kroonikast epitaafini. Eesti- ja Liivimaa varauusaegsest haridus- ja kultuurielust*, edited by Katre Kaju, 183–237. Tartu: Rahvusarhiiv.

Friedenthal, Meelis, and Pärtel Piirimäe. 2016. 'Philosophical Disputations at the University of Tartu 1632–1710: Boundaries of a Discipline'. *Studia Philosophica Estonica* 8: 65–90.

Frijhoff, Willem. 1996. 'Grundlagen'. In *Geschichte der Universität in Europa*, edited by Walter Rüegg, vol. II, *Von der Reformation zur Franzosischen Revolution* (*1500–1800*), 53–102. Munich: C. H. Beck.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Fryde, Edmund. B. 2000. *The Early Palaeologan Renaissance (1261–c. 1360)*. Leiden/Boston, Mass./Cologne: Brill.

Fubini, Riccardo. 1990. *Umanesimo e secolarizzazione da Petrarca a Valla*. Rome: Bulzoni.

Fubini, Riccardo. 2003. *Humanism and Secularization from Petrarch to Valla*. Translated by Martha King. Durham: Duke University Press.

Fuks, Lajb, and Renate Gertrud Fuks-Mansfeld. 1984. *Hebrew Typography in the Northern Netherlands, 1585–1815: Historical Evaluation and Descriptive Bibliography. Part One*. Leiden: Brill.

Fumaroli, Marc, ed. 1994. *Les origines du Collège de France*. Paris: Collège de France/Klincksieck.

Fumaroli, Marc. 2002. *L'âge de l'éloquence. Rhétorique et "Res Literaria" de la Renaissance au Seuil de l'Époque Classique*. Geneva: Droz. Reprint of the edition by Honoré Champion, Paris (1980).

Funis, Francesca. 2006. 'Sotto il segno del capricorno. I greci nella chiesa di San Iacopo in Acquaviva'. *Nuovi studi livornesi* 13: 55–67.

Furlan, Italo. 2012. 'Venise et son empire du Levant. Carrefour de circulation d'idées et d'oeuvres d'art au XIIIe siècle'. In *Orient et Occident méditerranéens au XIIIe siècle. Les programmes picturaux*, edited by Jean-Pierre Caillet and Fabienne Joubert, 177–96. Paris: Picard.

Furno, Martine. 2017. 'How Did They Use Dictionaries? An Overview on Greek-Latin Dictionaries during the Sixteenth Century (1478–1595).' *Mediterranean Chronicle* 7: 139–58.

Furtwängler, Adolf. 1900. *Die antiken Gemmen. Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst im klassischen Altertum*. 3 vols. Leipzig/Berlin: Giesecke & Devrient.

Fyrigos, Antonis. 1980. 'Catalogo cronologico degli alunni e dei convittori del Pont. Collegio greco in Roma (1576–1640)'. *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 34: 75–104.

Gadoffre, Gilbert. 1997. *La révolution culturelle dans la France des humanistes. Guillaume Budé et François Ier*. Geneva: Droz.

Galoppini, Laura. 2001. '"Nationes" toscane nelle Fiandre'. In *Comunità forestiere e 'nationes' nell'Europa dei secoli XIII–XVI*, edited by Giovanna Petti Balbi, 135–63. Naples: Liguori.

Gamillscheg, Ernst, Dieter Harlfinger, and Paolo Eleuteri. 1981–1997. *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800–1600*. 3 vols. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Garber, Daniel. 2006. 'The Aristotelian Framework'. In *The Cambridge History of Science*, edited by David C. Lindberg and Ronald L. Numbers, vol. III, *Early Modern Science*, edited by Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, 25–26. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Garber, Klaus. 2001–2013. *Handbuch des personalen Gelegenheitsschrifttums in europäischen Bibliotheken und Archiven*. 31 vols. Hildesheim/New York, N.Y.: Olms-Weidmann.

Garstein, Oskar. 1992. *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia: Jesuit Educational Strategy, 1553–1622*. Leiden/New York, N.Y./Copenhagen/Cologne: Brill.

Garrison, Edward B. 1976. *Italian Romanesque Panel Painting: An Illustrated Index*. 2nd ed. New York, N.Y.: Hacker Art Books.

Gärtner, Thomas. 2017. 'Der Troja-Mythos in den eigenen Dichtungen Lorenz Rhodomans'. In *Hellenisti!—Altgriechisch als Literatursprache im neuzeitlichen Europa*, edited by Stefan Weise, 109–23. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.

Gasti, Eleni and Evangelos Gougoulis. 2017. 'Melanchthon's Latin Translations of Euripides' *Bacchae* and *Orestes*'. *Mediterranean Cronicle* 7: 159–70.

Gaston, Robert W., ed. 1988. *Pirro Ligorio: Artist and Antiquarian*. Milan: Silvana.

Geanakoplos, Deno John. 1962. *Greek Scholars in Venice: Studies in the Dissemination of Greek Learning from Byzantium to Western Europe*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Geanakoplos, Deno John. 1966a. *Byzantine East and Latin West: Two Worlds of Christendom in Middle Ages and Renaissance : Studies in Ecclesiastical and Cultural History*. New York, N.Y./Evanston, Ill.: Harper & Row Publishers.

Geanakoplos, Deno John. 1966b. 'Byzantium and Renaissance: The Greco-Byzantine Colony in Venice and Its Significance in the Renaissance'. In Id., *Byzantine East and Latin West: Two Worlds of Christendom in Middle Ages and Renaissance: Studies in Ecclesiastical and Cultural History*, 112–37. New York, N.Y./Evanston, Ill.: Harper & Row Publishers.

Geanakoplos, Deno John. 1968. 'The Library of the Cretan Humanist-Bishop Maximos Margounios, Especially His Collection of Latin Books Bequeathed to Mount Athos'. In *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ β' διέθνους κρητολογικοῦ συνεδρίου. Χανιά, 12–17 Ἀπριλίου 1966*, vol. III, 75–91. Athens: Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος "Ὁ Χρυσόστομος".

Geanakoplos, Deno John. 1974. 'The Discourse of Demetrius Chalcondyles on the Inauguration of Greek Studies at the University of Padua in 1463'. *Studies in the Renaissance* 21: 118–44.

Geanakoplos, Deno John. 1976. *Interaction of the "Sibling" Byzantine and Western Cultures in the Middle Ages and Italian Renaissance (330–1600)*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

Geanakoplos, Deno John. 1989. *Constantinople and the West: Essays on the Late Byzantine and Italian Renaissances and the Byzantine and Roman Churches*. Madison, Wis./London: University of Wisconsin Press.

Geanakoplos, Deno John. 1994. 'Some Important Episodes in the Relations between Greek and German Humanists in the 15th and 16th Century'. In *Graeca recentiora in Germania. Deutsch-griechische Kulturbeziehungen vom 15. bis 19. Jahrhundert*, edited by Hans Eideneier, 27–46. Wiesbaden: Harassowitz.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Gentili, Gino Vicilio. 1999. *La villa Romana di Piazza Armerina. Palazzo Erculio*. 3 vols. Osimo: Fondazione Don Carlo.

George, Verne Saul. 1948. *A Study of the Paolo Giovio Portrait Gallery through the Woodcuts of Tobias Stimmer*. MA thesis. Los Angeles, Calif.: University of Southern California.

Gerretzen, Jan Gerard. 1940. *Schola Hemsterhusiana: De herleving der Grieksche studiën aan de Nederlandsche universiteiten in de achttiende eeuw van Perizonius tot en met Valckenaer*. Nijmegen/Utrecht: Dekker/Van de Vegt.

Giannopoulou, Vasiliki. 2007. 'Aristophanes in Translation before 1920'. In *Aristophanes in Performance, 421 BC–AD 2007: Peace, Birds and Frogs*, edited by Edith Hall and Amanda Wrigley, 309–42. London/Oxford: Legenda.

Gier, Helmut. 2010. 'Italienrezeption im Augsburger Humanismus'. In *Schwaben und Italien. Zwei europäische Kulturlandschaften zwischen Antike und Moderne. Aufsätze zur Bayerischen Landesausstellung 2010 'Bayern—Italien' in Füssen und Augsburg*, edited by Wolfgang Wüst, Peter Fassl, and Rainhard Riepertinger, 223–38. Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag.

Gierl, Martin. 2011. 'Historia literaria'. In *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit*, edited by Friedrich Jaeger, vol. v, 466–69. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung.

Gill, Joseph. 1959. *The Council of Florence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gill, Joseph. 1964. *Personalities of the Council of Florence and Other Essays*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Ginzburg, Carlo. 1981. *Indagini su Piero*. Turin: G. Einaudi.

Girot, Jean-Eudes. 2002. *Pindare avant Ronsard. De l'émergence du grec à la publication des "Quatre Premiers livres des Odes" de Ronsard*. Geneva: Droz.

Glaser, Tamas. 2006. 'The Remnants of the Hellenes: Problems of Greek Identity after the Fall of Constantinople'. In *Der Beitrag der Byzantinischen Gelehrten zur abendländischen Renaissance des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*, edited by Evangelos Konstantinou, 199–209. Frankfurt am Main/Bern/Berlin, etc.: Peter Lang.

Gleason, Maud. 2010. 'Making Space for Bicultural Identity: Herodes Atticus Commemorates Regilla'. In *Local Knowledge and Microidentities in the Imperial Greek World*, edited by Tim Whitmarsh, 125–62. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goldhill, Simon. 2002. *Who Needs Greek? Contests in the Cultural History of Hellenism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gombrich, Ernst H. 1955. 'Apollonio di Giovanni: A Florentine Cassone Workshop Seen through the Eyes of a Humanist Poet'. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 18: 16–34.

Grafton, Anthony T. 1983–1993. *Joseph Scaliger: A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Grafton, Anthony T. 1990. *Forgers and Critics: Creativity and Duplicity in Western Scholarship*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Grafton, Anthony T. 1997. *Commerce with the Classics: Ancient Books and Renaissance Readers*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: The University of Michigan Press.

Grafton, Anthony, and Lisa Jardine. 1986. 'The New Subject: Developing Greek Studies'. In Anthony T. Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe*, 99–121. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Grafton, Anthony T., and Joanna Weinberg. 2011. *'I Have Always Loved the Holy Tongue': Isaac Casaubon, the Jews, and a Forgotten Chapter in Renaissance Scholarship*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Gregori, Mina, ed. 2003/2004. *Το Φώς του Απόλλωνα. Ιταλική Αναγέννηση και Ελλάδα*. Athens/Milan: Πολιτιστική Ολυμπιάδα/Silvana.

Grell, Chantal. 1995. *Le XVIII^e siècle et l'antiquité en France, 1680–1789*. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation.

Grell, Ole Peter, and Andrew Cunningham, eds. 1993. *Medicine and the Reformation*. London/New York, N.Y.: Routledge.

Grendler, Paul F. 1989. *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300–1600*. Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Grenet, Mathieu. 2007. 'Naissance et affirmation d'une nation étrangère entre colonie et groupe de pression. Le cas des grecs à Venise entre le XV^e et le XVII^e siècle'. In *Commerce, voyage et expérience religieuse, XVI^e–XVIII^e siècles*, edited by Albrecht Burkardt, 419–38. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes.

Grenet, Mathieu. 2012. 'Entangled Allegiances: Ottoman Greeks in Marseille and the Shifting Ethos of Greekness (*c.*1790–*c.*1820)'. *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 36: 56–71.

Grenet, Mathieu. 2013. 'Appartenances régionales, expérience diasporique et fabrique communautaire. Le cas grec, fin XVI^e-début XIX^e siècle'. *Tracés—Revue de Sciences humaines* 23: 21–40.

Grossman, Janet Burnett. 2002. *Athletes in Antiquity: Works from the Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum*. Salt Lake City, Utah: Utah Museum of Fine Arts.

Guarducci, Margherita. 1967–1978. *Epigrafia greca*. 4 vols. Rome: Istituto poligrafico dello Stato.

Guenther, Ilse. 1995. 'Jan Heems'. In *Contemporaries of Erasmus. A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, edited by Peter G. Bietenholz and Thomas B. Deutscher, vol. 11, 170–71. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Haag, Eugène, and Émile Haag. 1846–1859. *La France protestante ou vies des protestants français*. 10 vols. Paris: Joël Cherbuliez.

Häberlein, Mark, and Johannes Burkhardt, eds. 2002. *Die Welser. Neue Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des oberdeutschen Handelshauses*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Hagen, Hermann. 1874. *Jacobus Bongarsius. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der gelehrten Studien des 16.-17. Jahrhunderts*. Bern: A. Fischer.

Hahnloser, Hans R. 1956. 'Scola et artes cristellariorum de Veneciis 1284–1319. Opus venetum ad filum'. In *Venezia e l'Europa. Atti del XVIII Congresso Internazionale di Storia dell'Arte, Venezia 12–18 settembre 1955*, 157–65. Venice: Arte Veneta.

Hahnloser, Hans R., and Susanne Brugger-Koch. 1985. *Corpus der Hartsteinschliffe des 12.–15. Jahrhunderts*. Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft.

Haldon, John. 2016. '*Res publica byzantina*? State Formation and Issues of Identity in Medieval East Rome'. *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 40: 4–16.

Hall, Edith. 1989. *Inventing the Barbarian: Greek Self-Definition through Tragedy*. Oxford/New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press.

Hall, Edith, and Amanda Wrigley, eds. 2007. *Aristophanes in Performance 421 BC–AD 2007. Peace, Birds and Frogs*. Oxford: Legenda.

Hamel, Debra. 2003. *Trying Neaira: The True Story of a Courtesan's Scandalous Life in Ancient Greece*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Hamesse, Jacqueline. 1999. 'The Scholastic Model of Reading'. In *A History of Reading in the West*, edited by Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier, translated by Lydia G. Cochrane, 103–19. Amherst/Boston, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press.

Hamilton, Alistair. 1996. 'Humanists and the Bible'. In *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism*, edited by Jill Kraye, 110–117. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hankins, James. 1991. *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*. 2 vols. Leiden/Boston, Mass./Cologne: Brill.

Hankins, James. 1995. 'Renaissance Crusaders: Humanist Crusade Literature in the Age of Mehmed II'. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49: 111–207.

Hankins, James. 2003–2004. 'Greek Studies in the Latin West', in James Hankins, *Humanism and Platonism in the Italian Renaissance*, vol. 1, *Humanism*, 273–91. Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura.

Hansen, Morten Steen. 2004. 'Immigrants and Church Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Ancona'. In *Artistic Exchange and Cultural Translation in the Italian Renaissance City*, edited by Stephen John Cambell, 327–54. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hansson, Stina, ed. 2003. *Progymnasmata. Retorikens bortglömda. Text och tankeform*. Åstorp: Rhetor.

Harlfinger, Dieter, ed. 1989. *Graecogermania. Griechischstudien deutscher Humanisten. Die Editionstätigkeit der Griechen in der italienischen Renaissance* (*1469–1523*). Weinheim/New York, N.Y.: VCH.

Harloe, Katherine and Neville Morley, eds. 2012. *Thucydides and the Modern World: Reception, Reinterpretation and Influence from the Renaissance to the Present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Harper, James G. 2005. 'Trojans as Turks: Visual Imagery of the Trojan War and the Politics of Cultural Identity in Fifteenth-Century Europe'. In *Postcolonial Approaches to the European Middle Ages: Translating Cultures*, edited by Ananya Jahanara Kabir and Deanne Williams, 151–79. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Harris, Jason. 2004. 'The Religious Position of Abraham Ortelius'. In *The Low Countries as a Crossroads of Religious Beliefs*, edited by Arie-Jan Gelderblom, Jan L. de Jong, and Marc van Vaeck, 90–137. Leiden/Boston, Mass.: Brill.

Harris, Jonathan. 1995. *Greek Émigrés in the West, 1400–1520*. Camberley: Porphyrogenitus.

Harris, Jonathan. 2000a. 'Being a Byzantine after Byzantium: Hellenic Identity in Renaissance Italy'. *Κάμπος: Cambridge Papers in Modern Greek* 8: 25–44.

Harris, Jonathan. 2000b. 'Greek Scribes in England: The Evidence of Episcopal Registers'. In *Through the Looking Glass: Byzantium through British Eyes*, edited by Robin Cormack and Elizabeth Jeffreys, 121–26. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Harris, Jonathan. 2002. 'Byzantium. Byzantines in Renaissance Italy'. *The ORB: On-Line Reference Book for Medieval Studies*. <the-orb.arlima.net/encyclop/late/laterbyz/harris-ren.html>.

Harris, Jonathan. 2011. 'Greeks at the Papal Curia in the Fifteenth Century: The Case of George Vranas, Bishop of Dromore and Elphin'. In *Greeks, Latins and Intellectual History*, edited by Martin Hinterberger, 423–28. Leuven: Peeters.

Harris, Jonathan. 2013. 'Despots, Emperors and Balkan Identity in Exile'. *Sixteenth Century Journal* 44: 643–61.

Harris, Jonathan, Catherine Holmes, and Eugenia Russell, eds. 2012. *Byzantines, Latins, and Turks in the Eastern Mediterranean World after 1150*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Harrison, Verna E. F. 2012. 'Illuminated from All Sides by the Trinity: Neglected Themes in Gregory's Trinitarian Theology'. In *Re-Reading Gregory of Nazianzus*, edited by Christoper A. Beeley, 13–30. Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press.

Harsting, Pernille. 2001. 'Four Autograph Poems by Jacobus Jasparus Danus (fl. 1529–1549)'. *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* 27: 151–60.

Hartnup, Karen. 2004. *'On the Beliefs of the Greeks': Leo Allatios and Popular Orthodoxy*. Leiden/Boston, Mass.: Brill.

Hassiotis, Ioannis K., ed. 2000. *Πηγές της κυπριακής ιστορίας από το ισπανικό αρχείο Simancas: από τη μικροϊστορία της κυπριακής διασποράς κατά τον ΙΣΤ' και ΙΖ' αιώνα*. Nicosia: Κέντρο Επιστημονικών Ερευνών Κύπρου.

Hassiotis, Ioannis K. 2008. *Tendiendo puentes en el mediterraneo. Estudios sobre las relaciones Hispano-Griegas* (*SS. XV–XIX*). Granada: Centro de Estudios Bizantinos, Neogriegos y Chipriotas.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Hassiotis, Ioannis K. 2011. 'Las emigraciones griegas a la Italia meridional en los siglos XVI y XVII y su documentación simanquina'. In *Hacer historia desde Simancas. Homenaje a José Luis Rodríguez de Diego*, edited by Alberto Marcos Martín, 327–438. Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León.

Hauser, A. J. and D. F. Watson, eds. 2009. *A History of Biblical Interpretation*, vol. II, *The Medieval Though the Reformation Periods.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans.

Head, Barclay V. 1967. *Historia Numorum. A Manual of Greek Numismatics*. 2nd ed. Chicago, Ill.: Argonaut.

Heath, Michael J. 1979. 'Renaissance Scholars and the Origins of the Turks'. *Bibliothèque d' Humanisme et Renaissance* 41: 453–71.

Heesakkers, Chris. 1976. *Praecidanea Dousana: Materials for a Biography of Janus Dousa Pater (1545–1604). His Youth*. Amsterdam: Holland University Press.

Heikkilä, Markku, and Simo Heininen. 2016. *A History of the Finnish Church*. Helsinki: Suomalainen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Helk, Vello. 1977. *Die Jesuiten in Dorpat 1583–1625. Ein Vorposten der Gegenreformation in Nordosteuropa*. Odense: Odense University Press.

Helm, Jürgen. 2001. 'Protestant and Catholic Medicine in the Sixteenth Century? The Case of Ingolstadt Anatomy'. *Medical History* 45: 83–96.

Hendriks, W. Th. M. 1968. 'Hubertus Goltzius van Venlo, schilder, graveur, geschiedschrijver, drukker, en numismaticus, 1526–1583'. *Spiegel der Historie* 9: 320–26.

Henzen, Wilhelm. 1877. 'Zu den Fälschungen des Pirro Ligorio'. In *Commentationes philologae in honorem Theodori Mommseni scripserunt amici*, 627–43. Berlin: Weidmann.

Hernández de la Fuente, David. 2016. 'The Influence of Nonnus on Baroque and Modern Literature'. In *Brill's Companion to Nonnus of Panoplis*, edited by Domenico Accorinti, 714–53. Leiden/Boston, Mass.: Brill.

Herren, Michael W. ed. 1988. *The Sacred Nectar of the Greeks: The Study of Greek in the West in the Early Middle Ages*. London: King's College.

Herrin, Judith, and Stuart M. McManus. 2013. 'Renaissance Encounters: Byzantium Meets the West at the Council of Ferrara-Florence 1438–39'. In *Renaissance Encounters: Greek East and Latin West*, edited by Marina S. Brownlee and Dimitri Gondicas, 35–56. Leiden: Brill.

Hess, Günther. 1979. 'Deutsche Literaturgeschichte und neulateinische Literatur. Aspekte einer gestörten Rezeption'. In *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Amstelodamensis*, edited by Eckhard Kessler, G. C. Kuiper, and Pierre Tuynman, 493–538. Munich: Wilhelm Fink.

Hetherington, Paul. 1973. '"The Poets" in the *Ἑρμηνεία* of Dionysius of Fourna'. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 27: 317–322.

Hexter, Jack H. 1975. *L'Utopia di Moro*. Naples: Guida.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Hexter, Ralph. 1998. 'Aldus, Greek and the Shape of the Classical Corpus'. In *Aldus Manutius and Renaissance Culture: Essays in Memory of Franklin D. Murphy. Acts of an International Conference, Venice and Florence, 14–17 June 1998*, edited by David S. Zeidberg and Fiorella Gioffredi Superbi, 143–60. Florence: Leo S. Olschki.

Highet, Gilbert. 2015. *The Classical Tradition: Greek and Roman Influences on Western Literature. With a New Foreword by Harald Bloom*. New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press. Reprint of the edition by Clarendon, Oxford (1949).

Hieronymus, Frank, ed. 1992. *'Εν Βασιλείᾳ πόλει τῆς Γερμανίας. Griechischer Geist aus Basler Pressen*. Basel: Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität Basel.

Hilgert, Earle. 1971. 'Johann Froben and the Basel University Scholars, 1513–1523'. *The Library Quarterly* 41: 141–69.

Hinterberger, Martin, and Christopher David Schabel, eds. 2011. *Greeks, Latins and Intellectual History, 1204–1500*. Leuven: Peeters.

Hladký, Vojtěch. 2014. *The Philosophy of Gemistos Plethon: Platonism in Late Byzantium, Between Hellenism and Orthodoxy*. Burlington: Ashgate.

Hobson, Anthony. 1999. *Renaissance Book Collecting: Jean Grolier and Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Their Books and Bindings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hofman, Georg. 1940. *Papato, conciliarismo, patriarcato* (*1438–39*). Rome: Saler.

Hofmann, Heinz. 2000. 'Neulateinische Literatur: Aufgaben und Perspektiven'. *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch* 2: 57–97.

Holloway, Ernest R. 2011. *Andrew Melville and Humanism in Renaissance Scotland* (*1545–1622*). Leiden/Boston, Mass.: Brill.

Hollstein, Wilhelm. 2013. 'Die *Fasti Magistratuum et Triumphorum Romanorum* des Hubertus Goltzius. Eine Analyse der Münzbilder'. In *Translatio Nummorum. Römische Kaiser in der Renaissance. Akten des internationalen Symposium* (*Berlin, 16.-18. November 2011*), edited by Ulrike Peter and Bernhard Weisser, 71–90. Mainz/Wiesbaden: Rutzen/Harassowitz.

Holton, David. 1972. 'A Set of Sixteenth Century Woodcuts in Greek Popular Texts'. *'Ελληνικά* 25: 371–76.

Holton, David. 2009. *Literature and Society in Renaissance Crete.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Holzberg, Niklas. 1981. *Willibald Pirckheimer. Griechischer Humanismus in Deutschland*. Munich: Wilhelm Fink.

Hoven, René. 1970. 'Antoine de la Marck, dédicataire d'Érasme, d'Amerot et de Gonthier d'Andernach'. *Leodium* 57: 5–17.

Hoven, René. 1985. *Bibliographie de trois auteurs de grammaires grecques contemporains de Nicolas Clénard. Adrien Amerot, Arnold Oridryus, Jean Varennius*. Aubel: P. M. Gason.

Howald, Ernst. 1946. *Der Dichter der Ilias*. Erlenbach/Zürich: E. Rentsch.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Howard, Deborah. 1994. 'Responses to Ancient Greek Architecture in Renaissance Venice'. *Annali di Architettura* 6: 23–38.

Huber, Paul. 1973. *Bild und Botschaft*. Zürich/Freiburg im Breisgau: Atlantis.

Huber-Rebenich, Gerlinde. 2006. 'Neue Funktionen der Dichtung im Humanismus?' In *Funktionen des Humanismus. Studien zum Nutzen des Neuen in der humanistischen Kultur*, edited by Thomas Maissen and Gerrit Walther, 49–75. Göttingen: Wallstein.

Huber-Rebenich, Gerlinde. 2011. 'Der Beginn der "Altertumswissenschaften" an der Salana—Johannes Stigel'. In *Die klassische Altertumswissenschaft an der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena. Eine Ringvorlesung zu ihrer Geschichte*, edited by Meinolf Vielberg, 9–30. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.

Huber-Rebenich, Gerlinde, ed. 2015. *Jacques Bongars (1554–1612). Gelehrter und Diplomat im Zeitalter des Konfessionalismus*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Hughes, Diane Owen. 1986. 'Distinguishing Signs: Earrings, Jews, and Franciscan Rhetoric in the Italian Renaissance City'. *Past and Present* 112: 3–59.

Hülsen, Christian. 1901. 'Die Hermeninschriften berühmter Griechen und die ikonographischen Sammlungen des XVI. Jh.' *Mitteilungen des kaiserlich deutschen archaeologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 16: 123–208.

Hülsen-Esch, Andrea von. 2006. *Gelehrte im Bild. Repräsentation, Darstellung und Wahrnehmung einer sozialen Gruppe im Mittelalter*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Hummel, Pascale. 1999. 'Un opuscule-relais. Le *De dialectis* (1520/1530) d'Adrien Amerot'. *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 61 : 479–94.

Hummel, Pascale. 2007. *De lingua Graeca. Histoire de l'histoire de la langue grecque*. Bern/Berlin/Brussels, etc.: Peter Lang.

Hutton, James. 1935. *The Greek Anthology in Italy to the Year 1800*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Hutton, James. 1946. *The Greek Anthology in France and in the Latin Writers of the Netherlands to the Year 1800*. New York, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Hyde, J. K. 1966. 'Medieval Descriptions of Cities'. *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 48: 308–40.

Iasiello, Italo M. 2003. *Il collezionismo di antichità nella Napoli dei Viceré*. Naples: Liguori.

Ignashina, E. V., and Yu. B. Komarova. 2008. *Русская икона XI–XIX веков в собрании Новгородского музея*. Moscow: Северный Паломник.

IJsewijn, Jozef. 1988. 'Agricola as a Greek Scholar'. In *Rodolphus Agricola Phrisius: 1444–1485*, edited by Fokke Akkerman and Arie Johan Vanderjagt, 21–37. Leiden/New York, N.Y./Copenhagen/Cologne: Brill.

IJsewijn, Jozef. 1990. *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies. Part I: History and Diffusion of Neo-Latin Literature*. 2nd ed. Leuven: Leuven University Press.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

IJsewijn, Jozef, and Dirk Sacré. 1998. *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies. Part II: Literary, Linguistic, Philological and Editorial Questions*. 2nd ed. Leuven: Leuven University Press.

Imbart de la Tour, Pierre. 1946. *Les origines de la Réforme*. 2nd ed. Melun: Librairie d'Argences.

Important and Fine Old Master Pictures. 1995. *Sale Catalogue, Christie's, London*. London: Christie's.

Ingemarsdotter, Jenny. 2011. *Ramism, Rhetoric and Reform: An Intellectual Biography of Johan Skytte (1577–1645)*. Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet.

Inno, Karl. 1972. *Tartu University in Estonia during the Swedish Rule (1632–1710)*. Stockholm: Vaba Eesti.

Innocente, Lucia. 1996. 'Sul significato di *barbarophonos*'. *Incontri linguistici* 19: 121–26.

Irigoin, Jean. 1998. 'L'enseignement du grec à Paris (1476–1530). Manuels et texts'. In *Les Origines du Collège de France (1500–1560). Actes du colloque international, Paris, décembre 1995*, edited by Marc Fumaroli, 391–404. Paris: Collège de France.

Jaanson, Ene-Lille. 2000. *Tartu Ülikooli trükikoda 1632–1710. Ajalugu ja trükiste bibliograafia. Druckerei der Universität Dorpat 1632–1720. Geschichte und Bibliographie der Druckschriften*. Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Raamatukogu.

Jacoby, David. 2001. 'The Urban Evolution of Latin Constantinople (1204–1261)'. In *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*, edited by Nevra Necipoğlu, 277–97. Leiden/Boston, Mass./Cologne: Brill.

Jacoby, Felix. 1904. *Das Marmor Parium*. Berlin: Weidmann.

Jacono, Carmela. 1962. *Bibliografia di Leone Allacci, 1588–1669*. Palermo: Presso l'Accademia.

Jauernig, Reinhold, and Georg Mentz. 1944. *Matrikel der Universität Jena. 1548–1652*. Jena: G. Fischer.

Jeffreys, Elizabeth. 1975. 'Constantine Hermoniakos and Byzantine Education'. *Δωδώνη* 4: 81–109.

Joby, Christopher. 2018. 'The Reception of Ancient Latin and Greek Authors in Early Modern Norwich'. *The International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 28: 1–35.

Johnson, Diane L. 2006. 'Musa Posseliana: Johannes Posselius the Elder (1528–91) and the Lutheran Greek Program'. *Reformation & Renaissance Review* 8: 186–209.

Jones, Howard. 2004. *Printing the Classical Text*. Utrecht: Hes & de Graaf Publishers.

Jurkowlaniec, Grażyna. 2009. 'West and East Perspectives on the "Greek Manner" in the Early Modern Period'. *Ikonotheka* 22: 71–91.

Kaczynski, Bernice W. 1988. *Greek in the Carolingian Age: The St. Gall Manuscripts*. Cambridge, Mass.: The Medieval Academy of America.

Kagan, Jonathan. 2013. 'Notes on the Study of Greek Coins in the Renaissance'. In *Translatio Nummorum. Römische Kaiser in der Renaissance. Akten des*

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Internationalen Symposiums, Berlin 16.-18. November 2011, edited by Ulrike Peter and Bernhard Weisser, 57–70. Mainz/Wiesbaden: Rutzen/Harassowitz.

Kajanto, Iiro. 1994. 'On Lapidary Style in Epigraphy and Literature in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century'. *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 43: 137–72.

Kaju, Katre. 2006. 'Keelevalik Tartu Academia Gustaviana aegses pulmaluules (1632–1656)'. In *Läänemere provintside arenguperspektiivid Rootsi suurriigis 16.–17. sajandil II*, edited by Enn Küng, 50–82. Tartu: Eesti Ajalooarhiiv.

Kaju, Katre. 2010. 'Die Heinrich Stahl gewidmeten Hochzeitssammlungen'. In *Classical Tradition from the 16th Century to Nietzsche*, edited by Janika Päll, Martin Steinrück, and Ivo Volt, 11–44. Tartu: Tartu University Press.

Kaklamanis, Stephanos. 1985. 'Τα πρώτα χρόνια της ζωής του Φραγκίσκου Πόρτου (1511–1525). *Αριάδνη* 3: 283–94.

Kaklamanis, Stephanos. 1993. 'Αρχειακές μαρτυρίες για τη ζωή του Ανδρέα Κουνάδη και του Δαμιανού di Santa Maria'. In *Αρχές της νεοελληνικής λογοτεχνίας. Πρακτικά του Δεύτερου Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Neograeca Medii Aevi* (*Βενετία, 7–10 Νοεμβρίου 1991*), edited by Nikolaos M. Panayiotakes, 595–605. Venice: Istituto ellenico di studi bizantini e postbizantini di Venezia.

Kakrides, Ioannes Th. 1971. *Homer Revisited*. Lund: Gleerup.

Kalatzi, Maria. 2009. *Hermonymos: A Study in Scribal, Literary, and Teaching Activities in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries*. Athens: Μορφωτικό Ίδρυμα Εθνικής Τραπέζης.

Kalatzi, Maria, and Peter Ainsworth. 2006. 'Georgios Hermonymos: A Greek Scribe and Teacher in Paris'. In *Patrons, Authors, and Workshops: Books and Book Production in Paris around 1400*, edited by Godfried Croenen, 355–65. Leuven: Peeters.

Kaldellis, Anthony. 2007. *Hellenism in Byzantium: The Transformations of Greek Identity and the Reception of the Classical Tradition*. Cambridge/New York, N.Y.: Cambridge University Press.

Kaldellis, Anthony. 2014. *A New Herodotos: Laonikos Chalkokondyles on the Ottoman Empire, the Fall of Byzantium and the Emergence of the West*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks.

Kallendorf, Craig. 2011. 'Aldo Manuzio (Aldus Manutius)'. *Oxford Bibliographies Online Research Guide*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kantorowicz, Hermann. 1968. 'La vita di Tommaso Diplovataccio'. *Studia Gratiana* 10: 1–140.

Kapitza, Peter K. 1981. *Ein bürgerlicher Krieg in der gelehrten Welt. Zur Geschichte der Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes in Deutschland*. Munich: Wilhelm Fink.

Karamanolakis, Vangelis D., Olga Katsiardi-Hering, Katerina Nikolaou, and Anastasia Papadia-Lala, eds. 2018. *'Έλλην', 'Ρωμηός', 'Τραικός': Συλλογικοί προσδιορισμοί και ταυτότητες*. Athens: Εκδόσεις Ευρασία.

Karamanolis, George. 2003. 'Was There a Stream of Greek Humanists in the Late Renaissance?' *Έλληνικά* 53: 19–47.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Karrow Jr., Robert W. 1993. *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century and Their Maps*. Chicago, Ill.: Speculum Orbis Press.

Katrames, Nikolaos. 1880. *Φιλολογικὰ ἀνάλεκτα Ζακύνθου*. Zakynthos: Αὐγή.

Kazhdan, Alexander P., and Ann Wharton Epstein. 1985. *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press.

Kecskeméti, Judit. 2014. *Fédéric Morel II, éditeur, traducteur et imprimeur*. Turnhout: Brepols.

Kecskeméti, Judit, Bénédicte Boudou, Hélène Cazes, and Jean Céard, eds. 2003. *Henri II Estienne, éditeur et écrivain*. Turnhout: Brepols.

Keller, Albert. 1957. 'Two Byzantine Scholars and Their Reception in Italy'. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtald Institutes* 20: 363–70.

Kelley, Donald R. 1970. *Foundations of Modern Historical Scholarship: Language, Law, and History in the French Renaissance*. New York, N.Y.: Columbia University Press.

Kennerley, Sam Joseph. 2017. *The Reception of John Chrysostom and the Study of Ancient Christianity in Early Modern Europe, c.1440–1600*. PhD thesis. Cambridge: University of Cambridge.

Kerner, Wolfgang. 1967. 'Studien zum Diptychon in der sakralen Malerei von den Anfängen bis zur Mitte des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts'. Tübingen: Universität Tübingen.

Kessler, Mesguich, Sylvie. 2013. *Les études hébraïques en France de François Tissard à Richard Simon* (*1508–1680*). Geneva: Droz.

Kidwell, Carol. 1989. *Marullus, Soldier Poet of the Renaissance*. London: Duckworth.

Kinderling, Johann Friedrich August. 1792. 'Anmerkungen über Herrn Erduin Julius Kochs Compendium der Teutschen Literatur-Geschichte […]'. *Historisch-litterarisch-bibliographisches Magazin* 6: 1–45.

King, David A. 2001. *The Ciphers of the Monks: A Forgotten Number-Notation of the Middle Ages*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.

Kiousopoulou, Tonia. 2011. *Emperor or Manager: Power and Political Ideology in Byzantium before 1453*. Translated by Paul Magdalino. Geneva: La pomme d'or.

Kipf, Stefan. 1999. *Herodot als Schulautor. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Griechischunterrichts in Deutschland vom 15. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*. Vienna/Cologne/Weimar: Böhlau.

Kivimäe, Jüri. 2016. 'Nedt Tarckat Pagkana Ramato Kiriutaÿat […] Georg Mülleri raamatukogu'. In *Konfessioon ja kirjakultuur*, edited by Piret Lotman, 55–97. Tallinn: Estonian National Library.

Kivistö, Sari, and Hannu K. Riikonen. 2007. 'Antiikin kirjallisuus ja suomennokset uuslatinasta ja humanistikreikasta'. In *Suomennoskirjallisuuden historia*, edited by Hannu K. Riikonen, vol. II, 43–44. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Klemming, Gustaf Edvard, and Johann Gabriel Nordin. 1883. *Svensk Boktryckeri-historia*. Stockholm: Norstedt.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Klinger, Linda Susan. 1991. *The Portrait Collection of Paolo Giovio*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Klippel, Georg Heinrich. 1853. *Deutsche Lebens- und Charakterbilder aus den letzten drei Jahrhunderten*. Bremen: Geisler.

Klitenic Wear, Sarah. 2011. 'Ficino's Hymns and the Renaissance Platonic Academy'. In *Laus Platonici Philosophi: Marsilio Ficino and His Influence*, edited by Stephen Clucas, Peter J. Forshaw, and Valery Rees, 133–48. Leiden/Boston, Mass./Cologne: Brill.

Klöker, Martin. 2005. *Literarisches Leben in Reval in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts (1600–1657). Institutionen der Gelehrsamkeit und Dichten bei Gelegenheit*. 2 vols. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Klose, Dietrich O., and Gerd Stumpf. 1996. *Sport, Spiele, Sieg. Münzen und Gemmen der Antike*. Munich: Staatliche Munzsammlung.

Koch, Nadia. 2004. 'Phidias und Polyklet im Agon. Die neueren archäologischen und kunsthistorischen Forschungen zur Rezeption griechischer Bildhauer in der Renaissance'. *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 11: 244–65.

Kohlndorfer-Fries, Ruth. 2009. *Diplomatie und Gelehrtenrepublik. Die Kontakte des französischen Gesandten Jacques Bongars (1554–1612)*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Kolbaba, Tia B. 2000. *The Byzantine Lists: Errors of the Latins*. Chicago, Ill.: University of Illinois Press.

Kolditz, Sebastian. 2013. *Johannes VIII. Palaiologos und das Konzil von Ferrara-Florenz (1438/39): das byzantinische Kaisertum im Dialog mit dem Westen*. 2 vols. Stuttgart: Hiersemann.

Kolk, Kaspar. 2018. 'Dissemination and Survival of a Book Printed in 17th-Century Tartu: The Case of Johannes Gezelius' *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum* (1649)'. In *Hellenostephanos. Humanist Greek in Early Modern Europe. Learned Communities Between Antiquity and Contemporary Culture*, edited by Janika Päll and Ivo Volt, 140–53. Tartu: University of Tartu Press.

Kolovou, Photini. 2012. *Byzanzrezeption in Europa. Spurensuche über das Mittelalter und die Renaissance bis in die Gegenwart*. Berlin/Boston, Mass.: Walter de Gruyter.

Konstantinou, Evangelos. 2006. *Der Beitrag der byzantinischen Gelehrten zur abendländischen Renaissance des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*. Frankfurt am Main/Bern/Berlin, etc.: Peter Lang.

Korenjak, Martin. 2016. *Geschichte der neulateinischen Literatur. Vom Humanismus bis zur Gegenwart*. Munich: C. H. Beck.

Korfmann, Manfred. 1993. 'TROIA-Ausgrabungen 1992'. *Studia Troica* 3: 1–37.

Korhonen, Tua. 2004. *Ateena Auran rannoilla. Humanistikreikkaa Kuninkaallisesta Turun akatemiasta*. Helsinki: Yliopistopaino.

Korhonen, Tua. 2007. 'Der frühe Philhellenismus und die griechische Tradition in Finnland des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts'. *Philhellenische Studien* 13: 61–67.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Korhonen, Tua. 2010. 'The Dissertations in Greek Supervised by Henrik Ausius in Uppsala in the Middle of the Seventeenth Century'. In *Classical Tradition from the 16th Century to Nietzsche*, edited by Janika Päll, Martin Steinrück, and Martin Volt, 89–113. Tartu: Tartu University Press.

Korhonen, Tua. 2018. 'Classical Authors and Pneumatological Questions: Greek Dissertations Supervised by Johannes Gezelius the Elder at the University of Tartu (Academia Gustaviana, 1644–1647)'. In *Hellenostephanos. Humanist Greek in Early Modern Europe. Learned Communities Between Antiquity and Contemporary Culture*, edited by Janika Päll and Ivo Volt, 154–182. Tartu: University of Tartu Press.

Korobeinikov, Dimitri. 2014. *Byzantium and the Turks in the Thirteenth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Koster, Daniël. 1995. *To Hellen's Noble Land* (*Στην ένδοξη Ελλάδα*)*: Dutch Accounts of Travellers, Geographers and Historians on Greece* (*1488–1854*) (*Ολλανδικές αφηγήσεις περιηγητών, γεωγράφων και ιστορικών για την Ελλάδα*). Athens/Groningen: Netherlands Institute at Athens.

Koumarianou, Ekaterina, Loukia Droulia, and Evro Layton. 1986. *Το ελληνικό βιβλίο, 1476–1830*. Athens: Εθνική Τράπεζα της Ελλάδος.

Kraye, Jill. 2002. *Classical Traditions in Renaissance Philosophy*. Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum.

Kraye, Jill. 2016. 'The Revival of Greek Studies in the West', in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. III, *From 1450 to 1750*, edited by Euan Cameron, 37–60. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kraay, Colin M. 1976. *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press.

Kraay, Colin M., and Max Hirmer. 1966. *Greek Coins*. London: Thames & Hudson Ltd.

Kraus, Manfred. 2005. 'Progymnasmata. Gymnasmata'. In *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik*, edited by Gertrud Ueding, vol. VII, 159–90. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Krause, Johann Heinrich. 1971. *Die Gymnastik und Agonistik der Hellenen*. Wiesbaden: Martin Sändig.

Kreem, Juhan. 2014. 'Das Augsburger Interim in Livland. Evangelische und Altgläubige in den baltischen Landen in der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts'. *Historisches Jahrbuch* 134: 121–41.

Kristeller, Paul Oskar. 1975. 'The Latin Poems of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola: A Supplementary Note'. In *Poetry and Poetics from Ancient Greece to the Renaissance: Studies in Honor of James Hutton*, edited by Gordon M. Kirkwood, 185–206. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Kühlmann, Wilhelm, and Hermann Wiegand. 1993. 'Neulateinische Literatur'. In *Literaturlexikon*, edited by Walther Killy, vol. XIV, *Begriffe, Realien, Methoden, s.v.* Munich: Bertelsmann Lexikon Verlag.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Kuhoff, Wolfgang. 2002. 'Markus Welser als Erforscher des römischen Augsburg'. In *Die Welser. Neue Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des oberdeutschen Handelshauses*, edited by Mark Häberlein and Johannes Burkhardt, 585–608. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

La Garanderie, Marie-Madeleine. 1995. *Christianisme et lettres profanes. Essai sur l'humanisme français (1515–1535) et sur la pensée de Guillaume Budé*. Paris: Honoré Champion.

Laigneau-Fontaine, Sylvie. 2013. 'Introduction'. In *Petite patrie. L'image de la région natale chez les écrivains de la Renaissance*, edited by Sylvie Laigneau-Fointaine, 9–14. Geneva: Droz.

Laine, Tuija, and Rita Nyqvist. 1996. *Suomen kansallisbibliografia 1488–1700 = Finlands nationalbibliografi 1488–1700 = Finnische Nationalbibliographie 1488–1700*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Laiou, Angeliki. 1972. *Constantinople and the Latins: The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II (1282–1328)*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Laiou, Angeliki. 1992. 'Byzantium and the West'. In *Byzantium: A World Civilization*, edited by Angeliki Laiou and Henry Maguire, 61–79. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Laiou, Angeliki. 2012. *Byzantium and the Other: Relations and Exchanges*. Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum.

Lambin, Gérard. 2016. *Anacréon. Fragments et imitations*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes.

Lamers, Han. [forthcoming]. 'Der Griechenlandbegriff des Wolfgang Lazius in Wort und Bild: Die Konstruktion des Griechischen Raums in den *Commentariorum Rerum Graecarum Libri II* (1558)'. In *Wolfgang Lazius (1514–1565)*, edited by Elisabeth Klecker, [45–83]. Vienna: Praesens.

Lamers, Han. 2015. *Greece Reinvented: Transformations of Byzantine Hellenism in Renaissance Italy*. Leiden/Boston, Mass.: Brill.

Lamers, Han. 2017. 'Wil de echte Griek opstaan? Verwantschap en vereenzelviging met de oude Grieken in vroegmodern Europa'. *Tetradio: Tijdschrift van het Griekenlandcentrum* 26: 101–29.

Lamers, Han. 2018a. 'Constructing Hellenism: Studies on the History of Greek Learning in Early Modern Europe. Introduction.' *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 25: 201–15.

Lamers, Han. 2018b. 'Hellenism and Cultural Unease in Italian Humanism: The Case of Francesco Filelfo.' In *Francesco Filelfo, Man of Letters*, edited by Jeroen De Keyser, 22–44. Leiden/Boston, Mass.: Brill.

Landfester, Manfred. 1988. *Humanismus und Gesellschaft im 19. Jahrhundert. Untersuchungen zur politischen und gesellschaftlichen Bedeutung der humanistischen Bildung in Deutschland*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Langston-Douglas, Robert. 1947. 'Assistant of Duccio: Scenes from the Life of Christ and from the Lives of the Virgin and St. Francis, with Fourteen Figures of Saints'. *The Art Quarterly* 10: 19–30.

Latacz, Joachim. 2004. *Troy and Homer: Towards a Solution of an Old Mystery*. Translated by Kevin Windle and Rosh Ireland. Oxford/New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press.

Laureys, Marc, and Anna Schreurs. 1996. 'Egio, Marliano, Ligorio and the Forum Romanum in the 16th Century'. *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 43: 385–405.

Lauvergnat-Gagnière, Christiane. 1988. *Lucien de Samosate et le lucianisme en France au XVI^e siècle. Athéisme et polémique*. Geneva: Droz.

Lauxtermann, Marc D. 1999. *The Spring of Rythm: An Essay on the Political Verse and Other Byzantine Metres*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Lauxtermann, Marc D. 2003. *Byzantine Poetry from Pisides to Geometres*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Layton, Evro. 1994. *The Sixteenth Century Greek Book in Italy: Printers and Publishers for the Greek World*. Venice: Istituto ellenico di studi bizantini e postbizantini di Venezia.

Lazarus, Micha. 2015a. 'Greek Literacy in Sixteenth-Century England'. *Renaissance Studies* 29: 433–58.

Lazarus, Micha. 2015b. 'Sidney's Greek *Poetics*'. *Studies in Philology* 112: 504–536.

Lazzarini, Lorenzo. 2009. 'Su alcune spighe inedite. Nuove attribuzioni alle zecche di Metaponto e Thurio'. *Schweizerische numismatische rundschau = Revue suisse de numismatique* 88: 73–80.

Le Gall, Jean-Marie. 2007. *Le mythe de Saint Denis, entre Renaissance et Révolution*. Paris: Champ Vallon.

Le Loup, Will. 1983. *Hubertus Goltzius en Brugge. 1583–1983. Tentoonstelling ingericht door de Stad brugge in het Gruuthusemuseum 11 november 1983–30 januari 1984*. Bruges: Stad Brugge.

Le Menn, Agnès. 1998. 'Jules-Raimond de Solier, premier « Écrivan générale » de la Provence'. *Provence historique* 191: 3–28.

Lee, Hugh M. 1984. 'Athletics and the Bikini Girls from Piazza Armerina'. *Stadion* 10: 45–76.

Lefranc, Abel. 1932. 'La fondation et les commencements du Collège de France'. In *Le Collège de France (1530–1930), livre jubilaire*, edited by Abel Lefranc, 27–58. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Lefranc, Abel. 1970. *Histoire du Collège de France, depuis ses origines jusqu'à la fin du Premier Empire*. Geneva: Slatkine Reprints. Reprint of the edition by Hachette, Paris (1893).

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Lehmann, Ursula. 2009. 'Die heikle Bartfrage. Verhandlungen und Zeremoniell anlässlich der Wahlannahme von (Gegen-)Papst Felix V.' *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 91: 79–98.

Lehmann-Hartleben, Karl. 1943. 'Cyriacus of Ancona, Aristotle and Teiresias in Samothrace'. *Hesperia* 12: 115–34.

Lenzo, Fulvio. 2011. *Architettura e antichità a Napoli dal XV al XVIII secolo. Le colonne del Tempio dei Dioscuri e la Chiesa di San Paolo Maggiore*. Rome: « L'Erma » di Bretschneider.

Lenzo, Fulvio. 2015. '*Ex dirutis marmoribus*: The Theatines and the Columns of the Temple of the Dioscuri in Naples'. In *Remembering Parthenope: The Reception of Classical Naples from Antiquity to the Present*, edited by Jessica Hughes and Claudio Buongiovanni, 242–65. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Leonhardt, Jürgen, and Claudia Schindler. 2007. 'Neue Quellen zum Alltag im Hörsaal vor 500 Jahren. Ein Tübinger Forschungsprojekt zur Leipziger Universität'. *Jahrbuch für Historische Bildungsforschung* 13: 31–56.

Leospo, Enrica. 1978. *La mensa isiaca di Torino*. Leiden: Brill.

Letrouit, Jean. 1999. 'La prise de notes de cours dans les collèges parisiens au XVI^{e} siècle'. *Revue de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France* 2: 47–56.

Lévy, Edmond. 1984. 'Naissance du concept de barbare'. *Ktèma* 9: 5–14.

Liddel, Peter. 2014. 'From Chronography to Liberal Imperialism: Greek Inscriptions, the History of Greece, and Historiography from Selden to Grote'. *Journal of the History of Collections* 26: 387–98.

Likoudis, James. 1983. *Ending the Byzantine Greek Schism*. New York, N.Y.: Catholics United for the Faith.

Lindemann, Friedrich. 1825. *Übungsbuch zur Fertigung griechischer Verse für die mittleren und oberen Classen der Gymnasien und Lyceen, zum öffentlichen Unterrichte und Selbstgebrauche*. Dresden: Wagnersche Buchhandlung.

Lindqvist, Herman. 1992–2006. *Historien om Sverige.* 11 vols. Stockholm: Nordstedt.

Lindroth, Sten. 1975. *Svensk lärdomshistoria*. 2 vols. Stockholm: Nordstedt.

Lines, David. 1999. 'The Commentary Literature on Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* in Early Renaissance Italy: Preliminary Considerations'. *Traditio* 54: 245–82.

Litsas, Efthymios K. 2009. 'Μαξίμου Μαργουνίου, Ἐπιστολές. 1. Κατάλογος ἐκδεδομένων ἐπιστολῶν'. *Ἑλληνικά* 59: 269–301.

Llompart, Gabriel. 1977–1980. *Pintura medieval mallorquina. Su entorno cultural y su iconografía*. 4 vols. Palma de Mallorca: Luis Ripoll.

Llompart, Gabriel. 1987. *La pintura gótica en Mallorca*. Barcelona: Polígrafa.

Lockhart, Paul Douglas. 2004. *Sweden in the Seventeenth Century*. Basingstoke/New York, N.Y.: Palgrave Macmillan.

Lonie, Iain. 1985. 'The Paris Hippocratics: Teaching and Research in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century'. In *The Medical Renaissance of the Sixteenth Century*, edited

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

by Andrew Wear, Roger French, and Iain Lonie, 155–74. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lotman, Piret. 2014. *Heinrich Stahli elu ja looming*. Tallinn: Eesti Rahvusraamatukogu.

Loverdou-Tsigarida, Katia. 1997a. '9.29. Δίπτυχο το λεγόμενο του Μιλούτιν'. In *Θησαυροί του Αγίου Όρους*, edited by Athanasios A. Karakatsanis, 323–26. Thessalonike: Museum of Byzantine Culture.

Loverdou-Tsigarida, Katia. 1997b. '9.30. Δίπτυχο με εικονίδια'. In *Θησαυροί του Αγίου Όρους*, edited by Athanasios A. Karakatsanis, 326–27. Thessalonike: Museum of Byzantine Culture.

Lowr, Charles H. 2000. 'Renaissance Latin Translations of the Greek Commentaries on Aristotle'. In *Humanism and Early Modern Philosophy*, edited by Jill Kraye and Martin F. Stone, 24–40. London: Routledge.

Lowry, Martin. 1979. *The World of Aldus Manutius: Business and Scholarship in Renaissance Venice*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Ludwig, Walther. 1998. *Hellas in Deutschland: Darstellungen der Gräzistik im deutschsprachigen Raum aus dem 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*. Hamburg: Jungius-Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.

Ludwig, Walther, ed. 2001a. *Die Musen im Reformationszeitalter*. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt.

Ludwig, Walther. 2001b. 'Musenkult und Gottesdienst. Evangelischer Humanismus im Reformationszeitalter'. In *Die Musen im Reformationszeitalter*, edited by Walther Ludwig, 9–51. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt.

Ludwig, Walther. 2012. 'Art und Zweck der Lehrmethode Melanchthons. Beobachtungen anlässlich der ersten Übersetzung seiner *Initia doctrinae physicae*'. In *Lehren und Lernen im Zeitalter der Reformation. Methoden und Funktionen*, edited by Gerlinde Huber-Rebenich, 91–113. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Ludwig, Walther. 2014. 'Der Humanist Laurentius Rhodomanus als griechischer Dichter Laurentios Rhodoman und seine Autobiographie von 1582'. *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch* 16: 137–71.

Ludwig, Walther. 2015. 'Die abgebrochene Orientreise von Jacques Bongars im Licht neuer Forschungen'. In *Jacques Bongars (1554–1612). Gelehrter und Diplomat im Zeitalter des Konfessionalismus*, edited by Gerlinde Huber-Rebenich, 89–96. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Ludwig, Walther. 2017. '*Scitis quanto semper amore Graecarum rerum flagrem*. Motive für den Höhepunkt des humanistischen griechischen Dichtens um 1600'. In *Hellenisti!—Altgriechisch als Literatursprache im neuzeitlichen Europa*, edited by Stefan Weise, 125–45. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.

Lundhall, K. O. 2017. 'Antonio Allegri da Corregio: The Greek Inscription in the Hermitage Portrait'. In *Teachers, Students, and Schools of Greek in the Renaissance*, edited by Federica Ciccolella and Luigi Silvano, 224–49. Leiden/Boston, Mass.: Brill.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Luzzi, Serena. 2003. *Stranieri in città. Presenza tedesca e società urbana a Trento* (*secoli XV–XVIII*). Bologna: Il Mulino.

Lymberopoulou, Angeliki. 2007. 'Audiences and Markets for Cretan Icons'. In *Viewing Renaissance Art*, edited by Kim W. Woods, Carol M. Richardson, and Angeliki Lymberopoulou, 170–206. New Haven, Conn./London: Yale University Press.

Lymberopoulou, Angeliki, and Rembrandt Duits, eds. 2013. *Byzantine Art and Renaissance Europe*. London/New York, N.Y.: Routledge.

MacDonald, Alasdair A., Bernhard Ridderbos, and R. M. Schlusemann, eds. 1998. *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late-Medieval Culture*. Groningen: Forsten.

Macrides, Ruth. 1980. 'The New Constantine and the New Constantinople—1261?' *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 6: 13–41.

Macrides, Ruth. 1994. 'From the Komnenoi to the Palaiologoi: Imperial Models in Decline and Exile'. In *New Constantines: The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th–13th Centuries*, edited by Paul Magdalino, 269–82. Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum.

Macrides, Ruth, and Paul Magdalino. 1988. 'The Architecture of Ekphrasis: Construction and Context of Paul the Silentiary's Poem on Hagia Sophia'. *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 12: 47–82.

Macrides, Ruth, J. A. Munitiz, and Dimiter Angelov. 2013. *Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court: Offices and Ceremonies*. Burlington: Ashgate.

Magdalino, Paul. 2012. 'The Beauty of Antiquity in Late Byzantine Praises of Constantinople'. In *Villes de toute beauté. L'ekphrasis des cités dans les littératures byzantine et byzantino-slaves*, edited by Paolo Odorico and Charis Messis, 101–21. Paris: École des hautes études en sciences sociales, Centre d'études byzantines, néo-helléniques et sud-est européennes.

Mainoni, Patrizia. 2001. 'La nazione che non c'è. I tedeschi a Milano e a Como tra Tre- e Quattrocento'. In *Comunità forestiere e 'nationes' nell'Europa dei secoli XIII–XVI*, edited by Giovanna Petti Balbi, 201–28. Naples: Liguori.

Maltby, Robert. 1991. *A Lexicon of Ancient Latin Etymologies*. Leeds: Francis Cairns Publications.

Maltezou, Chryssa. 2002. '"Stradioti": i difensori dei confini'. In *Ευρωπαϊκή Ακριτική Παράδοση: από τον Μεγαλέξαντρο στον Διγενή Ακρίτα - Επιστημονικές Συναντήσεις*, 47–57. Athens: Ακαδημία Αθηνών.

Maltezou, Chryssa. 2010. *Βενετοκρατούμενη Ελλάδα: Προσεγγίζοντας την ιστορία της*. Venice: Istituto ellenico di studi bizantini e postbizantini di Venezia.

Mandowsky, Erna. 1952–1954. 'Some Observations on Pirro Ligorio's Drawings of Roman Monuments in cod. B. XIII 7 at Naples'. *Rendiconti. Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 27: 335–58.

Mandowsky, Erna, and Charles Mitchell. 1963. *Pirro Ligorio's Roman Antiquities*. London: University of London.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Mangani, Giorgio. 2006. *Il 'mondo' di Abramo Ortelio. Misticismo, geografia e collezionismo nel Rinascimento dei Paesi Bassi*. Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini.

Mango, Cyril. 1963. 'Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder'. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 17: 55–75.

Mango, Cyril. 1986. *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312–1453*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Mango, Cyril. 1990. 'Constantine's Mausoleum and the Translation of Relics'. *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 83: 51–62.

Manoussakas, Manoussos. 1963. 'Ἡ παρουσίαση ἀπὸ τὸν Ἰανὸ Λάσκαρη τῶν πρώτων μαθητῶν τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Γυμνασίου τῆς Ῥώμης στον Πάπα Λέοντα Ι' (15 Φεβρουαρίου 1514)'. *Ὁ Ἐρανιστής* 1: 161–72.

Manoussakas, Manoussos. 1965. *Ἐκκλήσεις (1453–1535) τῶν Ἑλλήνων λογίων τῆς Ἀναγεννήσεως πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνες τῆς Εὐρώπης γιὰ τὴν ἀπελευθέρωση τῆς Ἑλλάδος. Λόγος ἐκφωνηθεὶς τὴν 25ην Μαρτίου 1963 εἰς τὴν Μεγάλην Αἴθουσαν τῶν Τελετῶν*. Thessalonike: University of Thessalonike.

Manoussakas, Manoussos and Nikolaos M. Panayiotakis. 1981. 'Η φιλομεταρρυθμιστική δράση του Φραγκίσκου Πόρτου στη Μοδένα και στη Φερράρα και η δίκη του από την Ιερά Εξέταση της Βενετίας (1526–59)'. *Θησαυρίσματα* 18: 7–118.

Marciniak, Przemyslaw, and Dion C. Smythe, eds. 2017. *The Reception of Byzantium in European Culture Since 1500*. London/New York, N.Y.: Routledge.

Marcon, Susy, and Marino Zorzi. 1994. *Aldo Manuzio e l'ambiente veneziano (1494–1515)*. Venice: Il Cardo.

Marin, Şerban. 2000. 'A Humanist Vision Regarding the Fourth Crusade'. *Annuario. Istituto Romeno di Cultura e Ricerca Umanistica* 2: 51–120.

Markopoulos, Theodore. 2014. 'Language Contact in the Byzantine World: Facts and Ideologies'. In *Storia e storie della lingua greca*, edited by Caterina Carpinato and Olga Tribulato, 73–98. Venice: Edizioni Ca' Foscari—Digital Publishing.

Marrella, Fabrizio, and Andrea Mozzato. 2001. *Alle origini dell'arbitrato commerciale internazionale. L'arbitrato a Venezia tra medioevo ed età moderna*. Padua: Antonio Milani.

Marrow, James. 1979. *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance*. Kortrijk: Van Ghemmert.

Marschall, Veronika. 1997. *Das Chronogramm*. Berlin/Bern/New York, N.Y., etc.: Peter Lang.

Marsh, David. 1998. *Lucian and the Latins: Humor and Humanism in the Early Renaissance*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press.

Martels, Z. R. W. M. von. 1991. 'The Discovery of the Inscription of the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*'. *Res publica litterarum* 14: 147–56.

Martirosova Torlone, Zara, Dana La Course and Dorota Dutsch, eds. 2017. *A Handbook to Classical Reception in Eastern and Central Europe*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Märtl, Claudia, Christian Kaiser, and Thomas Ricklin, eds. 2013. *'Inter graecos latinissimus, inter latinos graecissimus'. Bessarion zwischen den Kulturen*. Berlin/Boston, Mass.: Walter de Gruyter.

Masai, François. 1956. *Pléthon et le platonisme de Mistra*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

Matschke, Klaus Peter. 1995. 'The Notaras Family and Its Italian Connections'. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49: 59–72.

Matschke, Klaus Peter. 2001. 'Builders and Building in Late Byzantine Constantinople'. In *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*, edited by Nevra Necipoğlu, 315–28. Leiden/Boston, Mass./Cologne: Brill.

Mauro, Frédéric. 1990. 'Merchant Communities, 1350–1750'. In *The Rise of Merchant Empires*, edited by James D. Tracy, 255–87. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Maxson, Brian J. 2014. Review of *Paolo Giovio, Notable Men and Women of Our Time*, edited and translated by Kenneth Gouwens. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2013. H-Italy, H-Net Reviews. November. <www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=41948>.

Mazal, Otto. 2003. *Die Überlieferung der antiken Literatur im Buchdruck des 15. Jahrhunderts*. 4 vols. Stuttgart: Hiersemann.

McGann, Michael J. 1980. 'The Ancona Epitaph of Manilius Marullus'. *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 42: 401–4.

McGann, Michael J. 1981. 'Medieval or Renaissance? Some Distinctive Features in the Ancona Epitaph of Manilius Marullus'. *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 43: 341–43.

McGuckin, John A. 2008. 'Poetry and Hymnography (2)'. In *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies*, edited by Susan A. Harvey and David G. Hunter, 641–56. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

McManus, Stuart M. 2008. 'Byzantines in the Florentine Polis: Ideology, Statecraft, and Ritual during the Council of Florence'. *The Journal of the Oxford University History Society* 6: 8–10.

McNeil, David O. 1975. *Guillaume Budé and Humanism in the Reign of Francis I*. Geneva: Droz.

McTavish, David, ed. 1981. *The Arts of Italy in Toronto Collections 1300–1800*. Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario.

Meier, Hans Jakob. 1995. 'Das Bildnis in der Reproduktionsgraphik des 16. Jahrhunderts'. *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 58: 449–77.

Meinel, Fabian. 2009. 'Gregory of Nazianzus' *Poemata Arcana*: Ἄρρητα and Christian Persuasion'. *The Cambridge Classical Journal* 55: 71–96.

Melander, Toini. 1951–1959. *Personskrifter hänförande sig till Finland 1562–1713: bibliografisk förteckning*. 5 vols. Helsinki: Helsinkin Yliopiston Kirjasto.

Meletiades, Chares N. 2006. *Αναγεννησιακές τάσεις στη Νεοελληνική λογιοσύνη: Νικόλαος Σοφιανός*. Thessalonike: Βάνιας.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Menini, Romain. 2009. *Rabelais et l'intertexte platonicien*. Geneva: Droz.

Menini, Romain. 2012. 'L'influence des "moraulx de Plutarche" sur le Quart livre d'après certaines annotations de l'exemplaire BnF GR. Rés. G. R. 33'. In *Langue et sens du « Quart Livre ». Actes du colloque organisé à Rome en novembre 2011*, edited by Franco Giacone, 183–209. Paris : Classiques Garnier.

Menini, Romain. 2013. 'Rabelais helléniste'. *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé* 1: 216–40.

Menini, Romain. 2014. *Rabelais altérateur. 'Græcizer en François'*. Paris: Classiques Garnier.

Menini, Romain. 2015. 'Le dernier Plutarque de Rabelais'. In *Les labyrinthes de l'esprit. Collections et bibliothèques à la Renaissance*, edited by Rosanna Gorris Camos and Alexandre Vanautgaerden, 89–104. Geneva: Droz.

Menini, Romain, and Olivier Pédeflous. 2015. '"Æsope le François". Autour de dix-sept fables ésopiques éditées par Rabelais'. In *Séductions de la fable*, edited by Frédéric Calas and Nora Viet, 193–222. Paris: Classiques Garnier.

Mennecke-Haustein, Ute. 2001. 'Gelehrsamkeit und Theologie. Die Bedeutung der *studia humanitatis* für die Schriftauslegung beim jungen Luther'. In *Die Musen im Reformationszeitalter*, edited by Walther Ludwig, 151–165. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt.

Mercati, Silvio G. 1934. 'Massimo Margunio è l'autore degli inni anacreontici attribuiti a San Massimo Confessore'. In *Mélanges Bidez*, edited by Robert Werner, vol. II, 619–25. Brussels: Secretariat de l'Institut.

Mergiali-Sahas, Sofia. 2016. 'An Ultimate Wealth for Inauspicious Times: Holy Relics in Rescue of Manuel II Palaeologus' Reign'. *Byzantion* 76: 264–75.

Merisalo, Outi. 2015. 'Translating the Classics into the Vernacular in Sixteenth-Century Italy'. *Renaissance Studies* 29: 55–77.

Meritt, Lucy Shoe. 1970. 'The Stoa Poikile'. *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 39: 233–64.

Meschede, Petra. 1994. *Bilderzählungen in der kölnischen Malerei des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts. Eine Untersuchung zum Bildtypus und zur Funktion*. Paderborn: Bonifatius.

Meserve, Margaret. 2008. *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Metcalf, William E. 2012. *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage*. Oxford/New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press.

Meyer, Philippe. 2013. *Baltiques. Histoire d'une mer d'ambre*. Paris: Perrin.

Meyier, Karel Adriaan de. 1948. 'Un manuscrit grec de la bibliothèque d'Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle à la Bibliothèque universitaire de Leyde'. *Scriptorium* 2: 290–91.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Michel-Rüegg, Monika. 2012. 'Vorlesungsmitschriften aus der Schulzeit'. In *Jacques Bongars. Humanist, Diplomat, Büchersammler*, edited by Burgerbibliothek Bern, 44–45. Bern: Stämpfli.

Miert, Dirk van. 2010. 'Project Procopius: Scaliger, Vulcanius, Hoeschelius and the Pursuit of Early Byzantine History'. In *Bonaventura Vulcanius, Works and Networks: Bruges 1538-Leiden 1614*, edited by Hélène Cazes, 361–86. Leiden/Boston, Mass.: Brill.

Miert, Dirk van. 2011. 'Joseph Scaliger, Claude Saumaise, Isaac Casaubon and the Discovery of the Palatine Anthology (1606)'. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 74: 241–61.

Miletti, Lorenzo. 2016. 'Nola città augustea nel Rinascimento meridionale: Intorno al *de Nola* di Ambrogio Leone'. *Maia* 68: 594–605.

Miller, Stephen G. 2004. *Ancient Greek Athletics*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

Millet, Olivier, and Luigi-Alberto Sanchi, eds. 2016. *Paris, carrefour culturel autour de 1500*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de Paris-Sorbonne.

Milne, Kirsty. 2007. 'The Forgotten Greek Books of Elizabethan England'. *Literature Compass* 4: 677–87.

Milster, August Ferdinand. 1826. *Erinnerung an das Leben und die Verdienste des M. Georg Litzel, weiland Conrectors der freien Reichsstadt Speier* [...]. Speier: Joh. Friedr. Kranzbühler jun.

Mittenhuber, Florian. 2012. 'Jacques Bongars—Leben und Werk'. In *Jacques Bongars. Humanist, Diplomat, Büchersammler*, edited by Burgerbibliothek Bern, 9–14. Bern: Stämpfli.

Mitsi, Efterpi. 2017. *Greece in Early English Travel Writing, 1596–1682*. [s.l.]: Palgrave Macmillan.

Moennig, Ulrich, and Hans Edeneier, eds. 2000. *Neograeca in Germania*. Athens: Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών.

Moennig, Ulrich, David Holton, Tina Lendari, and Peter Vejleskov, eds. 2005. *Copyists, Collectors, Redactors and Editors: Manuscripts and Editions of Late Byzantine and Early Modern Greek Literature. Papers Given at a Conference Held at the Danish Institute at Athens, 23–26 May 2002, in Honour of Hans Eideneier and Arnold van Gemert*. Heraklion: Πανεπιστημιακές Εκδόσεις Κρήτης.

Monfasani, John. 1976. *George of Trebizond: A Biography and a Study of His Rhetoric and Logic*. Leiden/Boston, Mass./Cologne: Brill.

Monfasani, John. 1984a. 'Alexius Celadenus and Ottavio Ubaldini: An Epilogue to Bessarion's Relationship with the Court of Urbino'. *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 46: 95–110.

Monfasani, John. 1984b. *Collectanea Trapezuntiana: Texts, Documents, and Bibliographies of George of Trebizond*. Binghamton, N.Y.: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Monfasani, John. 1990. 'In Praise of Ognibene and Blame of Guarino: Andronicus Contoblacas's Invective against Niccolò Botano and the Citizens of Brescia'. *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 52: 309–21.

Monfasani, John. 1992. 'Platonic Paganism in the Fifteenth Century'. In *Reconsidering the Renaissance*, edited by Mario Di Cesare, 45–61. Binghamton, N.Y.: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies.

Monfasani, John. 1995. *Byzantine Scholars in Renaissance Italy: Cardinal Bessarion and Other Émigrés*. Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum.

Monfasani, John. 2004. *Greeks and Latins in Renaissance Italy: Studies on Humanism and Philosophy in the 15th Century*. Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum.

Monfasani, John 2006. 'Pletho's Date of Death and the Burning of His Laws'. *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 98: 93–97.

Monfasani, John. 2011. *Bessarion Scholasticus: A Study of Cardinal Bessarion's Latin Library*. Turnhout: Brepols.

Monfasani, John. 2013. 'George Gemistos Pletho and the West: Greek Émigrés, Latin Scholasticism, and Renaissance Humanism'. In *Renaissance Encounters: Greek East and Latin West*, edited by Marina S. Brownlee and Dimitri Gondicas, 19–34. Leiden: Brill.

Montgomery, Ingun. 1995. 'The Institutionalisation of Lutheranism in Sweden and Finland'. In *The Scandinavian Reformation: From Evangelical Movement to Institutionalisation of Reform*, edited by Ole Peter Grell, 144–78. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Morantin, Patrick. 2017. *Lire Homère à la Renaissance. Philologie humaniste et tradition grecque*. Geneva: Droz.

Moretti, Luigi. 1980. 'A proposito di Pirro Ligorio e di IGUR 71'. In *Φιλίας χάριν. Miscellanea di studi classici in onore di Eugenio Manni*, vol. v, 1585–92. Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider.

Moretti, Luigi. 1982. 'Pirro Ligorio e le iscrizioni greche di Ravenna'. *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica* 110: 446–57.

Moroni, Marco. 1988. 'Schiavoni, morlacchi e albanesi a Recanati nelle fonti catastali del XVI secolo'. In *Italia Felix. Migrazioni slave e albanesi in occidente: Romagna, Marche, Abruzzi secoli XIV–XVI*, edited by Sergio Anselmi, 154–68. Ancona: Ostra Vetere.

Muchnik, Natalia. 2013. 'Charité et communauté diasporique dans l'Europe des XVI^{e}–XVIII^{e} siècles'. *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 61: 7–27.

Mühlen, Heinz von. 1994a. 'Das Ostbaltikum unter Herrschaft und Einfluss der Nachbarmächte (1561–1710/1795)'. In *Deutsche Geschichte im Osten Europas. Baltische Länder*, edited by Gert von Pistohlkors, 173–264. Berlin: Seidler.

Mühlen, Heinz von. 1994b. 'Livland von der Christianisierung bis zum Ende seiner Selbständigkeit (etwa 1180–1561)'. In *Deutsche Geschichte im Osten Europas. Baltische Länder*, edited by Gert von Pistohlkors, 25–172. Berlin: Siedler.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Müller, Alexander. 2010. *Die Carmina Anacreontea und Anakreon. Ein literarisches Generationenverhältnis*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr.

Müller, Jan Dirk. 1997. 'Konrad Peutinger und die Sodalitas Peutingeriana'. In *Der polnische Humanismus und die europäischen Sodalitäten: Akten des polnisch-deutschen Symposions vom 15. - 19. Mai 1996 im Collegium Maius der Universität Krakau*, edited by Stephan Füssel and Jan Pirożyński, 167–86. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Müller-Wiener, Wolfgang. 1977. *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls*. Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth.

Mund-Döpchie, Monique. 1984. *La survie d'Eschyle à la Renaissance. Éditions, traductions, commentaires et imitations*. Leuven: Peeters.

Murray, Gilbert. 1934. *The Rise of the Greek Epic*. London/New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press.

Nagel, Alexander, and Christopher S. Wood. 2010. *Anachronic Renaissance*. New York, N.Y.: Zone Books.

Napolitano, Maria Luisa. 2010. 'Hubertus Goltzius e la *Civitas almae urbis Romae*'. *Anabases* 11: 55–94.

Napolitano, Maria Luisa. 2012. *Hubertus Goltzius e la Magna Graecia. Dalle Fiandre all'Italia del Cinquecento*. Naples: Luciano.

Nauwelaerts, M. 1969. 'Érasme à Louvain. Ephémérides d'un séjour de 1517 à 1521'. In *Scrinium Erasmianum. Mélanges historiques publiés sous le patronage de l'Université de Louvain à l'occasion du 5e centenaire de la naissance d'Érasme*, edited by J. Coppens, vol. 1, 3–24. Leiden: Brill.

Neal, Tamara. 2006. *The Wounded Hero: Non-Fatal Injury in Homer's Iliad*. Bern/Berlin/Bruxelles, etc.: Peter Lang.

Necipoğlu, Nevra. 1995. 'Economic Conditions in Constantinople during the Siege of Bayezid I (1394–1402)'. In *Constantinople and Its Hinterland*, edited by Cyril Mango and Gilbert Dagron, 157–67. Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum.

Necipoğlu, Nevra. 2009. *Byzantium Between the Ottomans and the Latins*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nelson, Robert S. 2000. 'To Say and to See: Ekphrasis and Vision in Byzantium'. In *Visuality Before and Beyond the Renaissance: Seeing as Others Saw*, edited by Robert S. Nelson, 143–67. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nelson, Robert S. 2007. 'Image and Inscription: Pleas for Salvation in Spaces of Devotion'. In *Art and Text in Byzantine Culture*, edited by Liz James, 100–119. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nève, Félix. 1856. *Mémoire historique et littéraire sur le collège des Trois-Langues à l'université de Louvain*. Brussels: F. Hayez.

Newall, Diana. 2013. 'Candia and Post-Byzantine Icons in Late Fifteenth-Century Europe'. In *Byzantine Art and Renaissance Europe*, edited by Angeliki Lymberopoulou and Rembrandt Duits, 101–34. Farnham: Ashgate.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Nicolai, Elena. 2009. 'Dalla Grecia a Venezia. L'ultimo *nostos*'. In *Cartoline veneziane. Ciclo di seminari di letteratura italiana* (*Venezia, 16/01–18/06 2008*), edited by Alessandro Cinquegrani, 113–25. Palermo: Officina di studi medievali.

Nilsson, Ingela. 2004. 'From Homer to Hermoniakos: Some Considerations of Troy Matter in Byzantine Literature'. *Troianalexandrina. Anuario sobre literatura medieval de materia clásica* 4: 9–34.

Nilsson, Ingela, and Paul Stephenson, eds. 2014. *Wanted, Byzantium: The Desire for a Lost Empire*. Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet.

Nissen, Theodor. 1940. *Die byzantinischen Anakreonteen*. Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Niutta, Francesca. 2002. 'La traduzione latina di Francesco Aleardi della *Synkrisis* di Crisolora'. In *Manuele Crisolora e il ritorno del greco in Occidente*, edited by Riccardo Maisano and Antonio Rollo, 224–47. Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale.

Noe, Sydney Philip. 1958. *The Coinage of Caulonia*. New York, N.Y.: American Numismatic Society.

Noe, Sydney Philip. 1984. *The Coinage of Metapontum*. Edited by Ann Johnston. New York, N.Y.: Ex Bruce R. Brace Library.

Nordgren, Lars. [forthcoming]. 'Greek Poetry'. In *Europatrida*.

Nübel, Otto. 1973. 'Das Geschlecht Occo'. In *Lebensbilder aus dem Bayerischen Schwaben*, edited by Wolfgang Zorn, vol. X, 77–127. Augsburg: Anton H. Konrad.

Nuti, Erika. 2014. *Longa est via. Forme e contenuti dello studio grammaticale dalla Bisanzio Paleologa al tardo Rinascimento veneziano*. Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso.

Nutton, Vivian. 1989. 'Hippocrates in the Renaissance'. In *Die Hippokratischen Epidemien. Theorie-Praxis-Tradition*, edited by Gerhard Baader and Rolf Winau, 420–39. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.

O'Brien, John. 1995. *Anacreon Redivivus: A Study of Anacreontic Translation in Mid-Sixteenth-Century France*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press.

Occhipinti, Carmelo. 2007. *Pirro Ligorio e la storia cristiana di Roma. Da Costantino all' Umanesimo*. Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore.

O'Connell, Séamus. 2006. *From Most Ancient Sources: The Nature and Text-Critical Use of the Greek Old Testament Text of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible*. Fribourg: Academic Press.

Oikonomides, Nikos. 1991. 'The Holy Icon as Asset'. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 45: 35–44.

Olschki, Leonardo. 1944. 'Asiatic Exoticism in Italian Art of the Early Renaissance'. *The Art Bulletin* 26: 95–106.

Olson, Douglas S. 2014. *Ancient Comedy and Reception: Essays in Honor of Jeffrey Henderson*. Berlin/Boston, Mass.: Walter de Gruyter.

O'Mahony, Anthony. 2008. 'Between Rome and Constantinople: The Italian-Albanian Church. A Study in Eastern Catholic History and Ecclesiology'. *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church* 8: 232–51.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Omont, Henri. 1855. *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles et des autres bibliothèques publiques de Belgique*. Ghent: Eug. Vanderhaeghen.

Omont, Henri. 1916. 'Procès d'Ange Vergèce au Châtelet et au Parlement de Paris (1561)'. *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartres* 77: pp. 516–520.

Orion, Jana. 1999. 'Leinaluuletused Gustav II Adolfi surma puhul Academia Gustaviana liikmetelt (1633)'. BA thesis. Tartu: University of Tartu.

Orion, Jana, Janika Päll, and Kristi Viiding, eds. 2007. *O Dorpat, urbs addictissima Musis. Valik 17. Sajandi Tartu Juhuluulet*. Tallinn: Eesti Keele Sihtasutus.

Orlandi, Gianni. 1991. 'Il porto di Ancona'. In *La Marca e le sue istituzioni al tempo di Sisto V*, edited by Pio Cartechini, 253–60. Pollenza: Tipografia S. Giuseppe.

Orlandi, Silvia. 2007. 'Pirro Ligorio e le sue fonti'. In *XII Congressus Internationalis Epigraphiae Graecae et Latinae: Provinciae Imperii Romani inscriptionibus descriptae* (*Acts of the international symposium, Barcelona 3–8.9.2002*), edited by Giulia Baratta, Alejandra Guzmán Almagro, and Marc Mayer i Olivé, 1061–72. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans.

Orlando, Ermanno. 2007. 'Mixed Marriages Between Greeks and Latins in Late Mediaeval Italy'. *Θησαυρίσματα* 37: 101–19.

Orlando, Ermanno. 2014. *Migrazioni mediterranee. Migranti, minoranze e matrimoni a Venezia nel basso medioevo*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Ossa-Richardson, Anthony. 2013. *The Devil's Tabernacle: The Pagan Oracles in Early Modern Thought*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Paci, Renzo. 1977. 'La rivalità commerciale tra Ancona e Spalato (1590–1645)'. *Atti e memorie della Deputazione di storia patria per le Marche* 82: 278–86.

Pade, Marianne. 2007. *The Reception of Plutarch's Lives in Fifteenth-Century Italy*. 2 vols. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.

Pade, Marianne, ed. 2011. *On Renaissance Academies. Proceedings of the International Conference 'From the Roman Academy to the Danish Academy in Rome. Dall'Accademia Romana all'Accademia di Danimarca a Roma'* (*The Danish Academy in Rome, 11–13 October 2006*). Rome: Quasar.

Page, Denys Lionel. 1976. *History and the Homeric Iliad*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press.

Pagliaroli, Stefano. 2009. 'L'Accademia Aldina'. *Incontri triestini di filologia classica* 9: 175–87.

Päll, Janika. [forthcoming a]. 'Greek Disputations in German and Swedish Universities and Academic Gymnasia'. In: *Intersections. Early Modern Disputations and Dissertations in an Interdisciplinary and European Context*, edited by Meelis Friedenthal, Hanspeter Marti, and Robert Seidel. Leiden: Brill.

Päll, Janika. [forthcoming b]. 'Gregorius Crugerus Mesylanus and the German Theological Oration in Greek'.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Päll, Janika. 2019. 'Greek Pindaric Odes in the United Kingdom'. In *Hortus Floridus*, edited by Ivo Volt, Janika Päll, and Neeme Näripä. Tartu: University Press.

Päll, Janika. 2018. 'Humanist Greek in Early Modern Estonia and Livonia: The Contexts and Principal Genres'. In *Hellenostephanos. Humanist Greek in Early Modern Europe. Learned Communities Between Antiquity and Contemporary Culture*, edited by Janika Päll and Ivo Volt, 57–112. Tartu: Tartu University Press.

Päll, Janika. 2017a. 'School Rhetoric in Early Modern Estonia and Livonia: Rhetorical Exercises from Dorpat (Tartu)'. In *Proceedings of Colloquium Balticum Conferences*, edited by Arne Jönnson and Gregor Vogt-Spira, 429–84. Hildesheim: Olms.

Päll, Janika. 2017b. 'The Transfer of Greek Pindaric Ode from Italy to the Northern Shores: From Robortello to Vogelmann and Further'. In *Hellenisti!—Altgriechisch als Literatursprache im neuzeitlichen Europa*, edited by Stefan Weise, 349–68. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.

Päll, Janika. 2015. 'Uusklassikaline luuletraditsioon varauusaja Tallinnas ja Tartus'. *Methis. Studia humaniora Estonica* 13: 35–66.

Päll, Janika. 2013a. 'Eesti bukoolikast'. *Keel ja Kirjandus* 6: 420–39.

Päll, Janika. 2013b. '"Vale toel ei kõnet ma värvi, vaid tõtt räägin, nii nagu käsib mind rinnus hing". Laenatud mõttetera roll Tartu humanistide juhuluules.' In *Õpetatud Eesti Seltsi aastaraamat = Annales litterarum Societatis Esthonicae* 2013 [2014]: 143–64. Tartu: Dorpat.

Päll, Janika. 2012. 'The Practice of Chreia at the Academia Gustavo-Carolina (1690–1710) in Dorpat (Tartu)'. In *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Upsaliensis*, edited by Astrid Steiner-Weber, 789–800. Leiden/Boston, Mass.: Brill.

Päll, Janika. 2011. 'Translating from Ancient Languages into Estonian: Outlines for Translation History'. In *Between Cultures and Texts: Itineraries in Translation History*, edited by Antoine Chalvin, Anne Lange, and Daniele Monticelli, 123–35. Frankfurt am Main/Berlin/Bern, etc.: Peter Lang.

Päll, Janika. 2010. 'Humanistengriechisch im alten Estland und Nord-Livland'. In *Classical Tradition from the 16th Century to Nietzsche*, edited by Janika Päll, Martin Steinrück, and Ivo Volt, 114–47. Tartu: Tartu University Press.

Päll, Janika. 2005. 'Far Away from Byzantium: Pronunciation and Orthography of Greek in the 17th Century Estonia'. In *Byzantino-Nordica*, edited by Janika Päll and Ivo Volt, 86–119. Tartu: Morgenstern Society.

Päll, Janika. 2001. 'Pindarlektüre an der Academia Gustaviana: Henricus Vogelmannus' *Ode prosphonetike*'. In *Studia Humaniora Tartuensia* 2: 1–16.

Päll, Janika, Martin Steinrück, and Ivo Volt, eds. 2010. *Classical Tradition from the 16th Century to Nietzsche*. Tartu: Tartu University Press.

Päll, Janika, and Eve Valper. 2014. *Βάρβαρος οὐ πέλομαι … 'I'm Not a Barbarian …'. The Humanists in and about the Greek Language. An Exhibition Dedicated to the*

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Reflections of the Love for Ancient Hellas in Old Prints from Tartu University Library: Catalogue. Tartu: Tartu University Library.

Päll, Janika, Ivo Volt, Neeme Näripä, and Kristin Kurs. 2014. 'Eesti antiigitõlke bibliograafia (EAB). Versioon 1.0, 2014. 1–16. Võrguteavik [= The Bibliography of Estonian Translations from Ancient Languages]'. <eab.ut.ee>

Pallucchini, Rodolfo. 1964. *La pittura veneziana del Trecento*. Venice: Istituto per la Collaborazione Culturale.

Palma Venetucci, Beatrice. 1992. *Pirro Ligorio e le erme tiburtine*. Rome: Leornado-De Luca.

Palmer, Alan Warwick. 2006. *Baltic: A New History of the Region and Its People*. Woodstock: Overlook.

Panessa, Giangiacomo. 1977. *Opere di carattere generale (1537–1975)*. Pisa/Rome: Scuola Normale Superiore/École Française de Rome.

Papageorghiou, Athanasios, and Ioannis A. Eliades. 2008. *Guide to the Byzantine Museum and Art Gallery of the Archbishop Makarios III Foundation*. Nicosia: Byzantine Museum.

Papalexandrou, Amy. 2001. 'Text in Context: Eloquent Monuments and the Byzantine Beholder'. *Word and Image: A Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry* 17: 259–83.

Papastavrou, Eleni. 2000. 'Quelques peintures vénitiennes du XIII^{e} siècle et la Glykophiloussa du Musée Bénaki (inv. n° 2972)'. *Cahiers archéologiques* 48: 161–77.

Papy, Jan, ed. 2018. *The Leuven Collegium Trilingue 1517–1797: Erasmus, Humanist Educational Practice and the New Language Institute Latin—Greek—Hebrew*. Leuven/Paris/Bristol, Conn.: Peeters.

Papy, Jan, ed. 2017. *Erasmus' droom: Het Leuvense Collegium Trilingue 1517–2017. Catalogus bij de tentoonstelling in de Leuvense Universiteitsbibliotheek, 18 oktober 2017–18 januari 2018*. Leuven/Paris/Bristol, Conn.: Peeters.

Parenty, Hélène. 2009. *Isaac Casaubon helléniste. Des 'studia humanitatis' à la philologie*. Geneva: Droz.

Parry, Milman. 1971. *The Making of Homeric Verse*. Edited by Adam Parry. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Paton, James Morton, ed. 1951. *Chapters on Mediaeval and Renaissance Visitors to Greek Lands*. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Patterson, William B. 2000. *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pattison, Mark. 2011. *Isaac Casaubon, 1559–1614*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Reprint of the edition by Longmans, London (1875).

Paul, Toomas. 1999. *Eesti Piiblitõlke ajalugu*. Tallinn: Eesti Teaduste Akadeemia.

Paulsen, Friedrich. 1885. *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts auf den deutschen Schulen und Universitäten vom Ausgang des Mittelalters bis zur Gegenwart. Mit besonderer Rücksicht auf den klassischen Unterricht*. Leipzig: Verlag von Veit & Comp.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Paximadopoulos, S. 1954. 'Rapports entre la Grèce byzantine et la ville de Pesaro au XV^e^ et XVI^e^ siecle'. *Studia Oliveriana* 2: 61–68.

Pedros, Rosa Alcoy i. 1998. 'Anónim. Mestre de la Passió de Mallorca. Taula de la Passió i escenes hagiográfiques'. In *Mallorca gótica*, edited by Rosa Alcoy i Pedros, 122–30. Mallorca/Barcelona: Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya.

Peers, Glen. 2006. 'A Cretan in Paris: Angelos Vergekios and Greek Natural History in the French Renaissance'. In *Πεπραγμένα Θ' διεθνούς κρητολογικού συνδερίου. Ελούντα, 1–6 Οκτωβρίου 2001*, vol. II, 419–40. Heraklion: Διεπιστημονικές Συμβολές.

Pentcheva, Bissera V. 2006. *Icons and Power: The Mother of God in Byzantium*. University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Peri, Vittorio. 1967. 'La Congregazione dei greci (1573) e i suoi primi documenti'. *Studia Gratiana* 13: 131–256.

Peri, Vittorio. 1970. 'Inizi e finalità ecumeniche del Collegio greco in Roma'. *Aevum* 44: 1–71.

Peri, Vittorio. 1973. 'Chiesa latina e Chiesa greca nell'Italia postridentina'. In *La Chiesa greca in Italia dall'VIII al XVI secolo*, 271–469. Padua: Antenore.

Peri, Vittorio. 1975. *Chiesa Romana e 'rito' greco: G.A. Santoro e la Congregazione dei greci (1566–1596)*. Brescia: Paideia.

Peri, Vittorio. 1982. 'I metropoliti orientali di Agrigento. La loro giurisdizione in Italia nel XVI secolo'. In *Bisanzio e l'Italia. Raccolta di studi in memoria di Agostino Pertusi*, 274–321. Milan: Vita e pensiero.

Peri, Vittorio. 1984. 'L'unione delle Chiese orientali con Roma. Il moderno regime canonico occidentale nel suo sviluppo storico'. *Aevum* 58: 439–98.

Peri, Vittorio. 1991. 'La lettura del Concilio di Firenze nella prospettiva unionistica romana'. In *Christian Unity: The Council of Ferrara-Florence*, edited by Giuseppe Alberigo, 593–612. Leuven: Leuven University Press.

Peritore, Patrick. 1977. 'The Political Thought of Gemistos Plethon: A Renaissance Byzantine Reformer'. *Polity* 10: 168–91.

Perri, Massimo. 1999. *Τοῦ πόθου ἀρρωστημένος. Ἰατρικὴ καὶ ποίηση στὸν Ἐρωτόκριτο*. Translated by A. Athanassopoulou. Heraklion: Πανεπιστημιακές Εκδόσεις Κρήτης.

Pertusi, Agostino. 1962. 'Ερωτήματα: Per la storia e le fonti delle prime grammatiche greche a stampa'. *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 5: 321–51.

Pertusi, Agostino. 1967. *Storiografia umanistica e mondo bizantino*. Palermo: Istituto siciliano di studi bizantini e neollenici.

Pertusi, Agostino. 1970. 'I primi studi in Occidente sull' origine e la potenza dei Turchi'. *Studi Veneziani* 12: 465–552.

Petit, Caroline. 2011. 'Medicine and Hellenism in the Renaissance: The Problem of Greek in Baillou'. *Medicina & Storia* 11: 113–39.

Petta, Paolo. 1996. *Stradioti. Soldati albanesi in Italia*. Lecce: Argo.

Petta, Paolo. 2000. *Despoti d'Epiro e Principi di Macedonia*. Lecce: Argo.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Pettas, William A. 1974. 'Nikolaos Sophianós and Greek Printing in Rome'. *The Library* 29: 206–213.

Petti Balbi, Giovanna. 2007. 'Le *nationes* italiane all'estero'. In *Il Rinascimento Italiano e l'Europa. Commercio e cultura mercantile*, edited by Franco Franceschi and Richard A. Goldthwaite, 397–424. Vicenza: Angelo Colla.

Pfeiffer, Rudolf. 1976. *History of Classical Scholarship, 1300–1850*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Pfeiffer, Rudolf. 1982. *Die klassische Philologie von Petrarca bis Mommsen*. Translated by Marlene Arnold and Erwin Arnold. Munich: C. H. Beck.

Philippides, Marios. 2004. 'History Repeats Itself: Ancient Troy and Renaissance Istanbul'. In *İstanbul Üniversitesi 550. Yıl Uluslararası Bizans ve Osmanlı Sempozyumu* (*XV. Yüzyıl*) *30–31 Mayıs 2003*, edited by Sümer Atasoy, 41–68. Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi.

Pinsent, John. 1984. 'The Trojans in the *Iliad*'. In *The Trojan War: Its Historicity and Context. Papers of the First Greenbank Colloquium* (*Liverpool, 1981*), edited by Lin Foxhall and John K. Davies, 136–62. Bristol: Bristol Classical Press.

Piot, Charles. 1899. 'Morillon (Maximilien)'. In *Biographie nationale*, vol. XV, 267–72. Brussels: Bruylant-Christophe & Cie.

Pirani, Vincenzo. 1992. 'Gli ospedali di Ancona nei secoli XV–XVI ed il loro sviluppo nel tempo'. *Atti e memorie della deputazione di storia patria per le Marche* 97: 467–79.

Plebani, Tiziana. 1994. 'Omaggio ad Aldo Grammatico. Origine e tradizione degli insegnanti stampatori'. In *Aldo Manuzio e l'ambiente veneziano* (*1494–1515*), edited by Susy Marcon and Marino Zorzi, 73–102. Venice: Il Cardo.

Ploumides, Georgios S. 1971. 'Gli scolari greci nello studio di Padova'. *Quaderni per la storia dell'università di Padova* 4: 127–44.

Podskalsky, Gerhard. 1977. *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz*. Munich: C. H. Beck.

Podskalsky, Gerhard. 1988. *Griechische Theologie in der Zeit der Türkenherrschaft* (*1453–1821*). *Die Orthodoxie im Spannungsfeld der nachreformatorischen Konfessionen des Westens*. Munich: C. H. Beck.

Podskalsky, Gerhard. 2008. *Ἡ ἑλληνική θεολογία ἐπὶ τουρκοκρατίας 1453–1821. Ἡ Ὀρθοδοξία στὴ σφαίρα ἐπιρροῆς τῶν δυτικῶν δογμάτων μετὰ τὴ Μεταρρύθμιση*. Translated by G. Metallinos. 2nd ed. Athens: Μορφωτικό Ἵδρυμα Εθνικής Τραπέζης.

Põldvee, Aivar. 2009. 'Rektor ja pastor Johannes Forselius. Märkmeid eluloost, argielust ja pedagoogikast'. In *Läänemere provintside arenguperspektiivid Rootsi suurrüigis 16/17. sajandil*, edited by Enn Küng, 231–79. Tartu: Eesti Ajalooarhiiv.

Polemis, Ioannis. 2008. 'Theodore Metochites' *Byzantios* as a Testimony to the Cosmological Discussions of the Early Palaiologan Period'. *Revue des études byzantines* 66: 241–46.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Polet, Amédée. 1936. *Une gloire de l'humanisme belge. Petrus Nannius* (*1500–1557*). Leuven: Librairie Universitaire.

Pollard, Lucy. 2015. *The Quest for Classical Greece: Early Modern Travel to the Greek World*. London: I. B. Tauris.

Pomeroy, Sarah B. 2007. *The Murder of Regilla: A Case of Domestic Violence in Antiquity*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Pontani, Filippomaria. 2007. 'From Budé to Zenodotus: Homeric Readings in the European Renaissance'. *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 14: 375–430.

Pontani, Filippomaria. 2014a. 'Preghiere, parafrasi e grammatiche. Il Credo e L'Ave Maria di Marco Musuro'. *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 76: 325–40.

Pontani, Filippomaria. 2014b. 'Greek, Ancient'. In *The Classical Tradition*, edited by Anthony Grafton, Glenn W. Most, and Salvatore Settis, 405–409. Cambridge, Mass./ London: Harvard University Press.

Pontani, Filippomaria. 2016. 'Essere utile agli uomini'. In *Aldo al lettore. Viaggio intorno al mondo del libro e della stampa in occasione del 5° centenario della morte di Aldo Manuzio*, edited by Tiziana Plebani, 55–78. Milan: Unicopli.

Pontani, Filippomaria. 2017. '*Graeca per Italiae Fines*: Greek Poetry in Italy from Poliziano to the Present'. In *Hellenisti!—Altgriechisch als Literatursprache im neuzeitlichen Europa*, edited by Stefan Weise, 311–47. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.

Pontani, Filippomaria. 2018. 'Hellenic Verse and Christian Humanism: From Nonnus to Musurus'. *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 25: 216–40.

Porfyriou, Heleni. 1998. 'La presenza greca. Roma e Venezia tra XV e XVI secolo'. In *La città italiana e i luoghi degli stranieri XIV–XVIII secolo*, edited by Donatella Calabi and Paola Lanaro, 21–38. Rome: Laterza.

Pormann, Peter E. 2004. 'La querelle des médecins arabistes et hellénistes et l'héritage oublié'. In *Lire les médecins grecs à la Renaissance*, edited by Véronique Boudon-Millot and Guy Cobolet, 113–41. Paris: De Boccard.

Previtali, Giovanni. 1964. *La fortuna dei primitivi. Dal Vasari ai neoclassici*. Turin: Einaudi.

Proctor, Robert. 1900. *The Printing of Greek in the Fifteenth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Prontera, Francesco. 1996. 'La Magna Grecia nella cartografia storica. Dalla riscoperta di Tolomeo al *Theatrum* di A. Ortelius'. In *Eredità della Magna Grecia. Atti del XXXV convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia* (*Taranto, 06-10/10/1995*), edited by Attilio Stazio and Stefania Ceccoli, 251–65. Taranto/Naples: Arte Tipografica.

Quantin, Jean-Louis. 2008. 'Du Chrysostome latin au Chrysostome grec. Une histoire européene (1588–1613)'. In *Chrysostomosbilder in 1600 Jahren: Facetten der Wirkungsgeschichte eines Kirchenvaters*, edited by Rudolf Brändle and Martin Wallraff, 267–346. Berlin/New York, N.Y.: Walter de Gruyter.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Ragionieri, Giovanna. 2003. 'Duccio di Buoninsegna. Maestà'. In *Duccio. Siena fra tradizione bizantina e mondo gotico*, edited by Alessandro Bagnoli, Roberto Bartalini, Luciano Bellosi, and Michel Laclotte, 212–53. Siena: Monte dei Paschi.

Raisch, Jane. 2016. 'Humanism and Hellenism: Lucian and the Afterlives of Greek in More's *Utopia*'. *English Literary History* 83: 927–58.

Raisch, Jane. 2017. 'Authorizing Hellenism: Early Greek Typography and the Reconstruction of Greek Identity'. *Lias: Journal of Early Modern Intellectual Culture and Its Sources* 44: 29–57.

Rålamb, Per. 2019. *Swedish Contributions to Classical Philology up to 1800. A Bibliography*. New York: Kelly Winterton Press.

Raponi, Ignazio Maria. 1786. *Recueil des pierres antiques gravées*. Rome: Bouchard & Gravier.

Rébitté, Dominique. 1969. *Guillaume Budé, restaurateur des études grecques en France. Essai historique*. Geneva: Slatkine Reprints. Reprint of the edition by Joubert, Paris (1846).

Rehm, Dieter. 2008. 'Die Geißelung Christi von Piero della Francesca als bildlicher Kommentar der nicht wirklich geglückten Einigung von Ost- und Westkirche zur Rettung Konstantinopels'. *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 101: 169–98.

Reinsch, Dieter R. 1994. 'Editionen und Rezeption byzantinischer Historiker durch deutsche Humanisten'. In *Graeca recentiora in Germania: Deutsch-griechische Kulturbeziehungen vom 15. bis 19. Jahrhundert*, edited by Hans Eideneier, 47–63. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Reinsch, Dieter R. 2010. 'The History of Editing Byzantine Historiographical Texts'. In *The Byzantine World*, edited by Paul Stephenson, 435–44. London/New York, N.Y.: Routledge.

Reinsch, Dieter R. 2017. 'Hieronymus Wolf as Editor and Translator of Byzantine Texts'. In *The Reception of Byzantium in European Culture since 1500*, edited by Przemyslaw Marciniak and Dion C. Smythe, 43–53. London/New York, N.Y.: Routledge.

Remer, Gary. 1996. *Humanism and the Rhetoric of Toleration*. University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania University Press.

Renan, Ernest. 2009. *Histoire de l'étude de la langue grecque dans l'Occident de l'Europe depuis la fin du Ve siècle jusqu'à celle du XIV^e siècle*. Edited by Jean-Christoph de Nadaï and Perrine Simon-Nahum. Paris: Éditions du Cerf.

Renaudet, Augustin. 2011. *Préréforme et humanisme à Paris pendant les premières guerres d'Italie 1494–1517*. Geneva: Slatkine Reprints. Reprint of the edition by Librarie d'Argences, Paris (1953).

Renouard, Antoine A. 1934. *Annales de l'imprimerie des Aldes, ou histoire des trois Manuce et de leur éditions*. 3rd ed. Paris: Renouard.

Renouard, Philippe. 1991. *Imprimeurs et libraires parisiens du XVI^e siècle*, vol. v, *Bocard-Bonamy*. Edited by Sylvie Postel-Lecoq and Marie-Josèphe Beaud-Gambier.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Paris: Service des travaux historiques de la Ville de Paris, avec le concours de la Bibliothèque nationale.

Resta, Gianvito. 1986. 'Francesco Filelfo. Tra Bisanzio e Roma'. In *Francesco Filelfo nel quinto centenario della morte. Atti del XVII convegno di studi maceratesi* (*Tolentino, 27–30 settembre 1981*), 1–60. Padua: Antenore.

Reszler, André. 2007. *Il mito di Atene. Storia di un modello culturale europeo*. Translated by I. Alessi. Milan: Bruno Mondadori.

Reverdin, Olivier. 1984. *Les premiers cours de grec au Collège de France, ou l'enseignement de Pierre Danès d'après un document inédit*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Reynolds, Leighton D., and Nigel Guy Wilson. 2013. *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*. 4th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rhein, Stefan. 1987. *Philologie und Dichtung. Melanchthons griechische Gedichte* (*Edition, Übersetzung und Kommentar*). PhD thesis. Heidelberg: Heidelberg University. Microfiche edition: Karlsruhe.

Rhein, Stefan. 1989. 'Johannes Reuchlin als Dichter. Vorläufige Anmerkungen zu unbekannten Texten'. In *Pforzheim in der frühen Neuzeit*, edited by Hans-Peter Becht, 51–80. Sigmaringen: Thorbecke.

Rhein, Stefan. 1996. '*De usu graecae linguae*. Die Griechischsstudien an der Universität Rostock'. In *Reformation and Latin Literature in Northern Europe*, edited by Inger Ekrem, Egil Kraggerud, and Minna Skafte Jensen, 42–55. Oslo: Scandinavian University Press.

Rhein, Stefan. 1997. 'Melanchthon and Greek Literature'. In *Philip Melanchthon* (*1497–1560*) *and the Commentary*, edited by Timothy J. Wengert and M. Patrick Graham, 149–70. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Rhein, Stefan. 2017. 'Philipp Melanchthon und seine griechischen Dichterschüler'. In *Hellenisti!—Altgriechisch als Literatursprache im neuzeitlichen Europa*, edited by Stefan Weise, 15–46. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.

Rhoby, Andreas. 2012. 'Theodoros Metochites' *Byzantios* and Other City Encomia of the 13th and 14th Centuries'. In *Villes de toute beauté: L'ekphrasis des cités dans les littératures byzantine et byzantino-slaves*, edited by Paolo Odorico and Charis Messis, 81–99. Paris: Centre d'études byzantines, néo-helléniques et sud-est européennes.

Rhodes, Neil. 2013. 'Marlowe and the Greeks'. *Renaissance Studies* 27: 199–2018.

Rhodes, Neil. 2015. 'Pure and Common Greek in Early Tudor England'. In *The Culture of Translation in Early Modern England and France, 1500–1660*, edited by Tania Demetriou and Rowan Tomlinson, 54–70. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Rice, Eugene F. 1962. 'The Humanist Idea of Christian Antiquity: Lefèvre d'Étaples and His Circle'. *Studies in the Renaissance* 9: 126–60.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Riché, Pierre. 1995. *Éducation et culture dans l'Occident barbare, VI^e–VIII^e siècle*. 4th ed. Paris: Seuil.

Richtsteig, Eberhard. 1927. *Deutsche Dichtungen in griechischem Gewande*. Breslau: Trewendt & Granier.

Ritti, Tullia. 1981. *Iscrizioni e rilievi greci nel Museo maffeiano di Verona*. Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider.

Robinson, Christopher. 1979. *Lucian and His Influence in Europe*. London: Duckworth.

Rochette, Bruno. 1997. 'La langue des Cariens: À propos de B 867'. *Glotta* 74: 227–36.

Rocholl, Rudolf. 1904. *Bessarion. Studie zur Geschichte der Renaissance*. Leipzig: A. Deichert.

Roeck, Bernd. 1995. 'Kulturelle Beziehungen zwischen Augsburg und Venedig in der Frühen Neuzeit'. In *Augsburg in der Frühen Neuzeit. Beiträge zu einem Forschungsprogramm*, edited by Jochen Brüning and Friedrich Niewöhner, 421–34. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

Roilos, Panagiotis. 2005. *Amphoteroglossia: A Poetics of the Twelfth-Century Medieval Greek Novel*. Washington, D.C./Cambridge, Mass.: Center for Hellenic Studies/Harvard University Press.

Rollo, Antonio. 1999. 'Sul destinatario della Σύγκρισις τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ νέας Ῥώμης di Manuele Crisolora'. In *Vetustatis indagator. Scritti offerti a Filippo Di Benedetto*, edited by Vincenzo Fera and Augusto Guida, 61–80. Messina: Università degli studi di Messina.

Rollo, Antonio. 2002. 'Titoli bilingui e la biblioteca di Manuele Crisolora'. *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 95: 91–101.

Rollo, Antonio. 2012. *Gli 'Erotemata' tra Crisolora e Guarino*. Messina: CISU.

Roling, Bernd. 2018. 'Joshua Apollo: Edmund Dickinson's *Delphi phoenizantes* and the Biblical Origins of Greece in Seventeenth-Century England'. *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 25: 285–96.

Ronchey, Silvia. 2008. 'Il piano di salvataggio di Bisanzio in Morea'. In *L'Europa dopo la caduta di Costantinopoli: 29 Maggio 1453, atti del XLIV Convegno storico internazionale*, 518–32. Spoleto: Fondazione centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo.

Roques, Denis. 2012. 'Lecteurs de Synésios, de Byzance à nos jours (VI^e–XXI^e s.)'. In *Synesios von Kyrene: Politik, Literatur, Philosophie*, edited by Helmut Seng and Lars Martin Hoffmann, 276–387. Turnhout: Brepols.

Rosenfeld, Myra Nan. 1976. 'Problems in Iconography in Italian Painting'. *Apollo: The International Art Magazine* 171: 384–91.

Rosenmeyer, Patricia. 2002. 'The Greek Anacreontics and Sixteenth-Century French Poetry'. In *The Classical Heritage in France*, edited by Gerald N. Sandy, 393–424. Leiden/Boston, Mass./Cologne: Brill.

Rosenstein, Roy. 2002. '"Only Aristophanes": *Plutus* as a Study Text, from Rabelais to Ronsard'. In *Humanismo y pervivencia del mundo clásico. Homenaje al professor*

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Antonio Fontán, edited by Joaquín Pascual Barea, Luis Charlo Brea, and José Maria Maestre Maestre, vol. III, 4th pt., 2103–12. Alcañiz /Madrid: Laberinto.

Rotolo, Vicenzo. 1966. *Il carme 'Hellas' di Leone Allacci*. Palermo: Mori.

Rougemont, Denis de. 1983. *Love in the Western World*. Translated by Montgomery Belgion. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. Originally published as *L'amour et l'occident* by Plon, Paris (1939).

Rummel, Erika. 1985. *Erasmus as a Translator of the Classics*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Rummel, Erika. 1996. *Erasmus' Annotations on the New Testament*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Rummel, Erika. 2000. *The Confessionalization of Humanism in Reformation Germany.* Oxford/New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press.

Rummel, Erika, ed. 2008. *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus* Leiden: Brill.

Runciman, Steven. 1968. *The Great Church in Captivity. A Study of the Patriarcate of Constantinople from the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence.* Cambridge/New York, N.Y.: Cambridge University Press.

Runciman, Steven. 1972. 'Teucri and Turci'. In *Medieval and Middle Eastern Studies in Honor of Aziz Suryal Atiya*, edited by Sami A. Hanna, 344–48. Leiden: Brill.

Russell, Eugenia. 2015. *Literature and Culture in Late Byzantine Thessalonica*. London: Bloomsbury.

Rutter, N. Keith. 2001. *Historia Nummorum—Italy*. London: British Museum Press.

Ryder, Judith. 2010. *The Career and Writings of Demetrius Kydones: A Study of Fourteenth-Century Byzantine Politics, Religion and Society*. Leiden/Boston, Mass.: Brill.

Sabbe, Maurice. 1923. *Christopher Plantin*. Antwerp: Buschmann.

Saladin, Jean-Christophe. 2000. *La bataille du grec à la Renaissance*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

Saladin, Jean-Christophe. 2004. *La bataille du grec à la Renaissance*. 2nd ed. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

Sale, William Merritt. 1989. 'The Trojans, Statistics, and Milman Parry'. *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 30: 341–410.

Salomies, Olli. 1986. 'Ligoriana'. *Arctos* 20: 145–51.

Samaltanou-Tsiakma, Ekaterini. 1971. 'A Renaissance Problem of Archaeology'. *Gazette des beaux-arts* 78: 225–32.

Sánchez de Madariaga, Elena. 2014. 'Caridad, devoción e identidad de origen. Las cofradrías de naturales y nacionales en el Madrid de la Edad Moderna'. In *Devoción, paisanaje e identidad. Las cofradías y congregaciones de naturales en España y en América* (*siglos XVI–XIX*), edited by Óscar Álvarez Gila and Alberto Angulo Morales, 17–32. Bilbao: Universidad del País Vasco—Servicio de Publicaciones.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Sanchi, Luigi-Alberto. 2006. *Les Commentaires de la langue grecque de Guillaume Budé: L'oeuvre, ses sources, sa préparation*. Geneva: Droz.

Sanchi, Luigi-Alberto. 2013. 'Lazare de Baïf, dalle *Pandette* a Sofocle'. *Archivum mentis* 2: 203–20.

Sanchi, Luigi-Alberto. 2014. 'Les imprimeurs humanistes et la censure'. *Paris et Île-de-France—Mémoires* 65: 233–49.

Sandberg Vavalà, Evelyn. 1932. 'A Venetian Primitive'. *Burlington Magazine* 61: 27–32.

Sandy, Gerald N. 2002a. 'Resources for the Study of Greek in France'. In *The Classical Heritage in France*, edited by Gerald N. Sandy, 47–78. Leiden/Boston, Mass./Cologne: Brill.

Sandy, Gerald N. 2002b. 'Guillaume Budé: Philologist and Polymath'. In *The Classical Heritage in France*, edited by Gerald N. Sandy, 79–108. Leiden/Boston, Mass./Cologne: Brill.

Sandy, Gerald N., ed. 2002c. *The Classical Heritage in France*. Leiden/Boston, Mass./Cologne: Brill.

Sandy, Gerald N. 2014. 'Hellenism'. In *Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin World. Macropaedia*, edited by Philip Ford, Jan Bloemendal, and Charles Fantazzi, 113–25. Leiden/Boston, Mass.: Brill.

Sandy, Gerald N. 2018. 'Guillaume Budé and the Uses of Greek'. *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 25: 241–61.

Sandys, John Edwin. 1908. *A History of Classical Scholarship: From the Revival of Learning to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (*in Italy, France, England, and the Netherlands*). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sathas, Konstantinos. 1863. *Νεοελληνικὴ Φιλολογία. Βιογραφίαι τῶν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι διαλαμψάντων Ἑλλήνων ἀπὸ τῆς καταλύσεως τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Αὐτοκρατορίας μέχρι τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐθνεγερσίας, 1453–1821*. Athens: Ἐκ τῆς Τυπογραφίας τῶν τέκνων Ανδρέου Κορομηλά.

Scapecchi, Paolo. 2001. 'Vecchi e nuovi appunti su frate Urbano'. In *Umanisti bellunesi fra Quattro- e Cinquecento. Atti del Convegno* (*Belluno, 5 novembre 1999*), edited by Paolo Pellegrini, 107–18. Florence: Leo S. Olschki.

Scheible, Heinz. 1997. 'Melanchthon als akademischer Lehrer. Einführung in das Arbeitsgespräch "Melanchthon in seinen Schülern"'. In *Melanchthon in seinen Schülern*, edited by Heinz Scheible, 13–30. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Schirò, Giuseppe. 1967. 'Missione umanistica di Massimo Margunio a Venezia'. *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici* 4: 159–87.

Schirrmeister, Albert. 2003. *Triumph des Dichters. Gekrönte Intellektuelle im 16. Jahrhundert*. Cologne: Böhlau.

Schlosser, Julius von. 1903. 'Über einige Antiken Ghibertis'. *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 24: 125–59.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Schmidt, Alois. 2010. 'Die Korrespondenz zwischen P. Matthäus Rader SJ und Marcus Welser.' In *Humanismus und Renaissance in Augsburg. Kulturgeschichte einer Stadt zwischen Spätmittelalter und Dreissigjährigem Krieg*, edited by Gernot Michael Müller, 421–42. Berlin/New York, N.Y.: Walter de Gruyter.

Schmidt, Victor M. 2003. 'Tipologie e funzioni della pittura senese su tavola'. In *Duccio. Siena fra tradizione bizantina e mondo gotico*, edited by Alessandro Bagnoli, Roberto Bartalini, Luciano Bellosi, and Michel Laclotte, 531–69. Siena: Monte dei Paschi.

Schmidt, Victor M. 2005. *Painted Piety: Panel Paintings for Personal Devotion in Tuscany, 1250–1400*. Florence: Centro Di.

Schmitt, Charles B. 1983. *John Case and Aristotelianism in Renaissance England*. Kingston, ON: McGill-Queen's Press.

Schmitt, Oliver J. 1998. 'Kaiserrede und Zeitgeschichte im späten Byzanz: Ein Panegyrikos Isidors von Kiew aus dem Jahre 1429'. *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 48: 209–43.

Schnapp, Alain. 2009. 'Die Antiquitates der Griechen und Römer, ihr Einfluß auf die Entstehung des antiquarischen Denkens und ihr Beitrag zur Wiederentdeckung Griechenlands'. In *Graecomania. Der europäische Philhellenismus*, edited by Gilbert Heß, Elena Agazzi, and Elisabeth Decultot, 3–37. Berlin/New York, N.Y.: Walter de Gruyter.

Schreurs, Anna. 1993. 'Das antiquarische und das kunsttheoretische Konzept Pirro Ligorios'. *Kölner Jahrbuch* 26: 57–83.

Schreurs, Anna. 2000. *Antikenbild und Kunstanschauungen des Neapolitanischen Malers, Architekten und Antiquars Pirro Ligorio (1513–1583)*. Cologne: König.

Schubart, Walter. 2001. *Religion und Eros*. Munich: C. H. Beck.

Schucan, Luzi. 1973. *Das Nachleben von Basilius Magnus' 'Ad adolescentes'. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des christlichen Humanismus*. Geneva: Droz.

Schultess, Carl. 1905. 'Aus dem Briefwechsel des französischen Philologen und Diplomaten Jacques Bongars (1554–1612)'. In *Beiträge zur Gelehrtengeschichte des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts. Festschrift zur Begrüssung der 48. Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner zu Hamburg im Jahre 1905*, edited by Edmund Kelter, Erich Ziebarth, and Carl Schultess, 103–97. Hamburg: Lütcke & Wulff.

Schwabl, Hans. 1962. 'Das Bild der fremden Welt bei den frühen Griechen'. In *Grecs et barbares. Six exposés et discussions (Vandoeuvres-Genève, 4–9 septembre 1961)*, edited by Hans Schwabl, 3–23. Geneva: Fondation Hardt.

Schwarz, Michael Viktor, and Pia Theis. 2004–2008. *Giottus Pictor*. 2 vols. Vienna/Cologne/Weimar: Böhlau.

Schweder, Gotthard. 1885. *Die alte Domschule, das gegenwärtige Stadt-Gymnasium zu Riga*. Riga: Häcker.

Scorza, Gian Galeazzo. 1980. *Pesaro fine secolo XVI—Clemente VIII e Francesco Maria della Rovere*. Venice: Marsilio.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Scriatolli, Andrea. 1988. *Viterbo nei suoi monumenti*. Viterbo: FAVL.

Segre, Renata. 1998. 'Gli ebrei a Pesaro sotto la signoria dei Della Rovere'. In *Pesaro nell'età dei Della Rovere*, edited by Guido Arbizzoni, Antonio Brancati, and Maria Rosaria Valazzi, 133–66. Venice: Marsilio.

Seiler, Peter. 2002. 'Duccio's *Maestà*: The Function of the Scenes from the Life of Christ on the Reverse of the Altarpiece. A New Hypothesis'. In *Italian Panel Painting of the Duecento and Trecento*, edited by Victor M. Schmidt, 251–77. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art.

Seitter, Walter. 2005. 'Gibt es ein Bild von Plethon?' In *Georgios Gemistos Plethon (1355–1452): Reformpolitiker, Philosoph, Verehrer der alten Götter*, edited by Wilhelm Blum and Walter Seitter, 131–42. Zürich/Berlin: Diaphanes.

Serra Desfilís, Amadeo. 2004. 'Huellas y caminos dudosos por el mar. Notas sobre las relaciones pictóricas entre Génova y España en los siglos XIV y XV'. In *España y Génova. Obras, artistas y coleccionistas*, edited by Piero Boccardo, José Luís Colomer, and Clario Di Fabio, 31–46. Madrid: Villaverde.

Setton, Kenneth M. 1956. 'The Byzantine Background to the Italian Renaissance'. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 100: 1–76.

Setton, Kenneth M. 1976–1984. *The Papacy and the Levant*. 4 vols. Philadelphia, Pa.: American Philosophical Society.

Ševčenko, Ihor. 1975. 'Theodore Metochites, the Chora, and the Intellectual Trends of His Time'. In *The Kariye Djami: Studies in the Art of the Kariye Djami and Its Intellectual Background*, edited by Paul Atkins Underwood, 17–91. London: Routledge.

Ševčenko, Ihor. 1984. 'The Palaeologan Renaissance'. In *Renaissances before the Renaissance*, edited by Warren Treadgold. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.

Ševčenko, Ihor. 1996. 'The Logos on Gregory of Nazianzus by Theodore Metochites'. In *Geschichte und Kultur der Palaiologenzeit: Referate des Internationalen Symposions zu Ehren von Herbert Hunger (Wien, 30. November bis 3. Dezember 1994)*, edited by Werner Seibt, 221–33. Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Shawcross, Teresa. 2013. 'A New Lykourgos for a New Sparta: George Gemistos Plethon and the Despotate of the Morea'. In *Viewing the Morea*, edited by Sharon E. J. Gerstel, 419–52. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks.

Sicherl, Martin. 1978. *Johannes Cuno, ein Wegbereiter des Griechischen in Deutschland. Eine biographisch-kodikologische Studie*. Heidelberg: Winter.

Sidwell, Keith. 2017. 'Step by Step and even Verse: Translation of Lucian as a Tool for Greek Learning in the Early Modern Period'. *Mediterranean Chronicle* 7: 247–68.

Sieber, Fabian. 2015. *Von Gott dichten—Nonnos von Panopolis, die Paraphrase des Johannes-Evangeliums und die Gattung der Bibelepik*. PhD thesis. Leuven: Catholic University of Leuven.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Sieber, Fabian. 2016. 'Nonnus' Christology'. In *Brill's Companion to Nonnus of Panopolis*, edited by Domenico Accorinti, 308–26. Leiden/Boston, Mass.: Brill.

Siecienski, A. Edward. 2010. *The Filioque: History of a Doctrinal Controversy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Silvano, Luigi. 2010. *Appunti per un corso sull' Odissea. Editio princeps dal Par. gr. 3069*. Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso.

Silver, Isidore. 1961–1987. *Ronsard and the Hellenic Renaissance in France*. 2 vols. Geneva: Droz.

Simmel, Georg. 1992. 'Zu einer Theorie des Pessimismus'. In *Gesamtausgabe*, vol. v, *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen 1894 bis 1900*, edited by Heinz-Jürgen Dahme and David P. Frisby, 543–51. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

Siniossoglou, Niketas. 2011. *Radical Platonism in the Byzantium: Illumination and Utopia in Gemistos Plethon*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Siniossoglou, Niketas. 2016. *Ἀλλόκοτος Ἑλληνισμός. Δοκίμιο γιὰ τὴν ὁριακὴ ἐμπειρία τῶν ἰδεῶν*. Athens: Κίχλη.

Siraisi, Nancy G. 2003. 'History, Antiquarianism, and Medicine: The Case of Girolamo Mercuriale'. *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64: 231–51.

Sironen, Erkki. 2018. '"Dialectal" Variation in Humanist Greek Prose Orations from the Great Sweden'. In *Hellenostephanos. Humanist Greek in Early Modern Europe. Learned Communities Between Antiquity and Contemporary Culture*, edited by Janika Päll and Ivo Volt, 130–143. Tartu: Tartu University Press.

Šiško, Silvija. 2013. *Latvijas citvalodu seniespiedumu kopkatalogs 1588–1830. Sērija A*. Riga: National Library of Latvia.

Skinner, Marilyn B. 1984. 'Rhamnusia Virgo'. *Classical Antiquity* 3: 134–41.

Skretkowicz, Victor. 2010. *European Erotic Romance: Philhellene Protestantism, Renaissance Translation, and English Literary Politics*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Smith, Catherine. 1992. *Architecture in the Culture of Early Humanism: Ethics, Aesthetics, and Eloquence, 1400–1470*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Smolak, Kurt. 2012. 'Die Hymnen des Synesios und der lateinische Westen'. In *Synesios von Kyrene. Politik, Literatur, Philosophie*, edited by Helmut Seng and Lars Martin Hoffmann, 420–38. Turnhout: Brepols.

Sode, Claudia. 2001. 'Ein bisher unbekannter Epitaphios des Maximos Margunios auf Leontios Eustratios Philoponos (Cod. Chart. B 147 der Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek Gotha)'. *Codices Manuscripti* 34: 29–52.

Solin, Heikki. 1994. 'Ligoriana und Verwandtes. Zur Problematik epigraphischer Fälschungen'. In *E fontibus haurire. Beiträge zur römischen Geschichte und zu ihren Hilfswissenschaften* (*Festschrift H. Chantraine*), edited by Rosmarie Günther and Stefan Rebenich, 335–51. Paderborn: Schönigh.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Soteriou, Georgios, and Maria Soteriou. 1956. *Εἰκόνες τῆς μονῆς Σινᾶ*. 2 vols. Athens: Institut français.

Spencer, Terence. 1952. 'Turks and Trojans in the Renaissance'. *The Modern Language Review* 47: 330–33.

Speranzi, David. 2013. *Marco Musuro. Libri e scrittura*. Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei.

Speranzi, David. 2017. 'Praeclara librorum suppellectilis: Cretan Manuscripts in Pietro da Portico's Library'. In *Teachers, Students, and Schools of Greek in the Renaissance*, edited by Federica Ciccolella and Luigi Silvano, 155–212. Leiden/Boston, Mass.: Brill.

Spring, Siegfried. 1993. 'David Hoeschel 1556–1617: Rektor am Gymnasium bei St. Anna in Augsburg und Gräzist'. In *Lebensbilder aus dem Bayerischen Schwaben*, edited by Wolfgang Haberl, vol. XIV, 85–121. Weißenhorn: Anton Konrad Verlag.

Springer, Carl P. E. 2011. *Luther's Aesop*. Kirksville, Mo.: Truman State University Press.

Stahl, Hans-Peter. 1999. 'Griechenhetze in Vergils *Aeneis*. Roms Rache für Troja'. In *Rezeption und Identität. Die kulturelle Auseinandersetzung Roms mit Griechenland als europäisches Paradigma*, edited by Gregor Vogt-Spira and Bettina Rommel, 249–73. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.

Stahl, Harvey. 1997. 'Narrative Structure and Content in Some Gothic Ivories of the Life of Christ'. In *Images in Ivory: Precious Objects of the Gothic Age*, edited by Peter Barnet, 94–114. Detroit: Detroit Institute of Arts.

Staïkos, Konstantinos Sp. 1998. *Charta of Greek Printing: The Contribution of Greek Editors, Printers and Publishers to the Renaissance in Italy and the West*. Translated by Timothy Cullen. Cologne: Dinter.

Staïkos, Konstantinos Sp., and Stephanos E. Kaklamanis. 2016. *The Greek Editions of Aldus Manutius and His Greek Collaborators (c. 1494–1515): Introduction, Crete and Renaissance Humanism*. Translated by Katerina Spathi. New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll Press.

Steinrück, Martin. [forthcoming]. 'Springlesen: eine akrostichische Form bei Propertius und Filefo'. In *Hellenostephanos. Humanist Greek in Early Modern Europe: Learned Communities Between Antiquity and Contemporary Culture*, edited by Janika Päll and Ivo Volt, 299–317. Tartu: Tartu University Press.

Steiris, Georgios, Sotiris Mitralexis, and Arabatzis Georgios, eds. 2016. *The Problem of Modern Greek Identity: From the Ecumene to the Nation-State*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Stenhouse, William. 2002. *The Paper Museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo. Series A, Part VII: Ancient Inscriptions*. London: The Royal Collection in association with Harvey Miller Publishers.

Stenhouse, William. 2005. *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History: Historical Scholarship in the Late Renaissance*. London: Institute of Classical Studies.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Stenhouse, William. 2010. 'Epigraphy and Technology: The Impact of the Printing Press'. In *Latin on Stone: Epigraphic Research and Electronic Archives*, edited by Francisca Feraudi-Gruénais, 23–44. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books.

Stenhouse, William. 2017a. 'Early Modern Greek Histories and Republican Political Thought'. In *Ancient Models in the Early Modern Republican Imagination*, edited by Wyger Velema and Arthur Weststeijn, 86–108. Leiden/Boston, Mass.: Brill.

Stenhouse, William. 2017b. 'Greek Histories and Greek Antiquities in the Late Renaissance'. In *Et Amicorum: Essays on Renaissance Humanism and Philosophy in Honour of Jill Kraye*, edited by Margaret Meserve and Anthony Ossa-Richardson, 177–97. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Stinger, Charles L. 1976. *Humanism and the Church Fathers: Ambrogio Traversari (1386–1439) and Christian Antiquity in the Italian Renaissance*. Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press.

Stinger, Charles L. 1985. *The Renaissance in Rome*. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press.

Stockhorst, Stefanie. 2008. 'Literaturgeschichtsschreibung'. *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit*, edited by Friedrich Jaeger, vol. VII, 949–52. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung.

Stoevesandt, Magdalene. 2004. *Feinde, Gegner, Opfer. Zur Darstellung der Troianer in den Kampfszenen der Ilias*. Basel: Schwabe.

Storchová, Lucie. 2014. *Bohemian School Humanism and Its Editorial Practices (ca. 1550–1610)*. Turnhout: Brepols.

Stouraitis, Yannis. 2017. 'Reinventing Roman Ethnicity in High and Late Medieval Byzantium'. *Medieval Worlds* 5: 70–94.

Stourati, Anastasia. 2014. 'Collecting the Past: Greek Antiquaries and Archaeological Knowledge in the Venetian Empire'. In *Re-Imagining the Past: Antiquity and Modern Greek Culture*, edited by Dimitris Tziovas, 29–46. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Stradiņš, Jānis. 2012. *Zinātnes un augstskolu sākotne Latvijā.* 2nd edition. Riga: Latvijas vēstures institūta apgāds.

Stroh, Wilfried. 2007. *Latein ist tot, es lebe Latein! Kleine Geschichte einer großen Sprache*. 2nd ed. Berlin: List.

Struchholz, Edith. 1995. *Die Choranlagen und Chorgestühle des Sieneser Domes*. Münster: Waxmann.

Stubblebine, James H. 1977. 'The Back Predella of Duccio's *Maestà*'. In *Studies in Late Medieval and Renaissance Painting in Honor of Millard Meiss*, edited by Irving Lavin and John Plummer, 430–36. New York, N.Y.: New York University Press.

Stubblebine, James H. 1979. *Duccio di Buoninsegna and His School*. 2 vols. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Studniczka, František Josef. 1908. *Das Bildnis des Aristoteles*. Leipzig: Typis A. Edelmanni.

Stump, Donald V. 1983. 'Greek and Shakespearian Tragedy: Four Indirect Routes from Athens to London'. In *Hamartia: The Concept of Error in the Western Tradition. Essays in Honor of John M. Crossett*, edited by Donald V. Stump, James A. Arieti, Lloyd Gerson, and Eleonore Stump, 211–46. New York, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press.

Stumpo, Beniamino. 1937. 'Il canto XXII dell'*Iliade* e il patriottismo del poeta'. *Il mondo classico* 7: 274–301.

Sturel, René. 1908. *Jacques Amyot, traducteur des Vies parallèles de Plutarque*. Paris: Honoré Champion.

Subacci, Paola. 1995. 'Italians in Antwerp in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century'. In *Minderheden in Westeuropese steden* (*16de-20ste eeuw*) = *Minorities in Western European Cities* (*Sixteenth–Twentieth Centuries*), edited by Hugo Soly and Alfons K. L. Thijs, 73–90. Brussels/Rome: Institut Historique Belge de Rome.

Svatek, Petra. 2013. 'Wolfgang Lazius und seine *Commentarii rerum Graecarum* unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der beiden Griechenlandkarten'. In *Iohannes Cuspinianus* (*1473–1529*). *Ein Wiener Humanist und sein Werk im Kontext*, edited by Christian Gastgeber and Elisabeth Klecker, 287–306. Vienna: Praesens.

Swiggers, Pierre. 2000. 'Adrianus Amerotius, *Compendium Graecae Grammatices* [...]'. In *De geleerde wereld van Keizer Karel. Catalogus tentoonstelling 'Wereldwijs. Wetenschappers rond Keizer Karel'*, edited by Tineke Padmos and Geert Vanpaemel, 98–99. Leuven: Universitaire Pers.

Swiggers, Pierre, and Raf Van Rooy. 2015. 'Hadrianus Amerotius (ca. 1495–1560), grondlegger van de wetenschappelijke studie van het Grieks in Leuven'. *Leuven historisch. Driemaandelijkse nieuwsbrief van het Leuvens Historisch Genootschap* 45: 10–15.

Tachiaos, Aimilios. 2008. *Ὁ Ἀθωνίτης μοναχὸς Μάξιμος ὁ Γραικός. Ὁ τελευταίος τῶν Βυζαντινῶν στὴ Ρωσία*. Thessalonike: Ἑταιρεία Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν.

Takami, Masato, Peter Bell, and Björn Ommer. 2014. 'Offline Learning of Prototypical Negatives for Efficient Online Exemplar. SVM'. In *Proceedings of the IEEE Winter Conference on Applications of Computer Vision, IEEE, Curran 2014*, 377–84. [Piscataway, N.J.]: IEEE.

Talbot, Alice Mary. 1993. 'The Restoration of Constantinople under Michael VIII'. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 47: 243–61.

Tambrun, Brigitte. 2006. *Pléthon, le retour de Platon*. Paris: Vrin.

Tanner, Paul. 1984. 'Paolo Giovio, Pietro Perna, Tobias Stimmer und ihre Porträtwerke'. In *Tobias Stimmer: 1539–1584; Spätrenaissance am Oberrhein* (*Ausstellung im Kunstmuseum Basel 23. September–9. Dezember 1984*), edited by Robert Hiltbrand, 223–39. Basel: Kunstmuseum Basel.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Tarvel, Enn. 1980. 'IV. Liivi sõjast Põhjasõjani. 5. Kultuur, Linna ilme. Arhitektuur'. In *Tartu ajalugu*, edited by Raimo Pullat, 95–106. Tallinn: Eesti Raamat.

Tavonatti, Paolo. 2010. *Francisci Porti Cretensis commentaria in Aeschyli tragoedias*. PhD thesis. Trento: University of Trento.

Tavoni, Mirko. 1986. 'On the Renaissance Idea that Latin Derives from Greek'. *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di lettere e filosofia* 16: 205–38.

Taylor, Andrew. 2012. 'John Leland's Communities of the Epigram'. In *Neo-Latin Poetry in the British Isles*, edited by Gesine Manuwald and Luke B. T. Houghton, 15–35. Bristol: Bristol Classical Press.

Temple, Camilla. 2018. 'The Greek Anthology in the Renaissance: Epigrammatic Scenes of Reading in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*'. *Studies in Philology* 115: 48–72.

Tering, Arvo. 2007. 'Gelehrte Kontakte der Universität Greifswald zu Estland, Livland und Kurland im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert'. In *Die Universität Greifswald in der Bildungslandschaft des Ostseeraums*, edited by Dirk Alvermann, Nils Jörn, and Jens E. Olesen, 283–315. Berlin/Münster: LIT.

Tering, Arvo. 2008. *Eesti-, liivi- ja kuramaalased Euroopa ülikoolides 1561–1798*. Tartu: Eesti Ajalooarhiiv.

Thiriet, Freddy. 1977. 'Sur les communautés grecque et albanaise à Venise'. In *Venezia, centro di mediazione tra oriente e occidente* (*Sec. XV–XVI*), edited by Manoussos Manoussakas, 217–31. Florence: Leo S. Olschki.

Thorn-Wickert, Lydia. 2006. *Manuel Chrysoloras* (*ca. 1350–1415*). *Eine Biographie des byzantinischen Intellektuellen vor dem Hintergrund der hellenistischen Studien in der italienischen Renaissance*. Frankfurt am Main/Berlin/Bern, etc.: Peter Lang.

Ţighiliu, Iolanda. 1993. 'O imagine renascentistă: Petru Cercel'. *Revista istorică* 4: 235–46.

Tilmans, Karin. 2002. 'Republican Citizenship and Civic Humanism in the Burgundian-Habsburg Netherlands (1477–1566)'. In *Republicanism: A Shared European Heritage*, edited by Martin van Gelderen and Quentin Skinner, vol. 1, *Republicanism and Constitutionalism in Early Modern Europe*, 107–26. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tinsley, Barbara Sher. 1989. 'Johann's [sic] Sturm's Method for Humanistic Pedagogy'. *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 20: 23–40.

Tinto, Alberto. 1970. 'The History of a Sixteenth-Century Greek Type'. *The Library* 25: 285–93.

Tissoni, Francesco. 2016. 'The Reception of Nonnus in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and Renaissance Literature'. In *Brill's Companion to Nonnus of Panoplis*, edited by Domenico Accorinti, 691–713. Leiden/Boston, Mass.: Brill.

Tolias, George. 2001. '*Totius Graecia*: Nicolaos Sophianos's Map of Greece and the Transformations of Hellenism'. *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 19: 1–22.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Tolias, George. 2005. 'Για μια ορατή αρχαιότητα. Μεθοδολογία, χρήσεις και λειτουργίες του χάρτη της Ελλάδας του Νικόλαου Σοφιανου'. *Ο Ερανιστής* 25: 9–49.

Tolias, George. 2006. 'Nikolaos Sophianos's *Totius Graeciae Descriptio*: The Resources, Diffusion and Function of a Sixteenth-Century Antiquarian Map of Greece'. *Imago Mundi* 58: 150–82.

Tolias, George. 2007. 'Mourning Greece: Cartographic Allegories of Melancholy in the Late Renaissance'. In *Ausdrucksformen des europäischen und internationalen Philhellenismus vom 17.–19. Jahrhundert*, edited by Evangelos Konstantinou, 305–18. Frankfurt am Main/Berlin/Bern, etc.: Peter Lang.

Tolias, George. 2012. *Mapping Greece, 1420–1800: A History. Maps in the Margarita Samourkas Collection*. New Castle, Del./Houten: Oak Knoll Press/Hes & de Graaf.

Tomai-Pitinca, Emidio. 1981. 'Comunità albanesi nel Tarentino, sec. XVI (1/2)'. *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 35: 113–32.

Tomai-Pitinca, Emidio. 1982. 'Comunità albanesi nel Tarentino, sec. XVI (2/2)'. *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 36: 3–22.

Tomai-Pitinca, Emidio. 1984. 'Comunità greco-albanesi in diocesi di Larino, aspetti ecclesiali e di costume (sec. XVI)'. *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 38: 19–66.

Tomai-Pitinca, Emidio. 1985. 'Comunità di rito greco in diocesi di Benevento (secolo XVI)'. *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 39: 218–32.

Tomè, Paola. 2011. 'Papiri(an)us, Paperinus, Papirinus e l'*Orthographia* di Giovanni Tortelli'. *Revue d'histoire des textes* 6: 167–210.

Tomè, Paola. 2012. *Nuovi contributi per l'Orthographia di Giovanni Tortelli*. San Donà di Piave (VE): Phil Fresh.

Tomè, Paola. 2015. 'Il contributo di Manuzio alla riscoperta del greco in Occidente'. *Notiziario bibliografico della Giunta Regionale del Veneto* 71: 51–60.

Tomè, Paola. 2016. 'Per una storia dell'ortografia umanistica. Giorgio Valla e Iodoco Badio Ascensio'. *Medioevo e Rinascimento* 30: 211–28.

Tomè, Paola. 2017. 'Greek Authors and Greek Studies in Giovanni Tortelli's *Orthographia*: A World in Transition'. In *Teachers, Students and Schools of Greek in Renaissance*, edited by Federica Ciccolella and Luigi Silvano, 79–119. Leiden/Boston, Mass.: Brill.

Tomè, Paola. 2019. 'Testi elementari di esercizio per l'apprendimento del greco. Il caso dell'*Appendix Aldina*'. *In Aldo Manuzio editore, umanista e filologo*, edited by Giacomo Comiati, 89–131. Milan: Ledizioni.

Tommasi, Chiara O. 2014. 'Il nome segreto di Roma tra antiquaria ed esoterismo. Una riconsiderazione delle fonti'. *Studi classici e orientali* 60: 187–219.

Tooley, Ronald Vere 1939. 'Maps in Italian Atlases of the Sixteenth Century. Being a Comparative List of Maps Issued by Lafreri, Forlani, Ducetti, Bertelli and Others, Found in Atlases'. *Imago Mundi* 3: 12–47.

Toomer, G. J. 2009. *John Selden: A Life in Scholarship*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Tourta, Anastasia. 1982. 'Εικόνα με σκηνές Παθών στη μονή Βλατάδων'. *Μακεδονικά* 22: 154–79.

Tourta, Anastasia. 1985. 'Six Scenes from the Passion, 14th Century'. In *Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art: Athens, Old University, July 26. 1985–January 6. 1986. Catalogue*, edited by Myrtale Acheimastou-Potamianou. Athens: Byzantine Museum.

Tourta, Anastasia. 2018. 'Passion Scenes'. In *Τὸ ἡμέτερον κάλλος. Our Sacred Beauty. Byzantine Icons from Thessaloniki*, edited by Flora Karagianni, 224–27. Thessaloniki: Monastery of Vlatadon.

Tracy, James D. 2008. *The Founding of the Dutch Republic: War, Finance, and Politics in Holland 1572–1588*. Oxford/New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press.

Traill, David A. 1990. 'Unfair to Hector?' *Classical Philology* 85: 299–303.

Trapp, Joseph B. 1990. 'The Conformity of Greek with the Vernacular: The History of a Renaissance Theory of Languages'. In Id., *Essays on the Renaissance and the Classical Tradition*, Essay I. Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum.

Travi, Carla. 1992. 'Il maestro del Trittico di Santa Chiara. Appunti per la pittura veneta di primo Trecento'. *Arte cristiana* NS 80: 81–96.

Trinquet, Roger. 1964. 'Nouveaux aperçus sur les débuts du collège de Guyenne, de Jean de Tartas à André de Gouvéa (1533–1535)'. *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 26: 510–58.

Troje, Hans Erich. 1971. *Graeca leguntur. Die Aneignung des byzantinischen Rechts und die Entstehung eines humanistischen Corpus Juris Civilis in der Jurisprudenz des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Vienna/Cologne/Weimar: Böhlau.

Troje, Hans Erich. 2011. *Crisis Digestorum. Studien zur Historia Pandectarum*. Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann.

Trunz, Erich. 1965. 'Der deutsche Späthumanismus um 1600 als Standeskultur'. In *Deutsche Barockforschung. Dokumentation einer Epoche*, edited by Richard Alewyn, 147–181. Cologne/Berlin: Kiepenheuer & Witsch. Reprint of the article originally printed in *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Erziehung und des Unterrichts* 21 (1931): 17–53.

Tsirpanlis, Zacharias N. 1973. 'Εκλογή μητροπολίτη Ιταλίας από τους Έλληνες της Αγκώνας (1543, 1548)'. *Δωδώνη* 2: 61–76.

Tsirpanlis, Zacharias N. 1980. *Το Ελληνικό Κολλέγιο της Ρώμης και οι μαθητές του (1576–1700). Συμβολή στη μελέτη της μορφωτικής πολιτικής του Βατικανού*. Thessalonike: Πατριαρχικόν Ίδρυμα Πατερικών Μελετών.

Tsirpanlis, Zacharias N. 1983. 'Il primo e il secondo collegio greco di Roma'. *Il Veltro: Rivista della civiltà italiana* 27: 507–22.

Tuck, Richard. 1993. *Philosophy and Government, 1572–1651*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tuilier, André, ed. 2006. *Histoire du Collège de France*, vol. I, *La création (1530–1560)*. Paris: Fayard.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Vagenas, Nasos 2011. 'Μιχαὴλ Μάρουλλος Ταρχανιώτης'. In Nasos Vagenas, *Κινούμενος στόχος*, 15–20. Athens: Πόλις.

Vagenheim, Ginette. 1987. 'Les inscriptions ligoriennes. Notes sur la tradition manuscrite'. *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 30: 199–309.

Vagenheim, Ginette. 1988. 'Some Newly-Discovered Works by Pirro Ligorio'. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 51: 242–45.

Vagenheim, Ginette. 2007. 'La collaboration de Benedetto Egio aux *Antichità romane* de Pirro Ligorio à propos des inscriptions grecques'. In *Testi, immagini e filologia nel XVI secolo*, edited by Adriano Prosperi and Salvatore Settis, 205–24. Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore.

Vagenheim, Ginette. 2011. 'La falsificazione epigrafica nell'Italia della seconda metà del Cinquecento. *Renovatio* ed *inventio* nelle *Antichità Romane* attribuite a Pirro Ligorio'. In *El monumento epigráfico en contextos secundarios. Procesos de reutilización, interpretación y falsificación*, edited by Joan Carbonell Manils and José Luis Moralejo Alvarez, 217–26. Barcelona: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

Vagenheim, Ginette. 2014. 'Bartolomeo Borghesi, Theodor Mommsen et l'édition des inscriptions de Pirro Ligorio dans le *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (*CIL*)'. *Journal of the History of Collections* 26: 363–71.

Valk, Marchinus van der. 1953. 'Homer's Nationalistic Attitude'. *L'Antiquité Classique* 22: 5–26.

Valk, Marchinus van der. 1985. 'Homer's Nationalism, Again'. *Mnemosyne* 38: 373–76.

Vallinkoski, Jorma. 1962–1966. *Turun akatemian väitöskirjat 1642–1828 = Die Dissertationen der alten Universität Turku* (*Academia Aboënsis*)*, 1642–1828*. Helsinki: Helsingin Yliopiston Kirjasto.

Van Durme, Maurice. 1953. *Antoon Perrenot. Bisschop van Atrecht, kardinaal van Granvelle, minister van Karel V en van Filips II* (*1517–1586*). Brussels: Paleis der Academiën.

Van Hal, Toon. 2011. 'A Man of Eight Hearts: Hadrianus Junius and Sixteenth-Century Plurilinguism'. In *Hadrianus Junius* (*1511–1575*)*: Northern Humanism on the Eve of the Dutch Renaissance*, edited by Dirk van Miert, 188–213. Leiden/Boston, Mass.: Brill.

Van Hal, Toon. 2016. 'Bevoorrechte betrekkingen tussen Germaans en Grieks: Wilhelm Otto Reitz' *Belga graecissans* (1730)'. *Leuvense Bijdragen: Tijdschrift voor Germaanse Filologie* 99–100: 427–43.

Van Rooy, Raf. 2017a. 'Adrien Amerots openingsrede van oktober 1545'. In In *Het Leuvense Collegium Trilingue 1517–1797: Erasmus, humanistische onderwijspraktijk en het nieuwe taleninstituut Latijn—Grieks—Hebreeuws*, edited by Jan Papy, 332–39. Leuven: Peeters.

Van Rooy, Raf. 2017b. 'Een kijk in de kringen van Adrien Amerot doorheen een aantal Griekse gedichten van Jakovos Diassorinos uit Rhodos'. In *Het Leuvense Collegium Trilingue 1517–1797: Erasmus, humanistische onderwijspraktijk en het*

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

nieuwe taleninstituut Latijn—Grieks—Hebreeuws, edited by Jan Papy, 347–49. Leuven: Peeters.

Van Rooy, Raf, and Toon Van Hal. 2018. 'Studying Ancient Greek at the Old University of Leuven: An Outline in a European Context'. In *The Leuven Collegium Trilingue 1517–1797: Erasmus, Humanist Educational Practice and the New Language Institute Latin—Greek—Hebrew*, edited by Jan Papy, 129–53. Leuven: Peeters.

Varnalidis, Sotirios L. 1981. 'Le implicazioni del breve *Accepimus Nuper* di Papa Leone X (18.5.1521) e del breve *Romanus Pontifex* di Papa Pio IV (16.2.1564) nella vita religiosa dei Greci e degli Albanesi dell'Italia meridionale'. *Nicolaus. Rivista di teologia ecumenico-patristica* 13: 359–82.

Varriale, Gennaro. 2014. 'Un covo di spie. Il quartiere greco di Napoli'. In *Identità e frontiere. Politica, economia e società nel Mediterraneo* (*Sec. XIV–XVIII*), edited by Lluis J. Guia Marin, Maria Grazia Rosaria Mele, and Gianfranco Tore, 47–62. Milan: Franco Angeli.

Vasilescu, Mihail. 1989. 'Hellènes et barbares dans les épopées homériques'. *Klio. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte* 71: 70–77.

Vassilaki, Maria. 2000. *Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*. Athens/Milan: Skira.

Vassilaki, Maria. 2002. 'Εικόνα της Παναγίας Γλυκοφιλούσας του Μουσείου Μπενάκη (αρ. ευρ. 2972): προβλήματα της έρευνας'. In *Βυζαντινές εικόνες. Τέχνη, τεχνική και τεχνολογία*, 201–07. Heraklion: Πανεπιστημιακές Εκδόσεις Κρήτης.

Vassilaki, Maria. 2009. *The Painter Angelos and Icon-Painting in Venetian Crete*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Vassilaki, Maria, ed. 2010. *Χειρ Αγγέλου: Ένας ζωγράφος εικόνων στη βενετοκρατούμενη Κρήτη*. Farnham: Lund Humphries.

Vassilaki, Maria, and Robin Cormack, eds. 2008. *Byzantium 330–1453*. London: Royal Academy of Arts.

Veludo, Giovanni. 1847. 'Cenni sulla colonia greca orientale'. In *Venezia e le sue lagune*, vol. I, 2nd pt., Appendix V, 78–100. Venice: Antonelli.

Venier, Matteo. 2004. 'Nota Manuziana'. *Lettere italiane* 56: 618–53.

Verbeke, Demmy. 2009. 'Horace from Bruges to Cambridge: The Editions by Jacobus Cruquius and Richard Bentley'. In *Syntagmatia. Essays on Neo-Latin Literature in Honour of Monique Mund-Dopchie and Gilbert Tournoy*, edited by Dirk Sacré and Jan Papy, 461–71. Leuven: Leuven University Press.

Vervliet, Hendrik D. L. 2008. 'Greek Printing Types of the French Renaissance: The *Grecs du Roy* and Their Successors'. In Id., *The Palaeotypography of the French Renaissance: Selected Papers on Sixteenth-Century Typefaces*, vol. I, 383–425. Leiden/Boston, Mass.: Brill.

Veteikis, Tomas. 2004a. *Graikų kalbos studijos ir graikiškoji kūryba Lietuvoje XVI–XVII amžiuje*. PhD thesis. Vilnius: Vilnius University.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Veteikis, Tomas. 2004b. *Greek Studies and Greek Literature in 16–17th Century Lithuania. A Summary of Doctoral Dissertation*. Vilnius: Vilnius University Press.

Veteikis, Tomas. 2018. 'Imitation of the *Carmina Moralia* of St. Gregory of Nazianzus in the 16th-Century Greek Poetry of Lithuania'. In *Hellenostephanos. Humanist Greek in Early Modern Europe: Learned Communities Between Antiquity and Contemporary Culture*, edited by Janika Päll and Ivo Volt, 336–75. Tartu: Tartu University Press.

Vial, Charles-Éloi. 2015. 'Les manuscrits de Jacques Bongars à la Bibliothèque nationale de France'. In *Jacques Bongars (1554–1612). Gelehrter und Diplomat im Zeitalter des Konfessionalismus*, edited by Gerlinde Huber-Rebenich, 125–36. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Vickers, Michael. 2006. *The Arundel and Pomfret Marbles*. Oxford: The Ashmolean Museum.

Viiding, Kristi. 2002. *Die Dichtung neulateinischer Propemptika an der Academia Gustaviana (Dorpatensis) in den Jahren 1632–1656*. Tartu: Tartu University Press.

Vingopoulou, Ioli. 2004. *Le monde grec vu par les voyageurs du XVI^e siècle*. Athens: Ινστιτούτο Νεοελληνικών Ερευνών, Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών.

Viroli, Maurizio. 1992. *From Politics to Reason of State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Voet, Leon. 1969. *The Golden Compasses: The History of the House of Plantin-Moretus*. Amsterdam: Vangendt & co.

Vogel, Marie, and Viktor Emil Gardthausen. 1909. *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*. Leipzig: Harrassowitz.

Voigt, Georg. 1960. *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums oder das erste Jahrhundert des Humanismus*. 2 vols. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. Reprint of the 3rd edition by G. Reimer, Berlin (1893).

Vokotopoulos, Panagiotis. 1995. *Βυζαντινές εικόνες*. Athens: Εκδοτική Αθηνών.

Vokotopoulos, Panagiotis. 2002. 'Funzioni e tipologia delle icone'. In *Il viaggio dell'icona dalle origini alla caduta di Bisanzio*, edited by Tania Velmans, 109–49. Milan: Jaca.

Vokotopoulos, Panagiotis. 2004. 'Icon with Passion Scenes'. In *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, edited by Helen C. Evans, 182. New York, N.Y.: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Volckmar, Karl. 1854. 'Laurentius Rhodomann's Lobgedicht auf Ilfeld'. In *Programm des Königlichen Pädagogiums zu Ilfeld*, 1–88. Nordhausen: C. Kirchner.

Völkel, Markus. 1999. *Die Wahrheit zeigt viele Gesichter. Der Historiker, Sammler und Satiriker Paolo Giovio (1486–1552) und sein Porträt Roms in der Hochrenaissance. Vorlesung gehalten am 28. Mai 1997 in der Universität Basel.* Basel: Schwabe.

Völkel, Markus. 2010. 'Von Augsburg nach Paris, von Oporin zu Cramoisy. Die reichsstädtische Byzantinistik und die europäische *Respublica litteraria* in der Frühen Neuzeit'. In *Humanismus und Renaissance in Augsburg. Kulturgeschichte*

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

einer Stadt zwischen Spätmittelalter und Dreissigjährigem Krieg, edited by Gernot Michael Müller, 293–308. Berlin/New York, N.Y.: Walter de Gruyter.

Vollgraff, Wilhelm. 1949. 'Le réveil de Chyndonax'. *L'antiquité classique* 18: 55–78.

Vorobyev, Grigory. [forthcoming]. 'Conrad Gessner as a Reader of Aristotle: Greek Words in the Early Modern Zoological Nomenclature'. In *Proceedings of the Conference The Impact of Learning Greek, Hebrew and 'Oriental' Languages, Leuven 13–15 December 2017*. Turnhout: Brepols.

Voudouri, Alexandra. 2013. 'Representations of Power in the Byzantios Oration of Theodore Metochites: Illusions and Realities'. *Parekbolai* 3: 107–30.

Voudouri, Alexandra. 2016. *Αυτοτελή εγκώμια πόλεων της ύστερης βυζαντινής περιόδου υπό το πρίσμα της προγενέστερης παράδοσής τους*. PhD thesis. Athens: University of Athens.

Vredeveld, Harry. 2008. 'Erasmus von Rotterdam (Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus). F. Carmina'. In *Deutscher Humanismus, 1480–1520. Verfasserlexikon*, edited by Franz Josef Worstbrock, vol. 1, 658–804. Berlin/New York, N.Y.: Walter de Gruyter.

Vryonis, Speros. 1991. 'Byzantine Cultural Self-Consciousness in the Fifteenth Century'. In *The Twilight of Byzantium: Aspects of Cultural and Religious History in the Late Byzantine Empire*, edited by Slobodan Ćurčić and Doula Mouriki, 5–14. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Wagner, Kevin. 2016. 'The Second Person on the Trinity in the Hymns of Synesius of Cyrene and Gregory of Nazianzus' *Poemata Arcana* and Orations'. *Phronema* 31: 59–96.

Walcher Casotti, Maria. 1961. *Il trittico di S. Chiara di Trieste e l'orientamento paleologo nell'arte di Paolo Veneziano*. Triest: Università degli Studi di Trieste.

Wallace, Joseph. 2011. 'Legal Theories and Ancient Practices in John Selden's *Marmora Arundelliana*'. *Journal of the History of Ideas* 72: 393–412.

Walter, Axel E. 2004. *Späthumanismus und Konfessionspolitik. Die europäische Gelehrtenrepublik um 1600 im Spiegel der Korrespondenzen Georg Michael Lingelsheims*. Berlin/New York, N.Y.: Walter de Gruyter.

Walther, Helmut G., ed. 2008. *Universitäres Leben im Collegium Jenense. 1548 bis Heute. Katalog zur Dauerausstellung*. Jena: IKS.

Weale, W. H. James. 1866. 'Hubert Goltz dit Goltzius'. *Le Beffroi. Arts, héraldique, archéologie* 3: 246–77.

Webb, Ruth. 2012. 'Describing Rome in Greek: Manuel Chrysoloras' Comparison of Old and New Rome'. In *Villes de toute beauté. L'ekphrasis des cités dans les littératures byzantine et byzantino-slaves*, edited by Paolo Odorico and Charis Messis, 123–33. Paris: Centre d'études byzantines, néo-helléniques et sud-est européennes.

Weiler, Ingomar. 1968. 'Greek and Non-Greek World in the Archaic Period'. *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 9: 21–29.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Weinberg, Joanna. 2015. 'Jacques Bongars in der Akademie des Rabbi Loew, des Maharal von Prag'. In *Jacques Bongars (1554–1612). Gelehrter und Diplomat im Zeitalter des Konfessionalismus*, edited by Gerlinde Huber-Rebenich, 97–109. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Weise, Stefan. 2011. 'Μοῦσα Ἀλληνική. Griechische Gedichte hallescher Gelehrter'. In *HYPOTHESEIS. Festschrift für Wolfgang Luppe zum 80. Geburtstag*, edited by Michael Hillgruber, Rainer Lenk, and Stefan Weise, 399–429. Berlin/New York, N.Y.: Walter de Gruyter.

Weise, Stefan. 2016. 'Ἑλληνίδ' αἶαν εἰσιδεῖν ἱμείρομαι—Neualtgriechische Literatur in Deutschland (Versuch eines Überblicks)'. *Antike und Abendland* 62: 114–81.

Weise, Stefan. 2017a. 'Dichten und Teetrinken. Zum anakreontischen griechischen Teegedicht *De Thea herba* von Johann Gottfried Herrichen (1629–1705)'. In *Hellenisti!—Altgriechisch als Literatursprache im neuzeitlichen Europa*, edited by Stefan Weise, 149–201. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.

Weise, Stefan, ed. 2017b. *Hellenisti!—Altgriechisch als Literatursprache im neuzeitlichen Europa*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.

Weiss, Roberto. 1966. *Pisanello's Medallion of the Emperor John VIII Palaeologus*. London: The British Museum.

Weiss, Roberto. 1969. *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Weiss, Roberto. 1977. *Medieval and Humanist Greek: Collected Essays*. Padua: Antenore.

Wells, Marion A. 2007. *The Secret Wound: Love-Melancholy and Early Modern Romance*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.

Wendebourg, Dorothea. 1986. *Reformation und Orthodoxie. Der ökumenische Briefwechsel zwischen der Leitung der Württembergischen Kirche und Patriarch Jeremias II. von Konstantinopel in den Jahren 1573–1581*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Weng, Gerhard. 2003. 'Camerarius' griechische Gestaltung des 133. Psalms—nur eine Paraphrase?' In *Joachim Camerarius*, edited by Rainer Kößling and Günther Wartenberg, 175–205. Tübingen: Gunter Narr.

Wenz, Gunther. 2010. 'Den Griechen ein Grieche? Die *Confessio Augustana Graeca* von 1559 und der Briefwechsel der Leitung der Württembergischen Kirche mit Patriarch Jeremias II. von Konstantinopel in den Jahren 1573–1581 im Kontext der Konkordienformel von 1577'. *Ecumenical Review Sibiu / Revista Ecumenica Sibiu* 2: 11–36.

Westcott, W. Wynn. 1887. *Tabula Bembina, sive Mens Isiaca: The Isiac Tablet of Cardinal Bembo, Its History and Occult Significance*. Bath: Robert H. Fryar.

Wiedasch, E. 1853. 'Verzeichnis sämmtlicher Zöglinge des Königlichen Pädagogiums zu Ilfeld von seiner Gründung an bis jetzt'. In *Programm des Königlichen Pädagogiums zu Ilfeld Ostern 1853*, 1–121. Nordhausen: Carl Kirchner.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Ulrich von. 1927. *Geschichte der Philologie*. 3rd ed. Leipzig: Teubner.

Williams-Lehmann, Phyllis. 1973. *Samothracian Reflections: Aspects of the Revival of the Antique*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Wilson, Nigel Guy. 1996. *Scholars of Byzantium.* 2nd ed. London: Duckworth.

Wilson, Nigel Guy. 2000. *Da Bisanzio all'Italia. Gli studi greci nell'Umanesimo italiano*. Translated by Barbara Sancin. Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso.

Wilson, Nigel Guy. 2017. *From Byzantium to Italy: Greek Studies in the Italian Renaissance*. 2nd ed. London: Bloomsbury.

Wischermann, Heinfried. 1975. 'Ein Medaillenmodell auf Adolph Occo II'. *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 17: 149–54.

Wittram, Reinhard. 1973. *Baltische Geschichte: die Ostseelande Livland, Estland, Kurland, 1180–1918: Grundzüge und Durchblicke*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft. Reprint of the edition by Oldenbourg, Munich (1954).

Wohlmuth, Josef, and Giuseppe Alberigo. 2000. *Konzilien des Mittelalters. Vom ersten Laterankonzil (1123) bis zum fünften Laterankonzil (1512–1517)*. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh.

Wolfe, Jessica. 2015. *Homer and the Question of Strife from Erasmus to Hobbes*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Wolff, Robert Lee. 1948. 'Footnote to an Incident of the Latin Occupation of Constantinople: The Church and the Icon of the Hodegetria'. *Traditio* 6: 319–28.

Wollenweider, Samuel. 2012. 'Ein Mittleres zwischen Vater und Sohn. Zur Bedeutung des neuplatonikers Porphyrios für die Hymnen des Synesios'. In *Synesios von Kyrene. Politik, Literatur, Philosophie*, edited by Helmut Seng and Lars Martin Hoffmann, 183–200. Turnhout: Brepols.

Woodhouse, Christopher M. 1986. *Gemistos Plethon: The Last of the Hellenes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Woods, Kim. 2013. 'Byzantine Icons in the Netherlands, Bohemia and Spain during the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries'. In *Byzantine Art and Renaissance Europe*, edited by Angeliki Lymberopoulou and Rembrandt Duits, 135–55. Farnham: Ashgate.

Woronoff, Michel. 1984. 'Nationalisme d'Homère ou parti-pris de scoliastes?' In *Hommages à Lucien Lerat*, edited by Hélène Walter, 883–96. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

Worstbrock, Franz Josef. 2000. 'Imitatio in Augsburg. Zur Physiognomie des deutschen Frühhumanismus'. *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 129: 187–201.

Wos, Jan Władysław. 1974. 'I primi anconetani del Collegio greco di Roma'. *Studia Picena* 41: 30–40.

Wos, Jan Władysław. 1978. 'La comunità greca di Ancona alla fine del secolo XVI'. *Studia Picena* 46: 20–59.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Wrede, Henning. 1989. 'Die Opera de Pili von 1542 und das Berliner Sarkophagcorpus. Zur Geschichte von Sarkophagforschung, Hermeneutik und klassicher Archäologie'. *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 104: 373–414.

Wrede, Henning. 1990. 'Römische Reliefs griechischer Meister? Zur Antikenrezeption in der Renaissance'. In *Das antike Rom und der Osten. Festschrift für Klaus Parlasca*, edited by Christoph Börker and Michael Donderer, 219–34. Erlangen: Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen.

Wrede, Henning. 2013. 'Der Nutzen der Numismatik bei Hubertus Goltzius'. In *Translatio Nummorum. Römische Kaiser in der Renaissance. Akten des internationalen Symposium. Berlin, 16.-18. November 2011*, edited by Ulrike Peter and Bernhard Weisser, 91–100. Mainz/Wiesbaden: Rutzen/Harassowitz.

Wright, Christopher. 2014. *The Gattilusio Lordships and the Aegean World, 1355–1462*. Leiden/Boston, Mass.: Brill.

Wünsche, Raimund, and Florian Knauß, eds. 2004. *Lockender Lorbeer. Sport und Spiel in der Antike*. Munich: Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek.

Yakovaki, Nassia. 2006. *Ευρώπη μέσω Ελλάδας. Μια καμπή στην ευρωπαϊκή αυτοσυνείδηση, 17ος 18ος αιώνας.* Athens: Εστία .

Zacharakis, Christos G. 1982. *A Catalogue of Printed Maps of Greece and Greek Regions, 1477–1800*. 2nd ed. Nicosia: Leventis Foundation.

Zacharakis, Christos G. 2009. *A Catalogue of Printed Maps of Greece 1477–1800*. Athens: Sylvia Ioannou Foundation.

Zakythinos, Denis. 1928. 'Μιχαὴλ Μάρουλλος Ταρχανιώτης, Ἕλλην ποιητὴς τῶν χρόνων τῆς Ἀναγεννήσεως'. *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 5: 200–242.

Zakythinos, Denis. 1975. *Le Despotat grec de Morée*. Edited by Chryssa Maltézou. 2 vols. London: Variorum.

Zardin, Danilo. 2000. 'Relaunching Confraternities in the Tridentine Era: Shaping Consciences and Christianizing Society in Milan and Lombardy'. In *The Politics of Ritual Kinship: Confraternities and Social Order in Early Modern Italy*, edited by Nicholas Terpstra, 190–209. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Zaviras, Georgios. 1972. *Νέα Ἑλλάς, ἤ, Ἑλληνικὸν θέατρον*. Athens: Society for Macedonian Studies.

Zazoff, Peter. 1983. *Die antiken Gemmen*. Munich: C. H. Beck.

Zečevic, Nada. 2000. 'Searching for Acceptance? A Fifteenth Century Refugee's Family History'. *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 6: 129–43.

Zečevic, Nada. 2013. 'Notes on the Prosopography of the Strategopoulos Family'. *Радови Филозофског Факултета* 15: 128–29.

Zeidberg, David S., and Fiorella Gioffredi Superbi, eds. 1998. *Aldus Manutius and Renaissance Culture: Essays in Memory of Franklin D. Murphy. Acts of an International Conference, Venice and Florence, 14–17 June 1998*. Florence: Leo S. Olschki.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Zeman, Herbert. 1972. *Die deutsche Anakreontische Dichtung. Ein Versuch zur Erfassung ihrer ästhetischen und literarhistorischen Erscheinungsformen im 18. Jahrhundert*. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung.

Zimmerman, J. 2016. *Re-Envisioning Christian Humanism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Zimmermann, Price T. C. 1995. *Paolo Giovio: The Historian and the Crisis of Sixteenth-Century Italy*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Zinserling, Anka. 1998. 'Bildnis Johannes Rosa (1571)'. In *Aufbrüche—450 Jahre Hohe Schule Jena. Katalog zur Ausstellung*, edited by Joachim Bauer, 100–101. Jena: Druckhaus Gera.

Ziolkowski, Jan M., ed. 2014. *Dante and the Greeks*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks.

Zorzi, Marino. 1994. 'Introduction'. In *Aldo Manuzio e l'ambiente veneziano (1494–1515)*, edited by Susy Marcon and Marino Zorzi, 13–50. Venice: Il Cardo.

Zorzi, Niccolò. 2002. 'I Crisoloras. Personaggi e libri'. In *Manuele Crisolora e il ritorno del greco in Occidente*, edited by Riccardo Maisano and Antonio Rollo, 99–118. Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale.

Zotou, Alexia. 2014. *Carmina anacreontea 1–34: Ein Kommentar*. Berlin/Boston, Mass.: Walter de Gruyter.

Zwierlein-Diehl, Erika. 2007. *Antike Gemmen und ihr Nachleben*. Berlin/New York, N.Y.: Walter de Gruyter.

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Index

Aasche 69 (table)
Åbo *see* Turku
Acciaioli, Zanobi 46
Acquaviva, Andrea Matteo 255
Adana 329
Adrastus 131, 134
Adrien of Soissons *see* Amerotius, Hadrianus
Aegean Sea 156, 298, 350
Aelian 431
Aeneas of Gaza 58, 102, 106
Aeneas of Troy 359n46
Aeschines 83, 126
Aeschylus 7, 57, 264
Aesop 45, 420, 424
Agamemnon 269
Agricola, Mikael 413
Agricola, Rudolf 95, 389n74
Agustín, Antonio 310, 329
Ajax (Locrian) 274
Ajax (Telamonian) 267
Alard, Lampert 386, 399n135, 402 (table)
Alba Fucens 180
Albanians 281–82, 285, 286, 287–88
Alberti, Leandro 362
Albino, Giovanni 358n44
Alcalá de Henares 61, 71 (table)
Alciato, Andrea 71 (table)
Aleandro, Girolamo 60–61, 69, 73, 74, 83, 96, 101, 314n26
Aleardi, Francesco 169
Alexander III of Macedon, King 151, 271, 358n44
Alexander Rhetor 432
Alexandria 151, 153
Alexis the Poet 132
al-Farid, Ibn 247
Alfonso V of Aragon, King 284, 358n44
Altdorf 400, 401 (table), 425; Academy (later University) of 223, 225, 227n60, 384
Álvarez de Toledo, Fernando 375
Amantius, Bartholomaeus 308
Amerotius, Hadrianus (Adrien Amerot) 21, 60, 94–112
Amiroutzes, George 150n15
Amphipolis 334
Amyot, Jacques 11, 88
Anacreon of Teos 7n21, 11, 22, 23, 218, 222, 225; Anacreontic poetry 215, 217–19, 221–22, 224n50, 225–27, 229, 399n130
Anatolia 157, 273n57; Anatolians 266n28
Ancona 18, 22, 279–302 (*passim*)
Andreae, Jacob 216n7
Andrelini, Fausto 69 (table)
Andrew III of Hungary 179
Andronicus II Palaeologus 147, 150, 152, 156
Andronicus III Palaeologus 283
Angelus, Arnoldus 390n78, 404
Ankara 307
Ankara (Battle of) 157
Anne of Brittany 71 (table)
Annia Regilla 311
Anshelm, Thomas 83
Antesignanus, Petrus (Pierre Davantès) 86
Antibes 322, 355
Antioch 151, 153; *Oration of Antioch* by Libanius 160n64, 164n78
Antonio di Pietro Averlino *see* Filarete
Antwerp 69 (table), 97, 281n8, 348, 350, 351, 354, 369n71, 374, 413n17
Aphthonius of Antioch 423
Apianus, Petrus 308
Apollo 374, 377, 378
Apollodorus of Acharnae 244
Apuleius the Grammarian 40–41, 48 (table)
Arabia 167
Arabic language 386n44, 64, 70 (table); medicine 12n44; sources 12
Aragazzi, Bartolomeo 157n52, 169
Aragon 357
Arcadia 334, 359n46
Archilochus of Paros 130n52, 133
Arcudius, Petrus 311, 314
Argolus, Johannes 398n122
Argos 335, 336
Argyropoulos, John 200n39, 201, 202, 203 (fig.), 204n58, 206, 210, 211, 212, 391
Arianiti Comneno, Costantino 286–88
Aristides 432

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Aristophanes 7, 21, 23, 63, 71 (table), 72–93, 133, 389n70
Aristotle 7, 46, 51–52, 60, 69 (table), 74, 84, 96, 118, 132, 133, 154n35, 154n36, 155, 160n63, 215, 246, 330, 336–37, 358n44, 426–27, 431; Aristotelianism 5n11, 427
Arrian of Nicomedia 358n44, 398n122, 431
Artois 62
Ascham, Roger 121
Asia 145, 160, 270n33
Asia Minor 153, 271, 273, 309, 314, 333–34
Athena Pallas 275, 329, 368
Athenaeus 132, 133, 321
Athens 101, 307, 317, 318, 322, 328, 334, 343, 346, 353, 361; Athenians 114, 159, 276, 316n35, 335, 343, 368
Athos, Mt 179, 180, 239–40
Attica 334
Augsburg 217–29, 391; Confession of 216, 391, 396
Augustine of Hippo, St 216
Augustus, Emperor 159, 307, 350, 354, 356
Ausius, Henricus 425, 427
Ausonius, Decimus 55
Averlino, Antonio *see* Filarete
Avignon 57, 153, 169n97

Babylon 151, 330
Bade, Josse 58, 69 (table), 71 (table), 83
Baïf, Antoine de 240
Baïf, Jean-Antoine de 83
Baïf, Lazare de 61, 63, 65, 71 (table)
Balk, Nicolaus 420n45
Balkans 157, 282, 287, 300
Barcelona 157
Barlaam of Calabria 17
Barlaeus, Melchior 354, 356
Barocci, Francesco 220n31
Barrio, Gabriele 361
Barzizza, Gasparino 67 (table)
Basel 67, 374n88; Council of 148
Basil of Caesarea (Basil the Great) 58
Basilicata 359
Bath 76
Bayezid I, Sultan 156n42, 157
Beaumont, Louis de 57
Béda, Noël 61, 64, 70 (table)
Beeck, Ericus von 414
Belli, Onorio 310
Bembo, Pietro 4, 33, 321n62
Bénédict, Jean 398
Benedict XIII, Pope (Pietro Francesco Orsini) 169n97
Benoit de Sainte-Maure 277
Bentley, Richard 92
Benz, Johann 421n51
Benzelius the Younger, Ericus 432
Bérauld, Nicolas 69 (table), 71 (table)
Bergius, Matthias 227
Berlin 417
Bernhardi, Caspar *see* Velius, Caspar Ursinus
Beroaldo Sr, Filippo 67 (table)
Berosus 330
Berquin, Louis de 62, 70 (table)
Berselius, Paschasius (Pasquier de Bierset) 96
Bersmann, Gregor 225
Besançon 99
Bessarion, Basilios 15, 17, 67 (table), 166n85, 171n107, 191n7, 199–201, 206, 210, 213, 240, 276, 280, 283, 288, 300, 358n44
Binet, Claude 86
Bion of Smyrna 351–52
Biondo, Flavio 362, 371
Bisticci, Vespasiano da 192–93, 195, 212
Bithynia 156
Blois 58
Boccaccio, Giovanni 4, 174–75
Boethius 216n9
Bogard, Jacques 83n28
Bologna 59, 157, 224, 227n62, 296
Bolzanio, Urbano 32n6
Bongars, Esther 116
Bongars, Girard 116n12
Bongars, Isaac 116
Bongars, Jacques 21, 113–40
Bongars, Philibert 116n12
Boniface IX, Pope (Pietro Tomacelli) 169n97
Bordey, Charles 97
Bordey, Pierre 97, 108, 11
Bosporus 153, 334
Bouche, Honoré 319
Bourdin, Gilles 83

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Bourges 97
Bourges (University of) 88, 117
Bovelles, Charles de 69 (table)
Brandenburg 415
Brandenburg, Mark 430
Braunschweig 433, 435n116
Brauron 343
Brederode, Charlotte de 97
Brenneccius, Johannes 398n128, 402 (table)
Briçonnet, Guillaume 69–70 (table)
Brie, Germain de 60, 71 (table)
Brinctius (Brinctus) Amorfortius, Cornelius 355
Brockmann, Reiner 432, 433
Brother Cornelis of Dordrecht (Cornelis Brouwer) 354n31, 373
Bruges 348–56, 372–75
Bruni, Leonardo 86, 157, 162n71, 358n44
Brunnerus, Martin 432
Brussels 97, 102, 109, 111
Bua, Mercurio 281
Buchanan, George 435
Buchner, Ulrich 225
Budé (Budaeus), Guillaume 53, 55–58, 60–65, 68 (table), 69 (table), 71 (table), 83
Budé (Budaeus), Louis 57n33, 69
Bulgaris, Eugenius 384n32
Buondelmonti, Cristoforo 333n26
Bürger, David 386
Burgundy, County of 97
Bursian, Conrad 381–82
Burton, Robert 238, 241–42, 244, 258
Busbecq, Ogier Ghislein de 307, 308
Busleyden, Hieronymus van 98
Byzantium aristocracy of 192, 279, 282, 287, 300; artistic tradition (icon painting) 173–88; empire/territories of 3, 9, 19, 146, 216n9, 191, 220, 233, 256, 274, 282, 300; emperors of 55, 60, 110n63, 146, 147, 156–59, 161 (fig.), 164n77, 168–70, 193, 194 (fig.), 197–99, 210, 251, 280; literary tradition of 2, 9, 10, 21, 24, 32, 57, 80, 105, 126, 145, 149, 150, 155, 162, 164, 173–88, 215, 217–22, 228–29, 235, 240, 270, 273, 309, 432; Hellenism in 150, 156, 285; history/historians of 9, 9n30, 10, 152, 162n67, 244, 273; inhabitants of 15, 19, 145, 146, 156, 157, 159, 170n101, 171n109, 174, 192–94, 195, 196, 199, 254, 277–78; scholars of 5n11, 16, 17n67, 17n68, 18, 19, 22, 53, 122, 146, 148, 149, 150n16, 156, 170n101, 199, 201, 202, 209, 213, 277, 279, 283, 387, 391. *See also* Constantinople; Orthodox Church (Greek).
Byzas 171

Cabedio de Vasconcellos, Miguel 87, 88
Cadmus, inventor of the alphabet 330
Caesar, Gaius Julius 317, 323
Calabria 359
Calecas, Manuel *see* Kalekas, Manuel
Callières, François de 393–94
Calliergis, Zacharias 229
Callimachus 220n30, 313
Calvin, John 65, 83, 348n4
Calvinism 24–25, 65, 113, 116, 373
Cambridge 71 (table), 121
Camerarius, Joachim (the Elder) 119, 130, 134, 137, 359, 361, 379, 387, 389n74, 396n111, 398n128, 399n135, 400n141, 402 (table), 404n154
Camerarius, Joachim (the Younger) 117
Camerarius, Johannes 389n74
Camotius, Johannes Baptista 401n141
Campanus, Johannes Antonius 210
Canaye de Fresnes, Philippe 116n11
Candia 173, 175, 185, 215–16
Caninius, Angelus 76
Canossa, Paolo (Paulus Paradisus) 64
Canter, Willem 220–21
Capaccio, Giulio Cesare 315–18, 319, 322
Capua 329, 359
Cartari, Vincenzo 371n73
Carteromachus, Scipio (Scipione Forteguerri) 400n141
Cartesius *see* Descartes, René
Casaubon, Isaac 53, 67, 71 (table), 117, 138–40, 311–12, 314, 315
Caselius, Johannes (Johannes Kessel) 387, 398n128, 399n135, 402 (table), 414
Cassander, George 349, 356, 373
Cassandra 274
Castelius, Johannes (Johan Casteels) 354
Castiglionchio the Younger, Lapo da 194–97, 199, 212

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Catholic Church 116, 149, 150, 158, 216–17, 284, 290, 349, 373n86; Catholic world 14, 22, 348, 351, 358, 404, 415n28; Catholicism 15, 147, 157, 158n53, 170, 215, 217, 228, 240, 250, 311; Catholics 22, 24, 64, 215, 217, 223n47, 225, 228, 302, 351, 372–73, 384, 390n78, 404; popes 58, 69 (table), 169n97, 192, 193n26, 197, 199, 203, 215n4, 261–63, 284, 287, 289, 300, 301, 327
Caulon 366–67
Cebes of Thebes (ps.) 33, 45
Celtis, Conrad 386, 391
Censorinus 42, 43, 48 (table)
Ceporinus, Jacobus (Jan van Venray) 102, 105n47
Cercel, Petru, Prince of Wallachia 216
Cerigo *see* Cythera
Chalcedon 153, 334
Chalcondyles, Demetrius 33, 201, 202, 203 (fig.), 210, 213, 261n7
Chalkokondyles, Laonikos 9, 145–46, 149–50, 151, 166n85, 171–72, 283
Chambellan, David 57, 66 (table)
Charlemagne 19, 146
Charles III of Navarre, King 169n97
Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor 263, 357, 362n54
Charles VII of France, King 57
Charles VIII of France, King 53, 58, 68 (table), 249, 250, 287
Charles X of Sweden, King 429
Cheke, John 121
Chéradame, Jean 62, 71 (table), 73–79, 80
Chios 293, 294, 333
Choniates, Niketas 9n32, 162n67
Christina of Sweden, Queen 361, 421
Chrysander, Wilhelm Christian Justus 400n138
Chrysoloras, Manuel 1, 15, 17, 21, 32, 33, 74, 105n47, 146–47, 149–50, 156–72, 189, 191, 200n39, 201, 203–07, 209–14, 380n14
Chrysostom, John 8, 158
Chytraeus, David (David Kochhafe) 127n40, 128–30, 134–38, 387
Cicero 46, 113, 114, 118, 125n36, 131, 133, 212
Clajus the Elder, Johannes 386, 400n135
Clare, St 181, 184
Clement of Alexandria 224
Clement VII, Pope (Giulio de' Medici) 261, 284, 289
Clenardus, Nicolaus (Nicolas Cleynaerts, Clénard) 84, 86, 102–04, 421n50, 423
Clerk, John 76–77
Clichtove, Josse van 67 (table), 69 (table)
Clusius, Carolus (Charles de l'Écluse) 101
Cocus (Koch), Georg 388–89, 401 (table), 402
Coelemann, Peter 400n139
Cognac, League of 263, 278
Colines, Simon de 62, 69 (table), 71 (table)
Collège de France *see* Collège royal; Paris
College of the Castle (or Fortress) 98, 100
College of the Lily 94n1, 96, 98, 100, 110n66
College of St Athanasius 18, 299, 301. *See also* Rome, Greek colleges
Collège royal (Collège des lecteurs royaux) 8n25, 53, 54, 63, 64, 67, 74, 79, 83, 121
Collegium Trilingue 8, 94, 95, 98–100, 110n65, 110n66
Collegium Graecum 61, 71 (table), 262. *See also* Rome, Greek colleges
Cologne 80, 182
Colvius, Nicolaus 356
Comenius, John Amos (Komenský) 421, 424
Constance (Council of) 158
Constantine I, the Great 145–146, 147, 151–52, 159, 166–67, 169n99, 193
Constantine of Rhodes 164n77
Constantinople 3, 19, 21, 117, 145–72, 191, 199n36, 234, 235, 249, 250, 254, 274, 276, 279, 282, 283, 298, 307, 310, 327n7, 328. *See also* Byzantium; Orthodox Church (Greek).
Contoblacas, Andronicus *see* Kontovlakas, Andronikos
Copenhagen 414n20, 419
Corfu 274, 298, 311
Corinth 321, 334, 335
Cornar(i)us, Janus (Johann Hagenbut, Haynpol) 128
Courthardy, Pierre de 68 (table)
Cracow *see* Krakow
Cramer, Johann Friedrich 393
Crasso, Lorenzo 389–90, 401
Crastone, Giovanni 33n7, 34n10, 74
Crato, Johannes *see* Krafft, Johannes
Crinito, Pietro 69 (table)

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Cristoforo di Foligno 43
Critodemus 330
Croesus of Lydia, King 114, 119, 130n52, 131–32, 134–35
Croke, Richard 60, 387
Croton 355n35, 365
Crucquius, Jacobus (Jacques De Crucque) 356
Crusius, Martin (Martin Kraus) 10, 216n7, 223n43, 279, 289, 295, 328, 379–80, 381n20, 387, 388n63, 389, 390n74, 391n82, 392, 396n111, 399, 400n138, 400n141, 402 (table)
Cujas, Jacques 117
Cumae 317
Cunitz, David 422–23, 430–31
Cydones, Demetrius *see* Kydones, Demetrios
Cyclades 320
Cyriac of Ancona (Ciriaco d'Ancona) 191n11, 193, 257, 307–09, 325, 326, 331, 334–37, 345
Cyrus the Great 114, 119, 130n52, 136
Cythera (Cerigo) 131n56, 216, 333n26, 343

Damascenus, Nicolaus 388n67
Damiano di Santa Maria da Spici 262
Danès (Danesius), Pierre 63–64, 71 (table), 77, 78, 79, 83
Daniel (biblical prophet) 129, 130n52, 136
Danube 271, 272
Dares the Phrygian 270
De Crucque, Jacques *see* Crucquius, Jacobus
De Ferrariis, Antonio (il Galateo) 361
della Francesca, Piero 193
della Porta, Giovan Vincenzo 322
Delos 321, 333n26
Deloynes (Deloinus), François 68 (table)
Delphi 119, 130n52, 131, 136, 333
Demetrius of Phalerum 58 (ps.), 321
Democritus of Abdera 258
Demosthenes 57, 74, 83, 126, 276
Denis, St (Abbey of) 55
Denmark 361, 392, 437
Descartes (Cartesius), René 426
Deventer 95
Deyron, Jacques 318
Diassorinos, Jakovos 102, 106–07
Dictys of Crete 270
Dieterich, Johann Conrad 387, 402 (table)
Dijon 323, 324n74
Diogenes Laertius 57, 335n29
Diomedes 268
Dionysius of Halicarnassus 357n41, 359, 362n55
Dionysius Periegeta 388–89
Dionysius the Areopagite, St 55, 68 (table)
Dionysius Thrax 35
Docosse, Ysabeau 96
Dole 97–98
Dolet, Étienne 71 (table)
Dolscius, Paul (Johann Dölsch) 387, 390n74, 391, 397n117, 400n141, 402 (table), 403
Donation of Constantine 145–46, 152–53
Dorat, Jean 71 (table), 86
Dorpat *see* Tartu
Dorus (son of Helen) 171
Dousa, Georgius (Joris van der Does) 307, 310
Dousa, Janus (Jan van der Does) 351–52
Draudius, Georg 390
Du Bellay, Jean 64, 70 (table)
Du Bellay, Joachim 65
Du Choul, Guillaume 371n73
Du Moulins, François de Rochefort 59
Duccio di Buoninsegna 181
Duke of Alba *see* Fernando Álvarez de Toledo
Dupuy, Christophe 311

Eckstein, Friedrich August 382
Eckstorm (Extormius), Heinrich 401 (table), 402 (table)
Edipsos 334
Egio, Benedetto 310, 320, 328
Egypt 330
Einem, Johann Just von 380n14
Emmius, Ubbo 361
Engelbrecht, Martin 386
England 4n9, 16, 18, 57, 215n4, 279, 283, 356n37, 392, 414n20
Enos 334
Eparchus, Antonius 380n13
Epicharmus 330

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Epictetus 84, 431
Epigenes of Byzantium 330
Epirus (Despotate of) 271, 287
Erasmus, Desiderius 4n9, 8, 14, 34, 35n15, 45, 57, 59–61, 69 (table), 71 (table), 92n43, 94–95, 98, 101, 120–21, 130–33, 249, 349, 373–74, 379, 387, 389n74, 398n124, 413, 421
Eric XIV of Sweden, King 413n17
Erici, Jacobus 419n42
Este, Alfonso d' 343
Este, Isabella d' 45n33
Este (family palace) 337–39
Estienne (Stephanus), Henri I 69 (table), 71 (table)
Estienne (Stephanus), Henri II 20, 53, 61, 65, 71 (table), 121, 124, 130, 137, 217, 222, 318n45, 352n23
Estienne (Stephanus), Robert 53, 64, 67, 71 (table), 80
Estonia 5n9, 23, 399n133, 410n1, 411–15, 419–20, 431, 433, 435
Etna 357
Euboea 333, 334
Eue, Sigismund *see* Evenius, Sigismund
Eugene IV, Pope (Gabriele Condulmer) 192, 193n26, 197, 199
Eulalios 163
Euripides 7, 45, 86, 126, 131, 415, 422n56, 431
Eusebius of Caesarea 46, 136
Eustathius of Thessalonike 34, 388–89
Euxine 156, 257
Evander 330, 359n46
Evenius, Sigismund (Sigismund Eue) 422n57, 426

Faber, Georg Benedikt 399n133
Faber, Johannes 227n62
Faber Stapulensis, Jacobus *see* Lefèvre d'Étaples, Jacques
Fabri, Felix 175n7
Fabricius, Georg 396n117, 400n141
Fabricius, Johann Albert 385
Fabricius, Theodosius 401 (table)
Facio, Bartolomeo 358n44
Fant, Erik 422n57
Farnese, Alessandro 346n62
Farnese collection 311n13
Fazello, Tommaso 361–62
Ferdinand I of Aragon ("Ferrante") 358n44
Ferdinand II of Aragon ("the Catholic") 357, 362n54
Ferdinand I of Habsburg, Holy Roman Emperor 359–60, 361n48
Ferrara 59, 95, 192, 195, 227n61, 337, 338, 343, 350n11
Ferrara-Florence (Council of) 15, 16, 148, 190–93, 197, 284, 290
Fichet, Guillaume 67 (table)
Ficino, Marsilio 68 (table), 192, 227n62, 234, 251
Filarete (Antonio di Pietro Averlino) 197–99
Filelfo, Francesco 13, 191, 206, 283, 404n154
Filippi, Sebastiano (Bastianino) 338
Filippo da Rimini 274
Finckelthaus, Wolfgang 390n74, 401 (table), 402
Fine, Oronce 64
Finland 20, 410n1, 411–13, 414n18, 420n46, 431, 432n100, 435
Flacius Illyricus, Matthias (Matija Vlačić, Matthias Frankovich) 128
Flanders 71 (table), 348, 350, 356n37
Florence 1, 5, 15, 16, 17, 33, 69 (table), 157, 162n71, 174n4, 191, 192, 194, 233, 238, 239, 244, 249, 261n7, 292, 350n11, 358–59, 373, 374n88. *See also* Ferrara-Florence (Council of).
Fondulo, Girolamo 71 (table)
Forteguerri, Scipione *see* Carteromachus, Scipio
Fontenay Convent 62
Fortius Ringelbergius, Joachim (Joachim Sterck van Ringelbergh) 97, 101
Fortunatus, Venantius 433n107
Fox Morcillo, Sebastián 101
France 2, 10, 20, 21, 23, 53–54, 55n15, 55n18, 56–62, 64–67, 67 (table), 71 (table), 72–93, 96, 99, 116, 228n64, 249, 307, 309–10, 317–20, 322, 371n73, 373, 392, 393, 394, 414n20
Francis I of France, King 53, 59, 62, 70 (table)
Francis, St 181
Franciscan Order 98

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Frankfurt am Main 216, 425
Frankovich, Matthias *see* Flacius Illyricus, Matthias
Fredegar (Fredegarius Scholasticus) 271–72
Freyer, Hieronymus 388, 400n135, 402 (table)
Frick, Johann Michael 384n33
Friedlieb, Franz *see* Irenicus, Franciscus
Frischlin, Nicodemus 387, 399n129
Froben(ius), Johannes 121
Függer, Marc 352, 372n76
Furerus, Matthias (Matthias Führer) 398

Gabrielli, Angelo 33
Gaguin (Guaguin), Robert 67 (table), 69 (table), 212n70
Galen, Heinrich von 415
Galen 12, 60, 83
Galle, Philip 354, 371
Ganay, Germain de 68 (table), 69 (table)
Ganay, Jean de 68 (table)
Gastaldi, Giacomo 331
Gaza, Theodore 32, 52, 74, 83n28, 105n47, 201, 202, 203 (fig.), 209, 210, 212, 213, 284, 358n44
Gebhard, Johannes 398n128, 399
Gehring, Ulrich 67 (table)
Gelzenius, Sveno 430
Gemistos Plethon, George *see* Plethon, George Gemistos
Geneva 18, 67, 116
Genoa 157, 282, 292
Geometres, John 247–48
George of Trebizond (Georgius Trapezuntius of Crete) 17, 189, 201, 203 (fig.), 210, 284, 358n44
German lands 23, 79, 113–40, 215–29, 302, 379–409, 410–12, 414–17, 419, 422, 425–26, 430, 431, 433. *See also* Holy Roman Empire
Gezelius the Elder, Johannes 421–27, 435
Ghent 99, 349, 355
Ghiberti, Lorenzo 175n5
Gießen 402 (table)
Giocondo, Giovanni 59 (table), 69
Giotto di Bondone 173, 174, 175n5, 185
Giovanni, Apollonio di 193, 199n38
Giovio, Paolo 17n67, 189–214, 251
Giraldi, Lilio Gregorio 149, 390n75
Girard, Charles 88–92
Giselinus, Victor (Victor Gislain or Ghyselink) 354, 375n91
Giustiniani, Agostino 70 (table)
Glaser, Bernhard 388
Glaum, Philipp 426
Golius, Jacobus (Jacob van Gool) 423
Goltzius, Hubertus (Hubert Goltz) 23, 347–75
Gothus, Laurentius Petri 413
Gothus, Matthaeus 396n111, 400n141, 401 (table), 402
Götschen, Peter 413
Gourmont, Gilles de 59–60, 62, 69 (table), 73–74, 76
Gourmont, Jean de 62
Graikos, Maximos 234, 238–39
Granvelle *see* Perrenot
Gravenhorst, Andreas 388n63
Greek lands antiquities in 307, 326–28, 331, 336; artistic production in 173–88; displacement from 233–59, 279–302; *Magna Graecia* 315–17, 347–75; maps of 10, 331–34, 355, 372; travels to 10, 117, 156n42, 191n11, 307, 326–28, 331, 335, 336, 372; Western perceptions of 189–214, 191n11, 193
Gregoras, Nikephoras 9n32, 162n67
Gregorio da Tiferno 67 (table)
Gregory XIII, Pope (Ugo Boncompagni) 284, 301
Gregory of Corinth 34
Gregory of Nazianzus 45, 52, 102n35, 145, 164–65, 219–22, 224, 229, 396, 419
Greifswald 414n18, 429 (table)
Gretser, Jakob 389n74, 390n78, 404
Grolier, Jean 62
Groningen 95
Grundlerus, Andreas 389n74, 390n75
Gruterus, Janus (Jan Gruter, de Gruytere) 308–12, 315, 318n46
Guarino of Verona 4, 32, 157, 169–70, 335
Guenebauld, Jean 323–24
Guennevelle (Quennevelle), Jacques 96
Guidacerio, Agazio 64
Gustavus II Adolphus of Sweden, King 420, 434

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Gutterwitz, Andreas 419
Gyges 114, 133

Habsburgs 100n27, 350, 358; 371n73. *See also* Charles V; Ferdinand I; Philip II of Spain.
Hagenau 83
Hagenbut, Johann *see* Cornar(i)us, Janus
Hagia Sophia 155, 160n63, 164n77, 166–68, 274
Halle 384, 402 (table), 418n35, 422n57, 425, 426
Halsworth, Daniel 398n122
Ham (Noah's son) 135
Hebrew 8, 34n12, 53, 54, 59–62, 64, 70 (table), 71 (table), 74, 76, 97–98, 105, 118, 136, 139, 348, 356n36, 379n9, 386n44, 422n56, 425–26
Hector 275
Heems, Jan 98
Hegesias (Hegesinus) of Salamis 270
Hegius, Alexander 95, 421, 425
Heidelberg 116, 117n16, 374n88
Heinsius, Daniel (Daniel Heins) 398n122
Helen 130n51, 268
Helicon, Mt 334, 393n90
Hellespont 157
Helmstedt 402 (table)
Helsingius, Elaus Petri 419, 424n66
Helwig, Christoph 381n20, 398, 399n122, 400n139, 402 (table)
Henry III of France, King 116n11
Henry IV of France, King 116n11, 117
Henry VIII of England, King 55
Hera 368 (fig.), 377
Heraclitus of Ephesus 258
Hercules (Heracles) 20, 47, 132, 171n108, 329–30, 359n46, 368 (fig.), 420
Hermoniakos, Constanine 262n13, 270–71
Hermonymus of Sparta, Georgius 18, 57–58, 66 (table), 67 (table), 68 (table), 69 (table), 73
Herod Agrippa 312
Herod Antipas 312
Herod I the Great 312
Herodes Atticus 311, 313, 314n27
Herodotus 7, 21, 83, 113–40, 153, 270n33, 313, 320, 331
Herrichen, Johann Gottfried 387, 388n63, 393n94, 399n130, 400n135, 402 (table)
Hesiod 41–42, 44, 74, 86, 126, 329, 429, 431
Hessus, Eobanus 389n74
Heusden 424n67
Himera 357
Hisarlik 271
Hodegon Monastery 152n29
Hoeschel, David 216, 220n28, 220n30, 223–26, 228, 312n19, 400n138
Holstenius, Ericus 427
Holstenius, Gabriel 422, 426
Holy Roman Empire 61, 116n11, 228n64, 358, 380
Homer 7, 22, 31, 34, 57, 60, 74, 86, 101, 125n37, 126, 132, 133, 217, 219, 220n30, 260–78, 384n32, 396, 399, 414, 415, 429, 431, 435
Horace 131, 133, 237, 244, 356n38, 398, 435
Horneius, Conrad (Konrad Horney, Horn) 388, 398n128, 402 (table)
Howard, Thomas, Earl of Arundel 314, 326
Hummelberg, Michael 60
Hunerius 277
Huttichius, Johannes (Johann Huttich) 368n72
Huygens, Constantine 424n67

Ignatius of Loyola 65, 83
Ilfeld 382, 401 (table), 402, 424
Ilisos 334
Ilium *see* Troy
Ionia 156
Irenicus, Franciscus (Franz Friedlieb) 387
Isaiah (biblical prophet) 136
Isidore of Kiev, Cardinal 146–49, 170–72, 274
Isidore of Seville 39n22, 335n29
Isocrates 57, 63, 74, 126, 419 (ps.), 431
Italy and the Greek world 24, 146, 149, 162, 169–70, 170n101, 173–88 (*passim*), 191, 198–214 (*passim*), 247–75 (*passim*), 279–83, 285–302 (*passim*); Greek art/antiquities in 10–11, 307, 310, 315–17, 320, 324, 326–28; Greek Church in 284–85, 290; "Greek Italy" 347–75; Greek studies in 1, 4–6, 7, 9n28, 31–36, 59–60, 61, 74, 149, 157, 200n39, 379, 438; Greeks in 58, 147, 215–18,

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Italy (cont.)
279–302, 15, 17–18, 19n78, 22, 61, 67 (table), 149, 157, 198–214 (*passim*), 233–59 (*passim*), 260–78 (*passim*), 279–302 (*passim*), 391; Humanist Greek 391–93, 396n117, 410, 412–13, 419n44, 433. *See also* Ancona; Crete; Greek lands; Naples; Padua; Rome; Venice.

Jena 21, 113–38, 384, 403, 414
Jeremiah II, Patriarch 215–16
Jerusalem 78n14, 153, 182
Jespersen, Jakob 413n17, 437
Jesuit Order 65, 222, 404n152, 418–19; *Ratio studiorum* 14, 92n43
Jesus Christ 136, 138 (fig.), 148 (fig.), 152, 168, 174, 176, 178 (fig.), 179–81, 183, 185–87, 197n34, 218n20, 220, 226, 248–50, 398, 415–17, 422–23, 430–31
Jöcher, Gottlieb 381
Jode, Cornelis de 331
Johann Friedrich I, Elector of Saxony 127
Johann Friedrich II, Duke of Saxony 128
John I of Portugal, King 169n97
John II Komnenos Angelos Doukas 271
John the Grammarian *see* Philoponus, John
John V Palaeologus, Emperor 157
John VIII Palaeologus, Emperor 193, 194 (fig.), 197, 198 (fig.), 199, 210
John, St 396, 417
Jordan of Pisa *see* Rivalto, Giordano da
Joseph II, Patriarch 197
Jovius, Paulus *see* Giovio, Paolo
Julian the Apostate, Emperor 251
Julius II, Pope (Giuliano della Rovere) 58, 69 (table), 203, 287, 300
Junius, Hadrianus (Adriaen de Jonghe) 20
Junius, Melchior 124
Jupiter 254. *See also* Zeus
Justin 117, 138
Justinian I, Emperor 55, 60, 110n63, 161 (fig.), 164n77, 168
Juvenal 38, 238

Kalekas, Manuel 216n9
Kallistos, Andronikos 57, 66 (table), 122
Karbones, George 151n21
Kerularios, Michael 145
Kessel, Johannes *see* Caselius, Johannes
Kirchmaier, Kaspar 404n152
Kirchner, Christoph 400–01
Kladas, John 33n8
Klotz, Adolph 395
Knauth, Samuel 388n63, 401 (table), 403n148
Knidos 333
Kochen, Melchior 227
Kolb, Elias 400n135
Komenský, John Amos *see* Comenius, John Amos
König, Georg Matthias 399n133, 401 (table)
Königsberg 425
Königsfelden 179
Kontovlakas, Andronikos 122, 283
Kopp, Wilhelm 60, 67 (table)
Kortholt, Sebastian 393
Kounades, Andreas 262n8
Krafft, Johannes (Johannes Crato) 403
Krakow 437n117
Kraus, Martin *see* Crusius, Martinus
Krüger Mesylanus, Gregor 414–18, 430, 437, 438
Küster, Ludolf 91–92
Kydones, Demetrios 158n53, 191n11

L'Écluse, Charles de *see* Clusius, Carolus
La Broquière, Bertrandon de 156n42
La Forest, Jean de 61
Lagus, Gabriel 414n18
Lambin, Denis 53, 71 (table)
Lamoral, Egmont (Count of) 374n88
Langius, Theodor(ic)us (Theodoricus de Langhe) 99
Lascaris, Constantine 32–35, 45–46, 47–48, 50 (table), 105n47, 284, 285, 295, 296, 300, 424n66
Lascaris, Janus 58, 61, 68 (table), 71 (table), 202, 203 (fig.), 209–11, 213–14, 222n40, 234, 238–40, 244, 261, 263, 278, 295, 401n141
Laskaris, Theodore II 153, 160n63, 164n79
Latomus, Bartholomaeus (Barthélémy Masson) 64
Latomus, Jonas 399, 402 (table), 403n148
Latvia 410n1, 411–12, 413n15, 415, 419, 420, 435. *See also* Livonia
Laurbecchius, Petrus 431

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Lauremberg, Johann 381n20
Lauridsen Arctander, Niels (Nicolaus Laurentii Ripensis) 413n17
Laurin, Guy 351, 372, 375
Laurin, Marc 348–51, 352, 355, 356, 358n43, 361–62, 372–75
Lazio 296, 330, 359
Lazius, Wolfgang 10n37, 359–60, 361
Le Loyer, Pierre 72
Leclerc, Jean 393
Lefèvre d'Étaples, Jacques (Jacobus Faber Stapulensis) 57, 58, 60, 61, 69 (table), 70 (table)
Lefkoniko 186
Leiden 348, 374, 375; University of 348, 351, 361
Leipzig 402 (table), 403; University of 116n11, 223n47, 225n56, 384
Leo Marsicanus (Leo of Ostia) 175n5
Leo X, Pope (Giovanni de' Medici) 262–63, 284, 327
Leto (Laetus), Pomponio 224n53
Leuschner, Georg 388, 396n112, 399
Leuven *see* Louvain
Libanius 58, 74, 98, 101, 158, 160n64, 164n78
Liège 348
Ligorio, Pirro 10n37, 22, 310, 320, 325–46
Lillienstedt, Johann *see* Paulinus, Johannes
Lily (College of) *see* College of the Lily
Lily, William 34
Lindanus, Guilielmus (Willem van der Lindt) 101
Lindius, Stephanus (Jean De Casteele) 354n31
Lipsius, Justus (Joost Lips) 117, 309–10
Lithuanian-Polonian commonwealth 437
Livonia 5n9, 23, 411, 413. *See also* Latvia
Livy 39n22, 129, 133, 317, 362n55
Lizel, Georg 23, 379–409
Loccenius, Johannes (Johann Locken) 432
Lombard, Lambert 348
London 55, 69 (table), 157, 280, 314
Longueil, Christophe de 61, 71 (table)
Lonicer, Johannes 398n127
Lönnrot, Elias 420n46
Löscher, Johann Caspar 387, 401
Lossius, Lucas (Lucas Lotze) 396n111
Louis XI of France, King 57
Louis XII of France, King 68 (table)
Louise of Savoy, Duchess 59
Loukanes, Nikolaos 22, 260–78
Louvain (Leuven) 8, 21, 59, 61, 71 (table), 84, 94–112. *See also* Collegium Trilingue
Low Countries 2, 4n9, 23, 24, 79–80, 95, 104, 111n68, 392, 410n1, 414n20, 419
Loxau, Ferdinand von 111n69
Loxau, Georg von 111n69
Loyola, Ignatius of *see* Ignatius of Loyola
Lubin, Eilard 389n74
Lucan 67 (table)
Lucian of Samosata 7, 8, 11, 57, 60, 63, 74, 78, 101
Lucretius 252, 257
Ludovicus, Laurentius (Lorenz Ludovici) 398n127
Lufft, Hans 415n26
Luke, St 174, 175; Guild of 348
Lund 420, 431n95
Lundorp, Johannes 389n74
Lüneburg 435n116
Lupset, Thomas 76
Luscinus, Othmarus *see* Nachtigall, Ottmar
Luther, Martin 61–62, 67, 70 (table), 126, 379n9, 413; Lutherans 14, 16, 24, 62, 65, 70 (table), 118, 122, 127–28, 135–36, 139, 374n88, 396, 418; Lutheranism 14, 53, 54, 61, 62, 70 (table), 126–27, 391, 12, 414, 415; Lutheran world 113, 115, 116, 129, 348n3, 410–11, 428; Lutheran historians/history 130, 134, 135–36, 137, 361, 422; Lutheran schools/universities 113, 116n11, 118, 127, 129, 379, 411, 418, 419, 426; Lutheran songs (in Greek) 396, 399
Lycurgus 126, 134, 136, 196
Lydia 107, 114, 119, 132, 156, 334
Lyon 86

Macedon (ancient kingdom) 271
Macedon (principality) 282–89
Macedonia (region) 334
Magdeburg 128, 425
Magister, Thomas 432
Magnesia 314–15, 344
Maierus, Matth. 390n78, 397n117, 404
Maillard, Nicolas 62

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Malalas, John 130n52, 270
Malatesta, Cleofa 283
Malatesta, Sigismondo 283, 288
Maleas 333
Manasses, Constantine 270
Manuel II Palaeologus, Emperor 156, 158, 169–70
Manutius, Aldus (Aldo Manuzio) 6, 21, 31–52, 60, 73, 74, 77, 87, 130, 224, 228, 261n7, 278n81, 374n88
Manzikert 273n57
Marathon 335, 346
Marburg 114, 116, 117n16, 119
Marcellus of Side 311
Marchand, Guy 69 (table)
Marchantius, Jacobus (Jacques Marchant) 355
Margaret of Denmark, Queen 169n97
Marguerite de Navarre (Marguerite de Valois) 62, 70 (tables)
Margounios, Maximos 22, 215–29, 400n141
Marmara Island 155
Martin, Christian 117
Marseille 317–19, 355
Martens, Thierry (Dirk Martens) 101
Martin I of Aragon 169n97
Martin, Johannes 396n111, 401 (table)
Martinengo, Tito Prospero 415n28, 428n82
Martini, Olaus 413
Marullus Tarchaniota, Michael 22, 201, 203 (fig.), 206, 207 (fig.), 208 (fig.), 212, 233–59, 284, 289
Mary (Mother of God) 33, 152, 173–88 (*passim*), 197n34, 226, 249, 415–17
Mary of Hungary, Queen 97
Massa Marittima (Cathedral of) 181
Masson, Barthélémy *see* Latomus, Bartholomaeus
Master of San Gaggio 181
Matthew, St 418, 423, 431
Matthiae, Salomon 432
Mattson, Eskil (Aeschillus Matthiae) 428
Maulde, François de *see* Modius, Franciscus
Maurice, Emperor 431
Mauricius (Mauritius), Johannes 97
Maximilian II, Holy Roman Emperor 249, 359
Mayr, Georg 404n152
Meander River 334, 343
Mechelen 102, 103
Mediterranean 5, 10, 31, 173, 179, 185, 188, 194n27, 279–80, 282, 284, 289, 292, 298, 307–09, 321n61, 324, 325–26, 329
Meetkercke (Mekerchus), Adolph 351–52, 356, 373
Megarsos (Magarsos) 329
Megerlin, David Friedrich 402 (table)
Mehmed II, Sultan 150n15, 169, 274–75
Meiller (Meiller, Meilerus), Jacob 389n74, 400n141
Mela, Pomponius 124, 138
Melanchthon, Philipp 12, 14, 65, 80, 116, 118, 121, 126–30, 134–38, 379, 380n13, 381, 386–88, 389n74, 391, 392n87, 396, 397n117, 397n118, 401 (table), 402, 404n154, 411n5, 413–14, 424, 431
Melas, Johannes 396n112
Memphis 160
Menander of Athens 92n44, 132, 133
Menander Rhetor 151
Menelaos 265n22, 268
Mercator, Gerardus (Gerard (de) Kremer) 98, 356n36, 374n90
Mercuriale, Girolamo 377–78
Messina 33, 357
Mesylanus *see* Krüger Mesylanus, Gregor
Metapontum (coins of) 365, 367
Metochites, Theodore 146–56, 159–72
Meursius, Johannes (Johan van Meurs) 361
Michael VIII Palaeologus 152, 156n42
Micon the Younger of Athens 335
Micyllus, Jacob (Jakob Moltzer) 389n74, 399n135, 400n141
Milan 33, 61, 68 (table), 157
Milutin of Serbia, King 180
Minucianus 432
Mistra (Mystras) 57, 148–49, 170, 233, 251
Mitau 436 (table)
Mitternacht, Sebastian 386
Modius, Franciscus (François de Maulde) 354, 356
Möllemann, Stephan 420n45
Moltzer, Jakob *see* Micyllus, Jacob
Montaigne, Michel de 55
Montecassino 175n5
Montmartre 65

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Morata, Olympia Fulvia 388n63, 390n74, 400n141, 420
Morcillo, Sebastián Fox *see* Fox Morcillo
More, Thomas 349
Morea, Despotate of 3, 283
Morell, Thomas 395n196
Moretus, Balthasar 349n5
Morillon, Maximilien 97, 98n16, 109, 111
Moritz von Sachsen 127
Moro, Antonio (Anthonis Mor van Dashorst) 353–54
Moschopoulos, Manuel 35
Moschus 351, 352n23
Mosellanus, Petrus (Peter Schade) 387
Musurus, Marcus 17, 32, 61, 71 (table), 76–77, 189, 201, 203, 210, 223n43, 229, 261, 262, 278, 380n13
Münster, Sebastian 374n88
Müller, Georg 420
Muretus, Antonius (Antoine Muret) 223
Musaeus Grammaticus 63
Mylius, Christian (Christian Müller) 130n50
Mylius, Johannes (Johann Müller) 388n63, 397n119, 398, 399n135
Myron of Eleutherae 320
Mysia 156

Nachtigall, Ottmar (Othmarus Luscinus) 60
Nannius, Petrus (Pieter Nanninck) 98, 108, 110
Nansius, Franciscus (Frans Nans) 373
Naples 18, 68 (table), 233, 238, 284, 285, 290, 315–17, 322, 337
Neander, Michael (Michael Neumann of Joachimsthal) 128
Neander, Michael (Michael Neumann of Sorau) 379, 381n20, 382, 387, 393n90, 398n128, 399n135, 400n138, 401 (table), 402–03 (table), 424
Negroponte 276, 333
Neilos 424
Néobar, Conrad 64, 71 (table), 80, 83, 84
Neoplatonism *see* Plato
Neumann, Michael *see* Neander, Michael
New Rome *see* Byzantium; Constantinople; Rome
Nicaea 149, 150, 153, 156, 160n63
Nicias of Athens 343
Nicolas de Harlay 116n11
Nicolaus of Damascus *see* Damascenus, Nicolaus
Nicomedia 156
Nicopolis 157
Nîmes 318–19, 322
Noah 136
Nola 359
Nonnius, Ludovicus (Luis Nuñez) 350n13, 350n15
Nonnus of Panopolis 8, 384n32, 396, 397n117, 417, 429
Normandy 74
Normannus, Laurentius 434
Norway 411n6
Notmann, Erich 434n108
Nuñez, Luis *see* Nonnius, Ludovicus

Occo I, Adolph 227n61
Occo II, Adolph 227n61
Occo III, Adolph 227
Odysseus 270n44
Olahus, Nicolaus (Miklós Oláh) 97, 101
Olier, Charles-Marie-François 326
Olufson, Anund 420n45
Olympus, Mt 156, 334
Oporin(us), Johannes 403, 424n66
Oppianus of Anazarbus 429
Orléans 60, 68 (table), 97, 116, 117
Orsini, Fulvio 117, 310, 337, 364n63
Ortelius, Abraham 348–49, 351, 354–56, 361, 362, 369n71, 370–74
Orthodox Church (Greek) and Byzantine humanism 150–51; and Catholicism/Latin West 15, 152, 187, 199, 217, 222, 225, 228, 280–81, 285; and the Reformation 16, 225, 228, 380, 391n8; art, 176, 177n13; deviations from 235, 237, 240, 250, 254; in the Venetian colonies 215–16; Patriarch of Constantinople 16, 145, 168, 197, 199, 215–16; viewpoints 147, 150–53, 176, 187, 217, 222, 234, 239–40, 247–48, 250
Ostermann, Johann Erich 399, 401 (table)
Otho, Henricus 374n88
Ottoman Turks 3, 9, 17, 19, 146, 147, 150, 156–58, 169, 172, 193, 199n37, 217n11, 229, 239, 240, 250, 260, 261, 263, 260–78 (*passim*), 279, 282, 283, 286, 287, 293, 294, 298, 300, 307, 380n13, 391n82

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Ovid 39n22, 131, 133, 417
Oxford 71 (table), 314n29

Padua 59, 97n11, 216n6, 220n31, 286, 320–22; University of 215, 217, 223, 224, 285, 322
Palaephatus 432
Palamedes 270n44, 330
Palla, Strozzi 169, 170n101
Panaenus 335
Pantagatho, Ottavio 328
Pantinus, Guilelmus (Guillaume Pantin) 354
Panvinius, Onuphrius (Onofrio Panvino) 369n72
Paolo Emilio da Verona 69 (table)
Papirianus 42, 43, 48 (table)
Papius, Andreas (Andries de Paep) 355
Paradisus, Paulus *see* Canossa, Paolo
Paris 18, 20, 21, 53–71, 73–76, 78–83, 86, 88, 95–97, 103, 121, 138, 157, 169n97, 311n14, 351n18. *See also* Collège royal; Sorbonne.
Paris of Troy 268, 277
Parnassus 136, 393n94
Parrasio, Aulo Giano 68 (table)
Paul, St 197n34, 245, 246, 248
Paul the Silentiary 168n92
Paulinus, Johannes (Johann Lillienstedt) 429
Pausanias Periegetes 321n59, 335, 339, 362n55
Pavia 62
Peiresc, Nicolas-Claude Fabri de 311, 314n26, 318, 322, 323
Peisianax, the Alcmaeonid 334, 346
Peisistratus 125n38, 133, 134
Pelargus, Christoph 399
Pelasgians 131n56, 256, 330, 359n46
Peloponnese 170, 292, 298, 331, 333, 334, 336; Peloponnesian War 131n56, 269n33
Pensold, Friedrich 128
Pergamon 164n79
Pericles 334
Perna, Pietro 190n3, 202
Perrenot de Granvelle, Antoine 96, 97, 98, 99, 102n35, 107–12
Perrenot de Granvelle, Charles 97, 98, 99, 100
Perrenot de Granvelle, Frédéric 97
Perrenot de Granvelle, Jérôme 97
Perrenot de Granvelle, Nicolas 96, 97, 98
Perrenot de Granvelle, Thomas 97, 112
Peruzzi, Sallustio 327
Peter the Deacon 316
Petit, Guillaume 62, 70 (table)
Petit, Jean 69 (table)
Petri Gothus, Laurentius 413
Petri Helsingius, Olaus 419, 420n45, 424n66
Petri Kiörling, Jonas 430
Petri, Olaus 413
Petri, Suffridus 99, 101
Peutinger, Konrad 224n53, 227n62
Pezel, Christoph 129
Pfefferkorn, Johannes 61
Phalereus *see* Demetrius of Phalerum
Phegeus 268
Philip II of Macedon, King 271, 276
Philip II of Spain, King 348, 350, 355, 362n54, 372–74
Philo (Judaeus) of Alexandria 84
Philoponus, John 34
Philostratus the Athenian 45, 46, 312n19, 313
Phocis 334, 357
Phocylides of Miletus 34n13, 45, 424
Phoenicia 330, 331; Phoenicians 130n51
Phoibammon 432
Phoroneus of Argos 330
Photius 106n49, 228
Phrygia 156, 264; Phrygians 196–98
Piccolomini, Eneo Silvio (Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomineus) 272, 274, 275, 358n44
Pico della Mirandola, Giovanni 52, 59, 67 (table), 227, 249
Pico della Mirandola, Giovanni Francesco 239
Pindar/Pindaric odes 6n14, 57, 86, 133, 399, 411, 433, 435–36
Pirckheimer, Willibald 227n62
Pisanello 193, 210
Pius II, Pope *see* Piccolomini, Eneo Silvio
Pius IV, Pope (Giovan Angelo Medici) 215n4
Placcenius, Johann David 433
Planudes, Maximus 45, 216n9, 222n40, 238, 244, 398n124, 398n124, 431

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Plantin, Christopher 348–51, 356n38, 372, 374
Plantin, Zacharias 433n106
Plateae 334
Plato 7, 13, 15, 57, 63, 68 (table), 74, 78, 114, 133, 155, 237, 238, 242, 258, 278n81, 323, 380n13; Platonic ideas 234, 237, 253, 258; Platonists 137; Neoplatonism 148n9, 220n32, 221n37, 229, 235, 239, 249, 251–52, 257–58
Plethon, George Gemistos 15, 148n9, 149, 155, 170, 202n48, 233, 234, 236, 240, 249–59, 283
Pliny the Elder 39n22, 189, 321–22, 330–31, 335, 336, 362n55
Pliny the Younger 69 (table)
Plutarch of Chaeronea 7, 34, 39n22, 57, 58, 69, 74, 131, 132, 134, 137, 263, 335, 358n44, 431
Poland *see* Lithuanian-Polonian commonwealth
Poliziano, Angelo 4, 52, 69 (table), 125n37, 212, 223n43, 351, 352n23, 391n82
Polybius 60
Polycleitus 33–36
Polygnotus 335
Pompeius Trogus 117, 352n25
Poncher, Étienne 68 (table)
Portos, Frankiskos (Franciscus Portus/ Francesco Porto) 18, 221, 222n43, 229
Portus, Aemilius 76, 381n20, 388n63, 389n74
Posselius, Johannes (Johann Possell) 381n20, 387–88, 389n74, 393n90, 395n103, 397n119, 400n137, 400n138, 400n139, 400n141, 402 (table), 414, 422, 423
Postel, Guillaume 64
Poznan 437n117
Praetorius, Abdias (Gottschalk Schultze) 407
Praetorius, Johannes 223
Prague 139
Pretemesus of Paeonia, King 277
Priam of Troy 265n21, 268, 275
Priene 344
Priscian 35–43, 49 (table), 50
Proclus 235n9, 238, 251
Proconnesus 155
Procopius of Caesarea 9
Procopius of Gaza 57–58
Prousa 156
Psellos, Michael 174
Publilius Syrus 398
Puglia 359
Pusculo, Ubertino 276
Pyrgos 334
Pythagoras (ps.) 34n13, 45, 419, 424

Quinon, Guillaume 78
Quintus Smyrnaeus 46, 57, 393n90
Quirino, Giovanni 335

Rabelais, François 54, 62, 65, 71 (table)
Racine 92
Raevardus, Jacobus (Jacob Reyvaert) 373
Rallis, Demetrios 251
Rallis, Manilios 251
Rallis, Nikolaos 251
Rallo, Manilio Cabacio *see* Rhallus, Manilius Cabacius
Rambau the Elder, Hans 403
Ramus, Petrus (Pierre de la Ramée) 83, 121
Ramusio, Giovanni Battista 321, 322
Ramusio, Paolo 320
Raphael (Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino) 327–28
Raphelengen, Frans (Franciscus Raphelengius) 348, 351n17, 351n18
Raue, Johann (Johannes Ravius) 399n135, 403n148
Regilla, Aspasia Annia 311
Regius, Ernst 40, 129
Remus, Georg 225, 227
Rescius, Rutgerus (Rutger Ressen) 8, 60, 98, 101
Retell, Michael 399n135
Reuchlin, Johannes 57, 61, 67 (table), 83, 122, 379, 386, 387, 389n74, 391, 402 (table)
Reusch, Johann Peter 398n128
Reusner, Christoph 419n42
Reusner, Nicolaus 225n56, 380, 387n56, 388n63, 399n135, 403
Reyvaert, Jacob *see* Raevardus, Jacobus
Rhallus, Manilius Cabacius 243, 251

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Rhegium 359
Rhellikan, Johannes 398n128
Rhenanus, Beatus 57, 60, 69 (table), 386
Rhine 271
Rhodoman, Lorenz 380–83, 387, 388, 390n74, 392n86, 393n90, 396n111, 396n112, 396n117, 397, 398n128, 399n135, 400n141, 401 (table), 402, 403
Ricci, Pietro *see* Crinito, Pietro
Riga 414, 415, 418, 420, 426n75, 428, 432, 434–36
Rimini 181
Rinuccini, Alamanno 46
Ritter, Johannes 404n152
Rittershausen, Conrad 222–29
Rivalto, Giordano da 174n4
Rochefort, Guillaume de 66 (table)
Rochefort, Guy de 68 (table)
Roffet, Étienne 65
Rogersius, Daniel (Daniel Rogers) 354
Romano, Giulio 264n20
Rome 1, 6n14, 8n25, 58, 68, 117, 156–63, 167–69, 197, 205, 238, 287–88, 299–301, 307, 310–15, 317, 328, 329, 331, 343, 359, 370, 372; Romans 18–19, 42, 114, 145, 146, 148, 150n16, 153–54, 156n44, 159, 166, 224, 256, 281, 308, 312, 317, 323; ancient Rome 55, 131, 133, 134, 138, 145, 147, 151, 158–59, 162, 167, 168, 199, 308, 310, 317, 325, 327, 329, 338, 358–59, 361n49, 370, 372; late antique (Christian) Rome 167, 169–71; Roman Empire 146, 151, 167, 175n5, 309, *see also* Byzantium and Holy Roman Empire; Rome, Greek Colleges 61, 71 (table), 262, 299, 301; Greeks in 15, 158–59, 238, 249, 286–87, 288, 300, 301; "New Rome" 145, *see also* Constantinople; Roman Church 16, 153, 198, 217, 284, 358, *see also* Catholic Church.
Rosa, Johannes 113–40
Roschmann, Tobias 384n33
Röseler, Matthaeus 390n74
Rostock 128–29, 402 (table), 413n17, 414, 419, 420n45, 422, 429 (table), 430–31, 433
Rudbeck, Johannes 422
Rumannus, Nicolaus 399
Russia 148, 177n13, 216n7, 240, 411n6, 413n17
Ruuth, Christian 413n17
Ruzé, Gaillard 68 (table)
Ruzé, Louis 70 (table)

Sachet, Jean 110n67
Sainte-Maure, Benoît de *see* Benoît de Sainte-Maure
Salazar, Tristan de 57
Salisbury 157
Salmasius, Claudius *see* Saumaise, Claude
Salmon, Jean 69 (table)
Salutati, Coluccio 4, 47, 274
Sambucus, Johannes (János Zsámboky) 371n73
Samothrace 336, 337
Sannazaro, Jacopo 59, 69 (table)
Sappho/Sapphic stanza 417, 435n114, 436
Sardis 334
Saubert, Johann 399
Saumaise, Claude 311–14, 324
Savonarola, Girolamo 239
Scala, Alessandra 244, 246
Scaliger, Joseph(us) Justus 117, 222n43, 309–13, 317, 398n122, 400n141, 431, 432
Scaliger, Julius Caesar 361
Schade, Peter *see* Mosellanus, Petrus
Schefferus, Johannes (Johan Scheffer) 423, 431
Schegkius, Jacob 402 (table)
Scheid, Balthasar 425, 426
Schilling, Christoph 381n20
Schirmer, Johannes 389n74
Schmid, Heinrich 396n113
Schmid, Erasmus 387, 388, 399, 401 (table), 421n50
Schmitt, Oliver 171
Schneider, Zacharias 424n68
Scholarios, George Gennadios 220, 249
Schottus, Andreas (André Schott) 124, 139, 349n5
Schulze, Johann Heinrich 388n63, 401 (table), 402 (table)
Schurzfleisch, Conrad Samuel 387, 400n135, 401 (table)
Schwarz, Christian Gottlieb 388, 399, 401 (table)
Scythia 233, 237; Scythians 114, 272, 273n57
Secundus, Janus (Jan Everaerts) 240

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Séguier, Raulin 78
S(e)idelmann, Erasmus 401 (table)
Selden, John 314–15, 324
Seligmann, Judah 139
Selinunte 363n56
Selnecker, Johannes 128
Seneca 131–33
Senkenberg, Renatus Karl von 380n14
Sens 57
Serlio, Sebastiano 327–28
Sersès of Aethiopia, King 277
Severos, Gabriel 217
Seyssel, Claude de 58
Sforza, Camilla 285, 300
Sforza, Francesco 169
Sforza court 285
Sicanians (Sicani, Sicania) 357
Sicily 23, 339, 347, 352–362, 367
Siena 181
Sigismund of Luxembourg 197
Sigonio, Carlo 361
Silius Italicus 114, 119
Simeoni, Gabriele 317–18
Simonius, Theodor 424
Simonides 330
Sinai, Mt 177
Sirmond, Jacques 311
Sistine Chapel 204n58
Sitia 215
Skane 414n20
Skytte, Johann 427
Smetius, Martinus (Martin De Smet) 309–311
Smith, Thomas 121
Smyrna 314–15
Sohstius, Franciscus 402 (table)
Solier(s), Jules-Raimond de 318, 322
Solon 125n38, 132–33, 137, 317
Sonntag, Christoph 381n20, 400, 401 (table), 425, 426
Sophianos, Nikolaos 263, 331
Sophocles 65, 126, 132
Sophronius of Jerusalem 219
Sorbonne 53–54, 62, 64, 67 (table), 70 (table)
Sounion, cape 334
Spain 62, 169n97, 279, 283, 309, 348, 350, 351n18, 357, 373, 374, 392, 393
Sparta/Spartans 114, 136, 159, 196
Speusippus 114
Speyer 384, 392n89, 396n108
Spon, Jacob 307, 314n26, 322n64, 326
Squarcione, Francesco 326
Stagira 336
Stahl, Heinrich 433
Stasinos of Cyprus, King 270
Statius 46
Steinmann, Tobias 403
Stephanus *see* Estienne
Stiblinus, Caspar (Caspar Stiblin) 389n74
Stifel, Michael 128
Stigel, Johann 118, 127, 128
Stigel, Victorin 118, 127
Stimmer, Tobias 190, 202, 203, 206–09, 211
Stockholm 419, 420, 425, 426, 428, 429
Stolberg, Balthasar 401 (table)
Stolle, Gottlieb 384
Strabo 131, 270n34, 317, 362n55
Strägnäs 420, 428, 429 (table)
Strasbourg 69 (table), 114, 116, 117n16, 190n3, 225n56, 383, 423, 425
Sturm, Johannes 116, 118, 129
Sundius, Johannes 427n77, 434
Susius, Jacobus (Jacobus Suys) 374n88
Swanberg, Olof 432
Sweden 5n9, 361, 392, 410–16, 419–35, 437
Sylburg, Friedrich 386, 389n74, 400n141
Sylvester I, Pope 145
Syme 277
Symeon of Thessalonike 168
Synesius of Cyrene 219–22, 224, 229
Syracuse 355, 365, 367
Strigel, Victorin 118, 127

Tallinn 410n1, 414, 415–20, 426n75, 428n85, 431–36
Tambroni, Clotilde 404n154
Tarchagnota, Giovanni 250
Tartas, Jean de 78
Tartu/Dorpat 410n1, 418–20, 423–36
Terme 357
Tetzelerus, Franciscus 412n11
Tetzler, Justus 389n74
Thasos 335, 336
Theocritus/Theocritean poetry 44, 86, 126, 313, 432, 433
Theodosius I, Emperor 159
Theognis of Megara 45, 424, 433

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Theon, Aelius 423
Theophilus (author of Greek grammar) 423
Theophrastus 431, 432
Thermaenius, Andreas E. 430
Thessalonike 157, 177, 178
Thrace/Thracians 114, 145, 157, 270n44, 272, 334
Thryllitzsch, Georg Friedrich 388n63, 401 (table), 403n148
Thucydides 7, 57, 83, 124n32, 129, 131, 343, 357
Thun, Joseph 431
Thurii 365, 368
Thym (Klee), Georg 396n111
Tibullus 244
Timur (Tamerlane) 157
Tissard, François 59, 60, 69 (table), 74, 83
Torquotus 272
Tortelli, Giovanni 36–44, 48–50
Tory, Geoffroy 65
Toussain(t) (Tussanus), Jacques 63, 64, 71 (table), 79–80, 83–84, 86
Toussain, Émonde 80, 83n28
Trajan, Emperor 159
Tramezzino, Michele 331
Trapezuntius of Crete, George *see* George of Trebizond
Trebizond 171
Treuner, Johann 403n148
Tripoli 334
Trippault, Léon 318
Trivoles, Michael 239
Trogus, Pompeius 117, 352n25
Trojans 193, 196, 260–78, 357, 359n46, 366
Troy 264, 269, 271, 273–75, 277, 357, 359n46
Tübingen 328, 384, 386, 402 (table)
Turks *see* Ottoman Turks
Turku/Åbo 410n1, 411n8, 420, 422, 423, 424, 425, 428–36
Tuscany/Tuscan 9n31, 174, 181, 369n71
Tusculum 339
Tussanus, Jacobus *see* Toussain(t), Jacques
Tydaeus, Jacob 401 (table)

Ugoni, Pompeo 346n62
Ulm 383, 384
Uppsala 412n10, 413, 414n18, 419, 420, 422, 423, 425–33, 435
Ursinus, Johannes (Johannes des Ourssijns) 398n127
Utenhovius, Carolus (Karel van Utenhove/Uyttenhove) 401n141

Valla, Giorgio 44, 50 (table)
Valla, Lorenzo 55, 59, 62, 69 (table), 124, 130, 358n44
Varennius, Johannes (Johannes van der Varen) 102, 103
Värsterås 422n56
Vasa, Gustav 410
Vasari, Giorgio 175n5, 190, 327
Vascosan, Michel de 87
Vassy 116
Vatable, François 64, 70 (table)
Växjö 428, 429 (table)
Velia 359
Velius, Caspar Ursinus (Caspar Bernhardi) 390n78, 404
Veneto 310, 320
Veneziano, Agostino 327n7
Veneziano, Lorenzo 187
Venice 16–17, 21–22, 152, 173–88, 280, 322, 359n45; Greek printing in 31, 42, 44, 48, 50 (table), 60, 73, 119, 219n22, 227n62, 261n7, 278n81; Greek studies in 42, 59, 60, 63, 358, 361, 373, 374n88; Greeks in 18, 31n1, 68 (table), 157, 199, 216–17, 220n31, 224, 226, 251, 280n4, 281n7, 282–93, 298, 299n112, 300; "Venetian Greece" 5, 16–17, 173–88, 216, 274, 283, 293, 298, 307, 320
Venray, Jan van *see* Ceporinus, Jacobus
Vérard, Antoine 69 (table)
Vergecio, Angelo (Angelus Vergetius, Ange Vergèce) 18
Vergerio, Pier Paolo 157, 358n44
Verona 320
Vestring, Heinrich 414n19
Victorinus 39n23, 313
Vienna 71 (table)
Vilnius/Vilna 410n1, 418, 419, 437n117
Viole, Jean 78
Virdung, Michael 225
Virgil 38n20, 39n23, 42, 118, 128, 193, 192, 196–97, 244, 273, 357n41, 383, 398
Viron, Odet 100, 108, 111

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access

Vitruvius 69 (table)
Vives, Juan Luis 102
Viviani, Gaspare 215
Vivianus, Johannes (Jean Vivien) 356
Vlačić, Matija *see* Flacius Illyricus, Matthias
Vlastos, Nicholas 229
Vogelmann, Heinrich 433
Voigtius, Gothofredus (Gottfried Voigt) 398n127
Volckmar, Heinrich 401 (table), 402 (table)
Volland, Johann 400n139, 400n141, 401 (table), 402, 430
Vossius, Isaac 361
Vulcanius, Bonaventura (Bonaventura De Smet) 352
Vultejus, Justus (Justus Will) 381n20
Vyborg 413n17

Walz, Johann Theophil 386, 402 (table)
Wechel, Chrestien 80, 83, 120
Weidasch 402 (table)
Weigel, Johann Adam 412n11
Wells 76
Wertheim 225n56
Welser, Marcus 223, 224, 227, 228, 312n19
Wettstein, Johann Rudolf 427n81
Wheler, George 307
Will, Justus *see* Vultejus, Justus
William I of Orange, Prince 374n88
Winstrup, Peder 414n20, 434n112
Winter, Thomas 76
Witsius, Aegidius (Aegidius Wijts) 355
Witsius, Justus (Justus Wijts) 355
Wittenberg 117, 118, 126, 127, 129, 130n50, 134, 135, 223n47, 384, 401 (table) 402–03, 413, 414, 415, 422n56, 425, 429 (table)
Wolf, Hieronymus 9, 223, 224, 228
Wolsey, Thomas 76
Worms 61
Wulfer, Daniel 399n133
Wurzler, Michael 386

Xenophon of Athens 83, 129, 131, 420
Xerxes 269n33

Zakynthos/Zante 297, 283
Zamosc 437
Zeus 107, 135, 237, 239, 251, 253, 334, 366–67
Zuberus, Matthaeus (Matthäus Zuber) 390n74, 401n141
Zygomalas, Theodosius 393n90

Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers - 978-90-04-40246-1
Downloaded from Brill.com11/09/2020 03:52:29PM
via free access